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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VIII.

RUSSIA AND POLAND, FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS IN 1825.

1. GREAT as have been the changes, marvellous the events, of recent times, in all countries, the most wonderful have occurred in different and distant parts of the world, where they exceed everything not only witnessed by contemporaries, but recorded by history of former periods. We are too near them to measure their proportions with the eye; future times, which become acquainted with them at a distance from the ear, or are witnesses, after the lapse of ages, of their effects, will more correctly estimate their relative magnitude and importance. The simultaneous growth of the Russian power in Europe and Asia, of the United States in America, and of the British empire in India and Australia, stand forth pre-eminent in this age of wonders. Great changes in human affairs—the overthrow of aged, the rise of youthful empires—the realisation of the dreams of the Crusaders—the dwindling away of the Mohammedan faith, the boundless extension of the Christian—the restoration of a European and civilised empire on the shores of the Euxine—vast transplanations of mankind to the East and the West—the rolling back of the tide of civilisation to the land of its birth—the peopling of a new world with the race of Japhet—are obviously con-

nected with, or the direct consequence of, these events. The effects they have produced will always be regarded as a decisive turning-point in the annals of mankind; not less memorable than the overthrow of the Roman Empire—not less prolific of consequences than the Reformation in Europe, and the discovery of America. Nor have the gifts of Providence been wanting to aid in the mighty movement, and carry it out in accordance with the welfare and happiness of mankind. If to the age of Columbus it gave the compass and the art of printing, to that succeeding Napoleon it gave steam navigation, railway communication, and the electric telegraph; and if the activity of the former period was stimulated by the grant to man of the silver mines of Potosi and Mexico, the enterprise of the latter was still more powerfully aroused by the discovery of the gold-laden fields of California and Australia.

2. Vast and powerful as the Russian empire was when its children, in emulation of those of Numantium, applied the torch to the palaces of Moscow, or carried their victorious arms to the heights of Montmartre and the banks of the Seine, it had not then attained half the influence and importance which it has since acquired. The victory of Alexander doubled its power—

the overthrow of Napoleon halved its enemies. Independent of the immense increase of influence and importance, which necessarily and immediately resulted from the destruction of the vast armament which Napoleon had marshalled for its destruction, and the proud pre-eminence conceded to it in the diplomatic negotiations of Vienna, the physical resources and territorial extent of Russia had been enormously augmented during, and by the results of, the struggle. It was hard to say whether it had prospered most from victory or defeat. The carnage of Eylau, the overthrow of Tilsit, led only to the incorporation of Finland with its vast dominions, the acquisition of a considerable territory from its ally Prussia, the consolidation of its power in the Caucasus and Georgia, and the incorporation of Wallachia and Moldavia, and extension of its southern frontier to the Danube. And although, during the first agonies of the French invasion, these valuable provinces were in part abandoned, and the Pruth was fixed on as the boundary in the mean time of the empire, yet it was at the time evident, what the event has since abundantly proved, that this unwonted retirement of the Russian eagle was for a time only; and that their march towards Constantinople, conquering and to conquer, was destined to be not permanently arrested.

3. But the great and lasting acquisition of Russia, from the results of the war, was that of the GRAND-DUCHY OF WARSAW. This important territory, which brings the Russian outposts within a comparatively short distance of both Vienna and Berlin, and renders the influence of its diplomacy irresistible in eastern Europe, was virtually annexed to Russia by the treaty of Vienna in 1815; for although, by the strenuous efforts of Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand, its immediate incorporation with the dominions of the Czar was prevented, yet this was done only by its establishment as a state nominally independent, but really part of his vast territories. The grand-duchy of Warsaw was erected into a separate monarchy, but the

Emperor Alexander was at its head; his brother, the Grand-duke Constantine, was his viceroy, and Russian influence was predominant in its councils. A constitutional monarchy, and the form at least of representative institutions, were, by the strenuous efforts of France and England, established at Warsaw; but it was the form only. National habits and character proved stronger, as is ever the case, than diplomatic changes; freedom was found to be unavailing to a nation when it was conferred, not by domestic effort, but by foreign intervention; and the prosperity communicated to the Poles by the vigour of Russian rule, and the organisation of Russian power, proved only an addition to the strength of Russia, when, after an unsuccessful and ill-judged revolt, the grand-duchy was formally incorporated with her dominions.

4. The grand-duchy of Warsaw, which the treaty of Vienna in this manner handed over to Russia, contained, in 1846, 4,865,000 inhabitants; it extends over 47,000 square geographical miles (about half more than Ireland), the people being thinly scattered over it, at the rate of 100 to the square mile; and the land under cultivation within its limits amounts to 5,444,000 *dessiatines*, or 14,000,000 English acres, being at the rate only of 1.12 *dessiatine* (three acres) to each inhabitant.* As the soil is generally rich, everywhere level, and for the most part capable of yielding the finest wheaten crops, it is evident that the inhabitants might be five times their present amount, not only without any diminution, but with a great and durable increase in their comfort and wellbeing. But the character of the Poles, like that of the Celts, ardent, enthusiastic, and daring, but gay, volatile, and *insouciant*, had rendered these gifts of nature of little avail, and retained the nation in a state of internal poverty and external weakness, when the means of attaining the reverse of both were within

* The Russian *dessiatine*, by which all their land is measured, contains $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres nearly, the acre being $\frac{37}{100}$ of a *dessiatine*.

their power. Great part of the country was overshadowed by dark forests of fir; vast swamps extended along the margin of the rivers, and formed morasses and lakes in the interior, which chilled the atmosphere around; and even where cultivation had crept into the wilderness, it was in such a rude and imperfect manner as bespoke rather the weakness of savage than the powers of civilised man.

5. The new Kingdom of Poland, on the throne of which the Emperor of Russia was placed, was proclaimed at Warsaw on the 20th June 1815. It consisted of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, as it existed in the time of Napoleon, with the exception of the city and little territory of Cracow, which was erected into a separate republic, the salt mines of Wicleiza, which were ceded to Austria, and the grand-duchy of Posen, which was set apart to Prussia. Still the portion left for Russia was very great, and formed an immense addition to its already colossal strength; for it brought its dominions almost into the centre of Europe, and left the capitals of Austria and Prussia within ten days' march of its frontiers, without a fortified town or defensible frontier between. It added, too, the military strength of a warlike race, celebrated in every age for their heroic exploits, to the Russian standards—men whom Napoleon has characterised as those of all Europe who most readily become soldiers. They formed at this time a willing and valuable addition to the Muscovite legions, for the Poles clung to this little kingdom, as a nucleus from which might arise the restoration of their lost nationality; and the benevolent dispositions and known partiality for Poland of the Emperor Alexander inspired the warmest hopes that this long-wished-for result might take place. The strength and vigour which were ere long communicated to the new kingdom by the Russian administration, caused the country rapidly to prosper in the most remarkable manner in all its material interests; while the shadow, at least, of representative institutions, which

was obtained for it by the efforts of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna, flattered the secret hope that, with its lost nationality, the much-loved liberties of Poland might one day be restored.

6. The GRAND-DUKE CONSTANTINE, who was placed as viceroy at the head of the Government of this infant kingdom, was one of those strange and *bizarre* characters which occur but seldom in history, and can be produced only by a temporary, and, in some degree, fortuitous blending of the dispositions of various races, and the feelings produced by different states of society. The second son of the Emperor Paul (son of the celebrated Empress Catherine) and the Princess Sophia of Würtemberg, he was born on 8th May 1779, and christened Constantine, from the design of that aspiring potentate to place him on the throne of Constantinople, and restore the Byzantine empire, as an appanage of the imperial house of Russia. He was married on 26th February 1796 to a princess of the house of Saxe-Coburg; but the marriage proved unfortunate, and was soon followed by a separation. The savage manners and despotic inclinations of the Grand-duke were speedily felt as insupportable by a princess accustomed to the polished and considerate manners of European society.* He soon after entered on the career of arms, and in it from the very first he greatly distinguished himself. His first essay in real warfare was in 1799, under Suwarroff on the banks of the Po, where his daring character and headlong valour were very conspicuous. Subsequently he joined the Allied army, at the head of his splendid regiment of cuirassiers, in the plains of Moravia in 1805; and by the glorious charges, in which he defeated the best regiments of the Imperial Guard, and captured an eagle,

* The author has been informed by a lady, to whom the Grand-duchess herself recounted it, that, in some of his fits of passion, he used to make her rise during the night, and lie across the threshold of the door of their apartment!

had all but changed the face of Europe on the field of Austerlitz. Subsequently he arrested the triumphant march of Napoleon at Eylau, and nearly closed his career amidst the snows of Poland. He went through the whole campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, in Russia, Germany, and France, and attended the victorious march of his countrymen from Moscow to Paris.* He did not accompany them to London, but attended the Congress of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom in June 1815.

7. His character and habits but ill qualified him for the task. Born on the confines of Europe and Asia, inheriting the Tartar blood, warmed by the Slavonian temperament, his Oriental character had never yielded to the manners or civilisation of Europe. He was an emblem of the nations of which he was so nearly the head: refinement had never penetrated the interior—the delicacy and graces of polished manners were on the surface only. His countenance, which was strongly characterised by the Tartar features, and severely marked by the small-pox, was ill-favoured and ungainly; but his manners were polished in society, and no one, when so inclined, could be more winning and attractive. But the real disposition was widely different; he had nothing mild or gentle in his temperament. He rivalled Richard Cœur-de-Lion in his valour in the field, but he surpassed him also in the vehemence with which he ruled the cabinet, and the acts of tyranny by which both his public administration and private life were characterised. Violent, capricious, and irritable, he could never brook contradiction, and when inflamed by passion, indulged his vehement disposition by frightful and disgraceful acts of cruelty. He was an untamed savage, armed with the power and animated by the imperious disposition of an Eastern sultan, imperfectly veiled over by the chivalrous manners of modern Europe.

* The author met him frequently there in 1814, and the chief traits in this description are taken from his own observation.

Yet was the savage not destitute of generous sentiments; he could occasionally do noble things; and though the discipline he maintained in his troops was extremely severe, yet it was redeemed, and their affections won, by frequent acts of kindness. The close of his public career was very remarkable, and afforded a memorable proof of what is the real vanquisher of the savage dispositions of man, and how love can melt even the most ferocious bosoms. Such was the influence which a Polish lady of charming and fascinating manners acquired over him, that he sacrificed for her the most splendid prospects which the world could offer; and it will appear in the sequel that “all for love, or the world well lost,” was, to the astonishment of Europe, realised by an Oriental prince, the heir to the greatest empire in Christendom.

8. As might have been expected from a prince of such a character and habits, his chief attention was concentrated on the army. On the 11th December 1815, when the annexation of Poland to the Russian crown was seriously contested in the Congress of Vienna, Constantine addressed to it an animated proclamation, in which he recounted with truth and deserved pride their glorious deeds in arms, their fidelity in misfortune, their inextinguishable love of their country, and called on them to rally round the emperor as its only bulwark.* On the

* “Rassemblez-vous autour de votre drapeau; armez vos bras pour défendre votre Patrie, et pour maintenir son existence politique. Pendant que l'Empereur Alexandre prépare l'heureux avenir de votre pays, montrez-vous prêts à soutenir ses nobles efforts. Les mêmes chefs qui, depuis vingt ans, vous ont conduits sur le chemin de la gloire, sauront vous ramener l'Empereur apprécier votre valeur. Au milieu du désastre d'une guerre funeste, il a vu votre honneur survivre à des événements qui ne dépendaient pas de vous. De hauts faits d'armes vous ont distingués dans une lutte dont le but souvent vous était étranger; à présent que vos efforts ne seront consacrés qu'à la Patrie, vous serez invincibles. Soldats et guerriers de toutes les armes, donnez les premiers l'exemple de l'ordre qui doit régner chez tous vos compatriotes. Dévouement sans bornes envers l'Empereur, qui ne veut que le bien de votre Patrie, amour pour son

24th of the same month he presided at a solemn meeting of the Senate, at which the new constitution was read, and proclaimed with great solemnity. The prospect of the restoration of their country, of its resuming its place in the family of Europe, the known affection with which the emperor regarded Poland, and the generous deeds towards it by which his reign had already been signalised, the hope of the restoration of their liberties by means of the constitution which had been promulgated, diffused a universal enchantment, and for a brief season made the Poles forget the long-continued misfortunes of which their country had been the theatre.

9. Great material prosperity followed the junction of the Polish and Russian crowns, and vast advantage to both countries. The very cessation of the jealousy and hostility which had so long subsisted between them, and the opening of the vast market of Muscovy to Polish industry, was of itself an immense advantage. Add to this the termination of the long anarchy of Polish democracy, and the substitution of the steady rule of a regular government, which, however despotic, was strong, uniform, and consistent, for the ceaseless dissensions and senseless jealousies of their stormy national assemblies. Warsaw, which, in 1797, contained only 66,572 inhabitants, and at the accession of Alexander less than 80,000, rapidly increased in splendour and opulence, and in 1842 numbered 140,000 souls. The industry of the country made sensible progress with the preservation of peace, and the steady market opened for agricultural produce both in the warehouses of Dantzic and in the consumption of the capital. Its revenue had augmented before 1830 by more than a third, and the seeds even of manu-

facturing prosperity had begun to germinate on its soil. The entire kingdom, which in 1815 could number only a hundred weaving looms, had come, in 1830, to contain six thousand, which manufactured annually seven million yards of cloth. All other rude fabrics had advanced in a similar proportion; but capital was still chiefly accumulated in the hands of the Jews, who amounted in Warsaw alone to twenty-seven thousand, and were to be found at the head of nearly all the industrial establishments in the kingdom. Nor was public instruction neglected; on the contrary, it was extended in the most remarkable manner during the pacific rule of the Russian emperor. Schools of every description had been established at Warsaw, and in various parts of the kingdom, which were crowded by the ardent youth of that impassioned land. The scholars, who were only a few hundreds in 1815, had risen in the capital alone in 1830 to 3700, and over the whole kingdom to 35,000, which was in the proportion of 1 to 130 souls, while in the neighbouring realm of Russia it was only 1 to 280.

10. But as it was to the military force of this new kingdom that the attention of the viceroy and the government was chiefly directed, so it was there that the most rapid changes and the most extraordinary progress took place. It would pass for incredible, were it not attested by undoubted evidence, and accounted for by the singular aptitude of the Poles for military instruction, and the extraordinary skill of the Russians in military organisation. The Polish army, though it never exceeded forty thousand men—less than one in a hundred of the entire population—soon became, under the tuition of Constantine, one of the most formidable in Europe, from its incomparable state of discipline and equipment. The viceroy was extremely anxious on this subject, and rigorous to a fault in exacting the most ceaseless attention to the smallest minutiae of dress and discipline. Though second to none in the hardihood with which he headed his chivalrous guards in a

auguste personne, obéissance, concord: voilà le moyen d'assurer la prospérité de votre pays, qui se trouve sous la puissante Egide de l'Empereur. C'est par là que vous arriverez à l'heureuse situation, que d'autres peuvent vous promettre, mais que lui seul peut vous procurer. Sa puissance et ses vertus vous en sont garant."—*Biographie des Hommes Vivants*, ii. 229.

charge, it was on the trifling splendour of pacific display that he was chiefly set. He often said, after seeing his guards defile before him, "What a pity it is to go to war!—*it dirties their dress; it spoils soldiers.*" To such a degree of perfection did he bring them in these respects, that when, in October 1816, the Emperor Alexander passed them in review at Warsaw, he was so struck with their martial air, exact discipline, and splendid appearance, that he embraced his brother several times in their presence. But they were not mere carpet knights who thus charmed the greatest military monarch in the world by their appearance: none showed, when the hour of trial arrived, that they were more equal to the duties and penetrated with the spirit of real soldiers. When the disastrous revolt of 1830 arrived, and the little kingdom of Poland strove to detach itself from its colossal neighbour, its fortresses of Modlin and Zamose were in such a state of defence, and its army so efficient, that for ten months it maintained a doubtful conflict with its gigantic foe, and in the end was only subdued by the aid of Prussia—a memorable instance of devoted though mistaken patriotism, and of the glorious destiny which awaited Poland, if its sons had had the sense to establish a stable government, and their heroic courage and military spirit had not been rendered nugatory by the insane divisions and democratic selfishness of former times.

11. The powers of western Europe acted naturally and in a liberal spirit in stipulating, for the fragment of the Polish nation embraced in the new kingdom, constitutional privileges and a representative government, and the Emperor Alexander not less so in conceding them. But they proved worse than useless in practice; and their entire failure adds another to the numerous instances which history affords of the extreme danger of transplanting institutions suitable to one race and state of society to men inheriting a different blood, and in a different stage of political existence. Not less stormy and unmanageable by ordinary

means, or any appeals to reason, than their ancient diets, where eighty thousand horsemen discussed the affairs of state in the plains of Volo, the new Assembly united to it the selfishness, interested motives, and corruption which are the gangrenes of the representative system, even in the most highly-advanced and polished societies. They were seldom convoked, and, when assembled, more than once abruptly dissolved. Poland flourished under the Russian rule prior to the calamitous revolt in 1830, not in consequence of her representatives, but in spite of them. No salutary or useful measures are to be traced to their influence; and they drew forth from no common man, the Emperor Nicholas, the following, it is to be feared, as applied to that people, just condemnation: "I understand a republic; it is a clear and sincere government, or at least it may be so: I understand an absolute government, since I am the chief of such an order of things; but I do not understand a representative monarchy. It is the government of falsehood, fraud, and corruption: I would retreat to the Wall of China rather than adopt it. I have been a representative monarch; and the world knows what it has cost me declining to submit to the exigencies of that infamous government. I disdained the usual means of managing such assemblies: I would neither purchase votes nor corrupt consciences, nor seduce some to corrupt others. I disdained such methods, as not less degrading to those who yield to, than disgraceful to him who employs them, and I have paid dear for my sincerity; but God be praised, I have done, and for ever, with that form of government." Thirty years ago, these words would have passed for the violent declamation of a despotic prince, abusing any institutions which put a restraint upon his own power; but time has since then taught us many lessons: we have seen the representative system working in France, Ireland, and some parts of England.

12. Strengthened by this great accession of power and territory, which brought their advanced posts into the

heart of Europe, within a hundred and eighty miles both of Vienna and Berlin, RUSSIA now assumed the place which she has ever since maintained as the undisputed arbiter of eastern Europe. Happy if she does not also become the mistress of the West, and the endless divisions of its aspiring inhabitants are not in the end extinguished by the unity of her advancing power. Great as are the physical resources of Russia, and rapidly as they have recently increased her influence, the prestige of her name, the dread of her strength, have increased in a still greater proportion. Men looked with a sort of superstitious awe on an empire which had never receded for centuries—which, secured in rear by the snows of the polar circle, had stretched its mighty arms almost to the torrid zone; which numbered the Vistula, the Amour, the Danube, and the Euphrates among its frontier streams, and already boasted of possessing a seventh of the habitable globe within its dominions. Nor had the events of recent times weakened this undefined impression; Napoleon's words had proved true, that Russia was backed "by two invincible allies, time and space:" foreign assault was hopeless against a state which had repelled the invasion of five hundred thousand men; and no empire, how strong soever, seemed capable of withstanding a power which, beginning its career of victory with the burning of Moscow, had terminated it by the capture of Paris.

13. What has augmented in the most remarkable degree this moral influence, is the prudence and wisdom with which it has been exercised. Never impelled by senseless ambition on the part of its rulers, or frantic passions among its people, the policy of Russia for two centuries has been eminently moderate and judicious. Its rulers are constantly actuated by the lust of conquest, but they never precipitate the moment of attack; conscious of their own strength, they await calmly the moment of action, and then appear with decisive effect. Like a great man in the conduct of life, they are never impelled by the

thirst for immediate display which is the torment and bane of little minds, but are satisfied to appear when circumstances call them forth, aware that no effort will then be required to prove their superiority. Their conquests, how great soever, seem all to have been the result of necessity; constantly, in reality, aggressive, they have almost always *appeared*, in serious warfare, on the defensive. The conquest of Finland in 1808, the result of the treaty of Tilsit, is the only one for the last century in which its cabinet was avowedly and ostensibly the aggressors. While this prudent policy disarms their neighbours, and induces them to rely on the supposed moderation and magnanimity of the government, it adds immensely to their own strength when the moment of action has arrived. Every interval of peace is attended by a rapid growth of their internal resources, and its apparent leisure is sedulously improved by the government in preparing the means of future conquest. No senseless cry for economy, no "ignorant impatience of taxation," paralyses their strength on the termination of hostilities, and makes them lose in peace the whole fruits of conquest in war. Alike in peace as in war, at home and abroad, their strength is constantly rolling on; like a dark thunder-cloud, a hundred and fifty thousand men, ready for instant action, constantly overhang in Poland eastern Europe; and every state within reach of their hostility is too happy to avert it by submission. When the storm broke on Hungary in 1849, it at once extinguished the conflagration which had set Europe in flames.*

14. The secret of this astonishing influence of Russia in European politics, is not merely her physical resources and rapid growth, great as it will immediately appear both are, but the *unity of purpose* by which the whole nation is animated. Like that of individuals in private life, this is the great secret of national success;

* The Russian army which invaded Hungary in 1849 was 161,500 strong.—GEORGEY'S *Memoirs of the War in Hungary*, ii. 149.

it is not so much superiority in means, as their persevering direction to one object, which is the spring to which in both it is mainly to be ascribed. The ceaseless direction of Roman energy to foreign conquest gave Rome the empire of the world; that of the French to the thirst for glory and principle of honour, conferred on them the lead in continental Europe; that of the English to foreign commerce and domestic industry, placed in their hands the sceptre of the waves. Not less persevering than any of these nations, and exclusively directed to one object, rivalling the ancient masters of the world in the thirst for dominion, and the modern English in the vigour with which it is sought, the whole Russians, from the Emperor on the throne to the serf in the cottage, are inspired with the belief that their mission is to conquer the world, and their destiny to effect it. Commerce is in little esteem among them; its most lucrative branches are in the hands of the Germans, who overspread its towns as the Jews do those of Poland. Agriculture, abandoned to the serfs, is regarded only as the means of raising a rude subsistence for the cultivators, and realising a fixed revenue for the proprietor. Literature is in its infancy, law considered as an inferior line; but war is cultivated with the utmost assiduity, and vast schools, where all subjects connected with it are taught in the most approved manner and with the latest improvements, are constantly attended by two hundred thousand of the best young men in the empire. The ablest among them are selected for the diplomatic service, and hence the great talent by which that profession in Russia is ever distinguished; but the whole remainder are turned into the army, where they find themselves at the head of ignorant but bold and hardy men, not less inflamed than themselves with the thirst for foreign conquest—not less impressed with the idea that to them is destined the sceptre of the world.

15. The physical circumstances of Russia are such as to justify, in a

great degree, these anticipations. Its population in Europe consisted in 1850 of 62,088,000 souls, and in Asia of 4,638,000 more; in all, 67,247,000, and including the army, 68,000,000. It is now (1862) not less than 70,000,000. Of this immense mass no less than 60,500,000 are the inhabitants of the country, and engaged in cultivation, and only 5,388,000 the indwellers in towns, and occupied with their industrial pursuits, the remainder being nomads, or in the army. This enormous proportion of the cultivators to the other classes of society—*twelve to one*—at once indicates the rude and infantine state of civilisation of the immense majority of the inhabitants, and demonstrates in the clearest manner the utter groundlessness of those apprehensions regarding the increasing difficulty of raising subsistence for the increasing numbers of mankind in the later stages of society, which in the early part of this century took such general hold of the minds of men. For while, in the immense and fertile plains of Russia, twelve cultivators only raise food for themselves and their families and one inhabitant of towns, and perhaps an equal number of consumers in foreign states—that is, six cultivators feed themselves and *one other member of society*—in Great Britain, by the census of 1841, the number of persons engaged in the cultivation of the soil was to the remaining classes of society as one to seven nearly; and yet the nation was, anterior to the change in the Corn-laws, all but self-supporting. In other words, the power of labour in raising food was above *forty times greater*, in proportion to the population in the old and densely-peopled, than the young and thinly-peopled State. The same truth has been exemplified in America, where, by the census of 1841, the cultivators over the whole Union are to the other classes of society as *four*, and beyond the Alleghany Mountains as *eight to one*; facts which demonstrate that so far from population, as Mr Malthus supposes, pressing in the later stages of society on subsistence, subsistence is daily acquiring a greater

and more decisive ascendancy over population.*

16. The rapidity with which this immense body of men, in Russia, increases in numbers, is as important in a political point of view as it is formidable to the rest of Europe. The annual present addition to the population has been, from 1840 to 1850, as one to one hundred, and that notwithstanding the fearful ravages of the cholera, which in 1847 caused a decrease of 296,000.† This average increase will cause a duplication of the population in seventy years, being as nearly as possible the rate of increase in the British empire for thirty years prior to 1846; since that time the prodigious drain of the emigration, which has now (1856) reached the enormous amount of 365,000 a-year, has occasioned an annual decline, probably only temporary, of from 200,000 to

250,000. It is greater than that of any other state in Europe, Prussia alone excepted, which is increasing at such a rate as to double in fifty-two years; but far from equalling that of the United States of America, which for two centuries has regularly doubled its inhabitants every twenty-four years, aided, it is true, by a vast immigration from Europe, which has latterly risen to the enormous amount of 500,000 a-year.

17. But the formidable nature of this increase, which, if it remains unchecked, will bring Russia, in seventy years, to have 140,000,000 of inhabitants, or about *half* of the whole population of Europe at this time, which is estimated at 280,000,000, arises from the vast and almost boundless room which exists in its immense possessions for future augmentation. Such is the extent of its territory, that, great as its population is, it is at the rate of less than

* By the census of 1840, the proportion of cultivators to all other classes in the United States of America stood thus:—

Agricultural,	3,717,756
All other classes,	1,078,660

Or about $3\frac{2}{3}$ to 1. Beyond the Alleghany Mountains they were:—

Agricultural,	2,092,255
All other classes,	287,751

Or about 8 to 1 in the basin of the Mississippi, the garden of the world. On the other hand, in Great Britain, by the census of 1831 and 1841, the families respectively engaged in agriculture and other pursuits stood thus:—

	1831. Great Britain.	1841. Great Britain and Ireland.
Agricultural,	961,134	3,343,974
All other pursuits,	2,453,041	23,482,115

Or 7 to 1 in the latter period only. And yet, down to this period, the nation was, to all practical purposes, self-supporting—the importation of wheat having been for forty years back not only trifling but declining, and in some years nothing at all. Average of wheat imported yearly:—

AVERAGES.	
Years.	Quarters.
1800 to 1810	600,946
1810 to 1820	458,578
1820 to 1830	534,992
1830 to 1835	398,507
—	—
—	—

SINGLE YEARS.			
Years.	Quarters.	Years.	Quarters.
1808	—	1833	82,346
1815	—	1834	64,653
1819	122,133	1835	28,483
1820	34,270	1836	24,876
1821	2	1837	244,087
1822	—	—	—

—Vide PORTER's *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, 139, 140; *History of Europe*, chap. xc. 34; and *American Census*, 1840.

	Population.	Excess of births over deaths.	In 100.
† 1840,	50,231,000	393,000	.5
1841,	50,626,000	344,000	.6
1842,	50,940,000	842,000	1.7
1843,	51,782,000	972,000	1.9
1844,	52,754,000	755,000	1.4
1845,	53,509,000	583,000	1.1
1846,	54,092,000	538,000	1
1847,	54,630,000	296,000 decrease (cholera)	.5

—TEGOBORSKI, i. 83.

30 the square mile for Russia in Europe, while in Great Britain it is at the rate of 220, and in France of 171. If Russia in Europe were peopled at the rate of Great Britain and Ireland, it would contain 500,000,000 souls—a number by no means impossible, if the vast extent of waste land in the Highlands of Scotland, and the mountains of Cumberland and Wales, not less sterile than the fir forests of the north of Russia, is taken into account.* Its entire superficies is 2,120,000 square geographical miles, while that of Great Britain and Ireland is 120,340; that of France, 207,252; that of Austria, 257,830; that of Prussia, 107,958;—facts which, even more than its present number of inhabitants, demonstrate the prodigious capabilities which it contains, and the destinies to which it is ultimately called.

18. What renders a people, advancing at such a rate, and possessed of such resources, in a peculiar manner formidable, is the unity of purpose and feeling by which the whole of the immense mass is animated. It is a common opinion in western Europe that a nation inhabiting so vast and varied a territory cannot by possibility remain united, and that Russia, broken up, as it must ere long be, into a number of separate dominions, will cease to be formidable to the other powers of Europe. There never was a greater mistake. To reason thus is to fall into the usual error of supposing that all mankind are placed in the same circumstances, and actuated by the same desires. There have been many insurrections and revolts in Russia, but none which ever pointed in the most remote degree either to a change in the form of government, or to a separation of one part of the country from the other.

It is in its Polish conquests alone that this passion has been felt. Even when the Russians have appeared in revolt, as they have often done, it was ever in obedience to the impulse of loyalty: they combated the Czar in the name of another Czar, not knowing which was the right one, as the Scotch Highlanders did the Hanoverian family in the name of the Stuarts. The principle of cohesion is much stronger in Russia than it is in the British dominions, infinitely more so than in the United States of America. England and France may be subjugated, or broken into separate states, before the integrity of Russia is threatened; and many rival republics will be contending for the superiority on the Transatlantic plains, while the Muscovites are still slumbering in conscious strength and patient expectation under the sceptre of the Czar.†

19. The cause of this remarkable, and, to the other states of Europe, most formidable unity of feeling in the Russian dominions, is to be found, in the first place, as that of all great national peculiarities is, in the original character and disposition of the race. The Russians are not, it is true, encamped on the plains of Scythia as the Turks have been for four centuries on those of the Byzantine empire; they have taken root in the soil, they constitute its entire inhabitants, and are now devotedly attached to it by the possession of its surface and the labours of agriculture. But they are not on that account less Oriental in their ideas, feelings, and habits; on the contrary, it is that very circumstance, joined to their agricultural pursuits, which renders them so formidable. They unite the devotion and singleness of purpose of Asia to

	Population in 1851.	Proportion to sq. mile geog.
* British Isles,	27,435,315	220
France,	35,680,000	171
Prussia,	16,576,000	150
Austria,	38,286,000	148
Russia in Europe,	62,000,000	30

—TESOBORSKI, i. 99.

The population of Great Britain and Ireland, however, was only 27,435,315 by the census of 1851, but that was in consequence of the Irish famine, 1846, and emigration ever since, so that the rate for it must be taken at what it was in 1845.

† Written in 1852. What a confirmation of those remarks has the history of this year (1862) afforded!

the industry and material resources of Europe. It is incorrect to say that the Russians, like the inhabitants of England or France, are generally loyal, and only occasionally seized with the disturbing passions of revolution or religion. They are loyal at all times, and in all places, and under all circumstances. They can never be brought to combat the Czar but in the name of the Czar. Devotion to the throne is so interwoven with the inmost feelings of their hearts that it has become part and parcel of their very being; it is as universal as the belief in God or a future state is in other countries. No disturbing or rival passions interfere with the unity of this feeling, which is sublime from its universality, and respectable from its disinterestedness. The Czar is at once their temporal sovereign, their supreme chief, whose will is law in all temporal affairs, and the head of their church, under the ægis of whose protection they alone hope for entrance into paradise in the world to come. The Patriarch of Constantinople is, properly speaking, the head of the Greek Church, but he is a foreigner, and at a distance; the real ecclesiastical authority resides in the Czar, who appoints all the bishops; and his brows are surrounded, in their eyes, at once with the diadem of the sultan and the tiara of the pontiff.

20. This unity of feeling—the result of the combination, in the same people, of the Asiatic principle of passive obedience in temporal, and the Roman Catholic one of unity of belief in religious concerns—has been much enhanced in Russia by the entire identity of material interests over every part of the empire. Other nations are partly agricultural, partly manufacturing, partly commercial; and experience has proved that not the least serious causes of internal division are to be traced to the varied and conflicting interests of these different classes of society. But in Russia no such cause of division exists. The empire is, speaking in general terms, wholly agricultural. Its seaports are only emporiums for the sale of its rude produce; its merchants, its grain and hemp factors; its manu-

facturers, the clothiers of its rural population; its nobles, the persons enriched by their labours. So inconsiderable is the urban population—only a twelfth of the rural—that it can secure no sort of influence in the State; and such as it is, its most lucrative professions are chiefly in the hands of foreigners. St Petersburg itself has, including the garrison, which is never less than 60,000 men, only 470,000 inhabitants; but for the court, it would soon sink below 100,000; Moscow 349,000,—neither greater than Manchester or Glasgow at this moment.* If this extremely small proportion of the urban to the rural population is prejudicial to the national wealth, by depriving the State of the great hives of industry which in other states are the nurseries of capital, it is eminently favourable to the unity of feeling which pervades the empire. The Russians have the two strongest bonds of cohesion which can exist in a State—identity of religious belief, and unity of temporal interests.

21. The Empress Catherine took some steps towards introducing schools into her vast dominions; and great establishments for the young of both sexes excite the admiration of travellers both at St Petersburg and Moscow. But she did so, only that her vanity might be gratified by the praise of the philosophers of western Europe; for she at the same time wrote to one of her favourites that if they were general through the empire, neither he nor she would long remain where they then were.† Catherine was right; the un-

* Population in 1840 of—

St Petersburg,	470,202
Moscow,	349,068
Warsaw,	140,474
Odessa,	60,055
Astrakan,	45,938
Kazan,	44,304
Riga,	59,960
Cronstadt,	54,747
Wilna,	54,490
Toula,	54,735
Kiev,	47,424
Woronije,	43,800

—TEGOBORSKI, i. 122, 123.

† “ Mon cher Prince, —Ne vous plaignez pas de ce que les Russes n'ont pas le désir de s'instruire. Si j'institue des écoles, ce n'est pas pour nous; c'est pour l'Europe, où il

bounded authority of the Czar, both as the temporal sovereign of the State and the head of the Church, is based on the general ignorance which prevails. Before the light of knowledge the vast fabric would insensibly melt away, but with it would disappear at the same time the internal solidity and external strength of the empire. The Emperor Alexander did much to establish schools in his dominions; but as they were all either in the hands of the Sovereign or the Church, they did little to enlighten the general mind, save in the military art, in which they kept it on a level with, if not superior to, any country of Europe. The schools, other than the government ones, which are mere military academies, being entirely in the hands of the clergy, who are themselves, with some bright exceptions, the most uninformed of the community, little is to be expected for the training of the general mind from the spread of education, as it is at present constituted.

22. There is no nation in the world more profoundly impressed with religious feelings than the Russians, and yet there is none to which the Gospel has less been preached. The Bible is to them a sealed book, for not one in a hundred can read; preaching is unknown, for it would not be understood; form is all in all. Repeated genuflexions at passing the image of a saint, invariable crossing themselves before eating, and attendance at church to witness a few ceremonies around the altar on Sunday, form, in general, the whole of their devotional practices. In truth, the vast majority of the people are in so backward a state as to civilisation, that they could neither understand doctrines nor apprehend precepts apart from the influence of the senses. Like all rude nations, they are deeply impressed with religious feelings; but it is the religion which enters by the eye rather than the ear, and is nourished by visible objects, not abstract ideas.

faut maintenir notre rang dans l'opinion: mais du jour où nos paysans voudraient s'éclairer, ni vous ni moi nous ne resterions à nos places."—CATHERINE, *Impératrice, au Gouverneur de Moscou*, 8 June 1772; DE CUSTINE, *La Russie en 1839*, ii. 115.

Paintings of Scriptural subjects are to be seen in all directions, and are the objects of the most superstitious devotion to the entire people; for they think that the prohibition in the Commandments is only against *graven*, not painted images; and that, provided only the *surface is flat*, it is lawful to fall down and worship it. The clergy are a very numerous body in the empire—they amounted, in 1829, to 243,000; and being allowed to marry, their children are still more numerous, and having nearly all received the elements of education, they constitute the chief class from whom the numerous civil employés of government are drawn.* They are little elevated, either in instruction, station, or circumstances, above the peasants by whom they are surrounded, whose virtues and vices they in general share; but among the higher prelates, appointed by the emperor, are to be found men, as in the elevated diplomatic circles, second to none in the world in piety and zeal and learning.

23. Titles and estates are hereditary in Russia, but not rank—a curious distinction, little understood in western Europe, where they are invariably united, but highly characteristic of its social system, and important in its social and political effects on the inhabitants. It is this distinction which has crushed the feudal system in that country, and placed society on an entirely different basis—half European, half Asiatic—from any of the other states founded by the conquerors who overthrew the Roman Empire. Peter the Great was the author of the system which is called the *Tchinn*, and by its establishment he effected a greater re-

* The clergy are thus divided, which shows how vast a preponderance the Greek Church enjoys—viz.

Greek Church, . . .	223,000
United Greeks, . . .	7,000
Roman Catholics, . . .	6,000
Mohammedan, . . .	6,000
Reformed, . . .	400

242,400

The whole are married, or capable of being so, except the Roman Catholic priests. The entire persons belonging to the clergy and their families, forming the *clergy class*, amounted, in 1829, to 900,000, and are now above a million of souls.—MALTE BRUN, vi. 414.

volution in the destinies of the empire than by the destruction of the Strelitzes. The whole people were by this strange but vigorous lawgiver divided into fourteen classes, corresponding to the grades in the army, and something analogous to the centuries into which, for the purposes of taxation and election, the Romans, in the days of the Republic, were divided. Each of these classes has certain privileges peculiar to itself, which are not enjoyed by the one below it: the lowest class, which is immediately above the serfs, is invested with the single privilege of not being beaten except by judicial authority; and to insure the enjoyment of this privilege, and prevent strangers from in ignorance invading it, every person in that class is obliged to have his number placarded above his door. All the inferior employés of government, and persons charged with subaltern duties in the administration, belong to this class. Every person who becomes a soldier acquires its privileges when he puts off his uniform and obtains his discharge. As to the serfs, they are left in the condition that our peasants were by Magna Charta—any one may beat them at pleasure.

24. This singular organisation of society, which pervades all ranks in Russia, from the Czar downwards, augments to a most enormous degree the power of the sovereign, for it places the personal rank and privileges of every individual in the realm at his disposal. By a stroke of the pen the Emperor can degrade every individual in the empire, whatever his descent, or family, or titles may be, from his rank, deprive him of all the privileges belonging to it, and cast him down to the very lowest class immediately above the serfs. With equal facility he can elevate any person to a class in which he was neither born, nor to which he is entitled by any distinction or services rendered to the State, and thus place him in a rank superior to any, even the very highest noble in the land. The rank thus conferred is personal only; it does not descend with the holder's titles or estates to his heirs; it is given by the sovereign, held of, and may at any moment

be resumed by him. An awful example of the exercise of this power by the Czar is sometimes given, who, in flagrant cases, degrades a colonel at the head of his regiment, or a civil governor in the seat of his authority—has him flogged in presence of those so recently subjected to his authority, and instantly sent off in one of the cars provided for convicts to Siberia. It is these terrible instances of severe, but, in so despotic a state, necessary justice, often falling like a flash of lightning on the highest functionaries, and in the most unforeseen manner, which inspires so universal a dread of the power of the Czar, and causes his mandates to be obeyed like the laws of the Almighty or the decrees of fate, which mortals must accept and submit to in trembling silence. It has given rise to the common opinion that rank in Russia is military only, and depends on the position held in the army. This is in appearance true, but not really so; for in no country are civil gradations more firmly established or scrupulously observed than in that country. They are *abreast* of the steps in military rank, and confer the same rights, but they do not confer steps in the army; hence a hairdresser or tailor sometimes has the rank of a major-general, but he could not command a company. At the head of the Tchinir was long placed Field-marshal Paskevitch, the conqueror of Persia and Poland, and governor of Warsaw; at its foot the whole postilions and couriers in the empire.

25. This organisation of society betrays its Eastern origin: it recalls the castes of Egypt and Hindostan, with this difference, that the rank is personal, and entirely dependent on the emperor's will—not hereditary, as with them, and naturally descending, like the colour of the skin, from parent to child. As such, it confers an influence on the sovereign unknown even on the banks of the Nile or the Ganges. The class of nobles is very numerous; it embraced in 1829 no less than 389,542 individuals. It need hardly be said that a great proportion of this class are destitute of property; but such as are so, for the most part

find a refuge in the ample ranks of the army. Some of them are possessed of enormous fortunes, and when not trained to civil or military duties in the diplomatic or military line, they for the most part spend their lives in St Petersburg or Moscow, where a great proportion of them, even to the most advanced age, are engaged in an incessant round of profligacy and pleasure. It exceeds anything witnessed, at least on the surface, either in Paris or London; for passion, relieved from the pressure of public opinion, and too distant to fall under the coercion of the emperors, riots without control, and to a degree which would not be tolerated in the societies of western Europe. Democratic desires, with all their inconveniences, have this good effect, that they provide for the decorum of society, and check those gross instances of licence which at once degrade and corrupt it. They render every man a spy on his neighbour, and the espionage of no arbitrary sovereign is so willingly and effectually exercised; for though no man likes to have a restraint imposed on his own passions, every one is willing to have it fastened upon those of his neighbour.

26. The trading or *bourgeois* class, which composes several ranks of the Tchinn, is made up in Russia, so far as the higher persons in it are concerned, for the most part, of foreigners. The portion of it drawn from the nation is composed of such as are entirely emancipated, or of those who, still serfs, are not attached to the soil, and have commuted their obligation of personal service into the payment of a certain annual sum called the *obrok*, generally ten or twelve rubles a-year (£1, 12s. 6d. or £1, 18s.) This latter class is very numerous; it contains no less than 14,000,000 of souls, including the families of the semi-emancipated serfs. They cannot, however, leave their trade or force the purchase of their freedom on their master against his consent, and the *obrok* is generally raised as their supposed gains augment. This is perhaps the very best way in which the step, always difficult, sometimes dangerous, can be made from slavery

to freedom, because it makes the gaining of the habits of industry precede the cessation of its compulsion, and renders man capable of being free before he becomes so. The peasants on the domains of the Crown, though engaged in the labours of agriculture, are substantially in the same situation; they pay their *obrok* or capitation-tax, and enjoy the whole remaining fruits of the soil they have cultivated, or of the manual labour. Their number is very great; it amounts to no less than 7,938,000 individuals of the male sex. The trading classes are all arranged in separate guilds or corporations, in which they enjoy considerable privileges—in particular, those of being exempt from personal chastisement, and the obligation to serve in the army, and to pay the capitation-tax, and having courts of their own, where their matters in dispute are determined, as in the Saxon courts of the Heptarchy, by a jury of their peers. This arrangement of the trading classes in separate guilds or fraternities, enjoying certain privileges, and bound together by community of interest, is the very best that human wisdom ever devised to improve the condition and habits of the industrious classes, because it tends to establish an aristocracy among them, which at once elevates their caste and protects their labour, and tends to prevent that greatest of all social evils, *equality among the poor*; which, as it destroys their influence, inevitably ends in the equality of despotism.

27. The last class in Russia is that of the SERFS or peasants, the property of their masters, who are by law attached to the soil, and, for the most part, engaged in the labours of agriculture. Their number is immense: they amounted in Russia in Europe alone to 10,865,993 males in 1834, and in 1848 they had increased to 11,938,000, being as nearly as possible one-half of the entire population engaged in the cultivation of the soil. It is a total mistake, however, to suppose that this immense body of men are slaves in our sense of the word—that is, in the state in which the

negroes till recently were in the West India Islands, or as they still are in the Southern States of America. They are the property, indeed, of their masters; they are sold with the estate, and cannot leave it without his consent; and the property in them, as in the West Indies till of late, constitutes the chief part of its value. But they enjoy several important immunities, which go far to assuage the bitterness of servitude, and render it doubtful whether, in the existing state of Russian society, they could be so well off under any other circumstances.*

28. They are sold with the estate, but they cannot, without their own consent, be sold without it—a privilege of incalculable value, for it prevents the separation of husband and wife, parent and child, and the tearing up of the slave from the home of his fathers, which constitutes the last drop in the cup of his bitterness. By a ukase of the Emperor Paul in 1797, who, in this instance at least, proved himself a real father to his people, every slave or peasant subject to forced labour on his master's account, is permitted during three days in the week to work on his own. By a ukase of the present Emperor, slaves are even permitted to hold small pieces of land on their own account, though in their master's name; and if he attempts to interfere with their enjoyment of the fruits, he is liable to be restrained by an order from the governor of the pro-

vince. In addition to this, the master is obliged to maintain the slave in sickness or old age—an obligation which is always and willingly discharged, for a very sufficient reason, that the great extent of waste land in his possession, or surplus produce in his hands, in general enables the master to discharge the duty without feeling it as a burden. It results from these circumstances, that the condition of the serf is, generally speaking, so far as rude comfort goes, equal or superior to that of any peasantry in Europe, and that even the best-conditioned cultivators in its western states would find something to envy in the constant food and secure position of a Russian serf.†

29. There is a very curious institution, almost universal among the serfs of Russia, which betrays their Eastern origin, and has done more than any other circumstance to mitigate the severity of slavery amongst them. It savours of the village system so firmly rooted in all the northern parts of Hindostan, and recalls the days when the whole lands of Palestine were allotted afresh every half-century to the Jews in ancient times. It is called the *Tieglyo*, and consists in this: All the peasants of Russia or of Spain live in villages; isolated cottages, the glory and mark of English and Swiss freedom, are unknown. Each village has a certain portion of land allotted to it by the emperor, if the lands hold of

* Peasants in Russia slaves in 1848, . . . 11,938,182

Free peasants, viz.:—

Free peasants and Odnovostry,	. . .	2,395,070
Crown peasants,	. . .	9,209,200
Crown colonists,	. . .	150,000
Newly emancipated,	. . .	146,550

11,900,820

—TEGOBORSKI, i. 320.

† The Marquis Custine, anything but a eulogist of Russian institutions and manners, gives the following account of the appearance of the old serfs, released from labour for life, sitting at the doors of their cottages: “Je ne puis m'empêcher de trouver un grand charme à l'ignorance, lorsque j'en vois le fruit dans la physionomie céleste des vieux paysans russes. Ces patriarches modernes se reposent noblement au déclin de leur vie: travailleurs exempts de la corvée, ils se débarrassent de leur fardeau vers la fin du jour et s'appuyent avec dignité sur le seuil de la chaumière qu'ils ont rebâtie plusieurs fois, car sous ce rude climat la maison de l'homme ne dure pas autant que sa vie. Quand je ne rapporterais de mon voyage en Russie, que le souvenir de ces vieillards sans remords, appuyés contre les portes sans serrures, je ne regretterais pas la peine que j'ai prise pour venir voir des créatures si différentes de tous les autres paysans du monde. La noblesse de la chaumière m'inspire toujours un profond respect.”—DE CUSTINE, *Voyage en Russie*, iv. 10.—Would the inmates of our workhouses present an equally agreeable spectacle?

the Crown, or by their lord, if of a subject, and which they labour on their own account for the subsistence of themselves and their families. Another portion of the estate is cultivated by the serfs, under the *corvée*, on their master's account. As the waste land in general bears so great a proportion to that under cultivation, both portions are very extensive, and there is room and to spare for future increase. The land allotted to the peasants is not divided into separate portions as it would be in England, where, in some places, "each rood has its man," but is all put at the disposal of the entire village community, which, in its turn, becomes responsible for the whole charges and obligations incumbent on its members.

30. A certain number of the elders of the village make the partition of the lands among all the householders, and it is generally done with great care and circumspection, according to the necessities and capabilities of each inhabitant. The lot awarded to each is in proportion to the numbers which he has to feed, and the arms he can bring to aid in the cultivation of its furrows. When a son marries during the lifetime of his father, he applies for and obtains a separate portion for himself, which he labours on his own account, and which is augmented in proportion as his family increases. On the other hand, if it declines, his lot is proportionally contracted; and if he dies without children, it is given to some other by the little senate of the village. Inequality in the richness of the soil, or difficulties in its cultivation, are carefully weighed and compensated by the grant of a larger or smaller portion of ground. If the land at the disposal of the community exceeds the wants of its inhabitants, the surplus is divided among such of her peasants as have the largest stock of cattle and implements of husbandry, who are proportionally burdened with a share of the charges of the community. On the other hand, if the land falls short, a portion of the community hives off like a swarm of bees, and settles in some government or province where there is

enough, and where they are always sure of a cordial welcome, for they bring with them industry, wealth, and cultivation. So firmly is this system established in Russia—as, indeed, it is generally in the East—and so suitable is it to the circumstances of the people, that, although it has many inconveniences, and checks the improvement of agriculture by the sort of *community of land* which it establishes, and its frequent re-partition, the peasants resolutely resist any attempt at its removal and limitation, and cling to it as the great charter which secures to them all the means of living and bringing up their children. In some instances it has been given up, and the land permanently allotted to each inhabitant; but they have almost always recurred to the old system, as the only one fitted to their circumstances. It is so: it almost realises the aspirations of the Socialists of Paris, as it did those of the Spartans; and it is a curious circumstance, indicating how extremes meet, that the nearest approximation that ever has been made in modern Europe to the visions of the Communists, is amidst the serfs, and under the Czar of Russia.

31. A very simple reason chains the peasants in the greater part of Russia to the conditions of feudal servitude: it is necessity. Slavery is the condition of existence. Writers in England are, for the most part, strangely misled on this subject by what they see around them. They behold their own farmers living in comfort, often rising to affluence, each on his own possession, and they ask, why should not a similar state of things arise in Russia? They forget that the English farmer has a county bank near him, to furnish him with the means of improvement; a canal or a railway at his door, to transport his produce to market—an unfailing vent in numerous great towns for its disposal; ample means of purchasing the most approved implements, and learning the best methods of cultivation in the publications to which he has access. In all these respects the situation of the Russian peasant is not analogous, but a contrast. Situ-

ated in the midst of a vast and thinly-peopled wilderness, he is fortunate if he is only three or four hundred miles from any seaport, thirty or forty miles from any considerable town. Canals or railways there are none; banks are unknown, and if established, he has no security to offer for advances; his capital is confined to the axe which he carries on his shoulder, and the plough which he steers with his hands. Instead of the mild climate which enables country labour to go on, country animals to pasture in the open fields, during the greater part of the winter, he is doomed to inactivity during eight months in the year by three or four feet of snow upon the ground, and compelled to make the most of a brief summer to gather stock to live on during a long and dreary winter. How are animals to be fed, the wages of freemen paid, markets found, or freemen to exist, under such circumstances? Withdraw the capital of the landowners; throw the slaves upon their own resources, or the imaginary wages of labour in the present state of society, and the human race would perish, in a great part of Russia, as fast as, from the want of some similarly protective system, it has recently melted away in Ireland. The first winter would gather many millions to their fathers.

32. M. Haxthausen, whose very interesting work has thrown such light on the rural economy and agricultural population of Russia, has enumerated three particulars in which the peasants of that country differ from those of western Europe, and which render any general and compulsory enfranchisement of the serfs extremely perilous, if not impossible. 1. The mass of disposable capital available to carry on cultivation by means of free labourers, paid by day's wages, bears no sort of proportion either to the wants of the inhabitants or the immense extent of arable land which requires to be cultivated. 2. In a great part of the empire the existing value of the product of the soil, if sold, so far from enabling the cultivators to pay any rent,

would not even cover the expenses of cultivation. 3. In the remoter provinces, or where seaports are distant and money scarce, the only possible mode of paying a rent is by rendering forced labour legal, for there are no means of turning the rude produce into money. A similar necessity has been felt in similar circumstances in other countries. Witness the services in kind, and obligations to render rent in labour, formerly universal, still known in the remoter parts of Scotland. Accordingly, it has been often found in Russia that peasants whom the proprietors, from motives of humanity, or in imitation of the emperor, have put under the obrok system, and who enjoy the entire fruits of their labour after paying a certain annual sum, are much less at their ease than the old serfs, and they in general leave the cultivation of their fields to seek a less laborious existence in towns. In many instances, such has been their suffering from having incurred the destitution of freedom, that they have returned to their masters, and requested to be again made serfs. In general, it has been observed that emancipation has not succeeded, except in circumstances where easy modes of earning subsistence in other ways exist; and hence M. Haxthausen judiciously concludes that the liberation of the serfs should never be made a general or compulsory measure in Russia, but should be left to the wants and interests of each locality.*

33. It is not to be supposed from this, however, that slavery in Russia is not both a very great social evil, and eminently dangerous to the rest of Europe, and that he would not be the best friend of both who could devise and establish a method for its gradual and safe abolition. Probably that method is to be found only in the progressive rise of towns and spread of manufactures, which, by rendering the obrok system more general, should give the slaves the means of purchasing, and the masters the desire of selling, freedom to

* Written in 1852. The emancipation of the serfs, since carried out by the present Emperor, has entirely confirmed these views.

them. It is not easy to see, however, how this safe and wise method, which is analogous to the way in which it imperceptibly died out in the states of western Europe, is to spread generally in a country of such enormous extent as Russia, possessing eighteen times the area of Britain and Ireland, in Europe alone, intersected by few rivers, and for the most part so far distant from the sea-coast. Its inhabitants seem chained by their physical circumstances to the system of compulsory labour for an indefinite course of years. This system provides amply, and better than any other under such circumstances could, for their subsistence, and the gratification of the animal wants of life; but it provides for nothing more. No gradation of rank can exist among the labouring classes while it continues; all are equally well fed, and equally ill civilised. The spread of knowledge, the extrication of genius, the growth of artificial wants, are alike impossible. If this state of matters is a great evil to the inhabitants of this empire, what is it to the rest of Europe, when it promotes the growth of a population of sixty millions, doubling every seventy years, and all nearly equally supplied with the physical, and destitute of the intellectual food of man? Perhaps the only safeguard against the encroachments of such a colossus, directed in politics and war with consummate ability, is to be found in the growth of a similar colossus, similarly directed, on the other side; and it would be a curious object for the contemplation of philosophy in future times, if the barbarism of infant could be stopped only by that of aged civilisation, and the ambition of the Czar, heading the strength of the desert, was first checked by the ambition of the Emperor leading forth the forces induced by the Communist doctrines of Paris.

34. Marquis Custine says, that in Russia we are perpetually reminded of two things—the absence of the Sun and the presence of Power. Both are equally important alike in their social and external effects; perhaps the last is the necessary consequence of the first. A

very simple reason makes, and ever must make, the Russians desirous above all things of escaping out of their own country: it is the severity of its climate. Those who live in a region where the snow covers the ground for eight months in the year, and the long nights of winter are illuminated only by the cold light of the aurora borealis, long with inexpressible ardour for the genial warmth and sunny hills of the south, where the skies are ever blue, the sun ever shines, and nature teems with the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. The shores of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn, the dome of St Sophia, are not only the secret dream of ambition to every Russian, but the undoubted object of their expectation. “I do not wish Constantinople,” said Nicholas; “my empire is already too large; but I know that I or my successors must have it: you might as well arrest a stream in its descent from a mountain, as the Russians in their advance to the Hellespont.” The habits which necessity has given to them, permanently fit, and ever must fit them for foreign conquest. Their life is a continual conflict with the severity of nature; actual warfare, as to the Roman soldiers, is felt chiefly as a relaxation from the rude but invigorating discipline of peace. What are the hardships of a campaign to men who never knew the luxury of beds, whose food is black bread and water, who sleep ever on the hard bench or cold ground, and know no pleasure save the simple ones of nature, and the exciting ones of conquest? When the north ceases to communicate vigour to the frame, hardihood to the habits, and ambition to the soul, Russia will cease to be a conquering country, but not till then.

35. The presence of Power is not less universally felt in Russia than the absence of the sun. It is not merely that the Czar is despotic, that his will constitutes law, and that he is the master without control of the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his subjects—the same system is continued, as is always the case in such circumstances, through every inferior grade in society. What

the Emperor is in his council or his palace, every inferior prefect or governor is within the limits of his territory, over his vast dominions. Despotism is the general system, force the constant weapon of authority, fear the universal basis of government. Gross acts of maladministration, indeed, are often made the subject of immediate and terrible punishment; the efforts of government are unceasing to find them out, and the justice of the Czar implacable when they are clearly established. But it may easily be conceived that in a country of such enormous extent, where the machine of government is so complicated, and no free press exists to signalise its abuses, these instances are the exception, not the rule. Power is, in general, undetected in its abuses, or supported in its measures. So universal is the dread of authority in Russia, that it has moulded the national character, determined the national tastes, and even formed the national manners. Obedience is universal, from the Empress on the throne to the humblest serf in his log-house. All do not what they like, or what they would have themselves chosen, but what they are ordered and expected to do. Dissimulation is universal: if they are not happy, they pretend to be so, to avoid the reality of sorrow which awaits expressed discontent. The present Empress (1853), a woman of high spirit and the most captivating manners, is sinking under the incessant labour of amusing and being amused; the fortunes even of the greatest nobles or highest functionaries are wasting away under the enormous expenses imposed on or expected of them by the court. All must exert themselves incessantly, and to the uttermost, to keep up with the demand of authority, or conceal the ennui or discontent which, in reality, is preying upon their bosoms.

36. Clark, the celebrated English traveller, says that there is not a second in Russia, during the day or night, that a blow is not descending on the back or shoulders of some Russian peasant. Notwithstanding a considerable softening of manners since the time when the description was given, it is

still precisely applicable. Corporal chastisement of their slaves is permitted to masters, without any other authority but their own; and except in the classes in the *Tchinn*, who are exempt from that penalty, it is the great engine of authority with all intrusted with judicial power. The punishment of death is abolished by law in all cases except high treason; but such is the severity of the corporal inflictions authorised, that it would be a mercy if it was restored. When a man receives the sentence of above a hundred strokes with the knout, the executioner understands what is meant; by striking at a vital place, he in mercy despatches him at the third or fourth. The police officers lay hold of disorderly persons or malefactors in the streets, and beat them, without the formality of a trial, in the severest manner, without their cries exciting any attention among those who witness it, who, glad that the tempest has not fallen on their shoulders, quietly pass by without either observation or surprise. The nobles and higher classes of the *Tchinn* are exempt from such chastisement; but Siberia is constantly hanging over their heads, the most effectual of all bastinadoes to the mind; and the prisons resound with the cries of those upon whom the punishment of flogging for crime, or at the instance of their masters, is inflicted. The frightful screams of the sufferers under these inflictions leave the most melancholy impression on the minds of such as have heard them; they recall the horrors of slavery among the boasted republican institutions of America.

37. It is this constant recurrence to force, and the frequency and severity of corporal punishments in Russia, which has imprinted at once its regular methodical aspect on the march of government, and their supple character and extraordinary powers of dissimulation on the people. Like a harshly-disciplined regiment, in which the lash is the constant object of apprehension, everything goes on silently and smoothly in Russia. Nothing retards or checks the machine of Government; riots or disturbances of any

sort are unknown ; resistance is never thought of, or, if attempted, is speedily suppressed by the strong arm of power. The country resembles rather a vast army obeying the directions and coerced by the authority of a single general-in-chief, than a great community actuated by separate interests and impelled by various passions. As a necessary consequence of this irresistible force of power and necessity of submission, the character of the Russians has been modified in a most essential degree. Originality or independence of thought is in a great degree unknown ; where these qualities exist, as doubtless they must in many breasts, they are carefully concealed, as the most dangerous qualities which the possessor can discover. Like the Greeks under the Mussulman yoke, the Russians have become perfect adepts in all the arts by which talent eludes the force of authority, and astuteness escapes the discoveries of power. They are admirably skilled in the use of flattery, and, like all persons initiated in that dangerous art, passionately desirous of praise themselves. The Americans do not exceed them in their thirst for national, the French in their passion for individual, praise—the certain proof in both of the secret consciousness of very serious defects. Those who feel none, do not desire the balm. They are most skilful imitators ; and their powers of dissimulation are universally admitted to exceed those of the most accomplished courtiers or skilful diplomatists in western Europe.

38. It was not thus in former days : this dissimulation and address is a contrast to the manliness and simplicity of early times. The Slave originally, like a rude and barbarous savage, was bold, intrepid, and outspoken, pitiless to his enemies, but simple, kind, and guileless to his friends ; and such is still the character of the Cossacks, and of those distant tribes which have not felt the crushing influence of the central government. The principles of freedom had strongly taken root among them, and at a time when all the nations of western Europe were sunk in

slavery, a republic flourished in Novgorod the Great, which rivalled for centuries the energy, as in its fall it equalled the heroism, of the republics of Greece and Rome. It was the dreadful irruption of Bati and the Tartar hordes in the fourteenth century, who overran the whole eastern and southern countries of the empire, and for three long centuries kept them in a state of cruel servitude, which induced this disposition upon them ; they assumed the character because they were subjected to the lot of slaves. During those disastrous centuries the Poles joined their arms to the Tartars ; and the Muscovites, assailed on all sides, and driven to their last fastnesses, were fain to avoid utter destruction by the most abject submission. Ivan IV. first extricated them from this dreadful yoke ; he won for them Kazan, Astrakan, and the boundless realms of Siberia, but it was only to subject them to a tyranny almost as severe as that from which they had escaped, and which won for him the lasting surname of the Terrible. Cruel as it was, his yoke was cheerfully borne for half a century, because it averted the still more dreadful oppression of the Tartars ; and when Peter the Great, a century after, sought to gain for them a place in the European family, he found the Muscovites prepared to submit to any mandates, and ready to be moulded by any will which assumed their direction. Let us not boast of the independent character and fearless disposition of the English peasantry, but rather thank the Almighty, who, in the encircling ocean, has given them a barrier against their enemies. Had the circumstances of both been different—had the Russians been located in Yorkshire, and the Anglo-Saxon on the banks of the Volga—who will affirm that the character of the two nations, despite the all but indelible influence of race, would not have been exchanged ? *

* “ *L'orgueil national s'anéantit parmi les Russes ; ils eurent recours aux artifices qui suppléent à la force chez les hommes condamnés à une obéissance servile ; habiles à tromper les Tartares, ils devinrent aussi, plus savants dans l'art de se tromper mutu-*

39. The Emperor Nicholas has often said that "its distances are the scourge of Russia;" and considered with reference to the march of civilisation, it is obvious that the observation is well founded. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how civilisation can spread generally in a country of such enormous extent, possessing such slender means, natural or artificial, of internal communication, with so few seaports, and these few, for the most part, blocked up half the year with ice. At the accession of Peter the Great, Russia possessed only one seaport (Archangel) on the White Sea; and it was the pressing want of a great harbour to connect it with the commerce and ideas of western Europe which made him lavish such sums, and waste such an enormous amount of human life, in the construction of St Petersburg. The same want is still felt with unmitigated severity in the interior. Civilisation meets with grievous impediments in a country entirely flat, without minerals or coal to stimulate manufactures, covered with snow half the year, in great part shaded by forests, with few navigable rivers, and still fewer canals or railroads, distant from any harbour, and necessarily chained by physical necessity, over great part of its extent, to rude agricultural labour during the whole year where it is practicable. The situation of the basin of the Mississippi, of surpassing fertility, and intersected in every part by a vast network of navigable rivers, which descend from the Alleghanies on the one side and the Rocky Mountains on the other, is not a parallel but a contrast to that of Muscovy; and if we would rightly appreciate the advantages which

Great Britain has derived, and Ireland might have derived, from its insular situation, compact provinces, numerous harbours, and mineral riches, we have only to contemplate what Russia has suffered from the want of them.

40. It results necessarily from these circumstances, that as much as Russia abounds to overflowing in the elements of physical, is she weak in the materials of intellectual strength; and that if a great destiny awaits her, as it plainly does, it is to be found in the conquest of the bodies, not the subjugation of the souls, of men. Civilisation depends entirely on and flows from the higher ranks; there is none of the ascending pressure from below which constitutes so important an element in the society of western Europe. In the very highest ranks it exists in the most refined and captivating form, and one of the many contrasts which strike a foreigner most in that extraordinary country, is the strange contrasts which exist between the manners, habits, and tastes of the nobility and those of the great body of the people. After traversing hundreds of leagues over a country imperfectly cultivated, overrun by forests or swamps, and tilled in the places which the plough has reached by ignorant serfs, the astonished traveller finds himself suddenly landed in an enchanted palace, where the last refinements of European civilisation are to be met with, where the finest copies of the Greek statues adorn marble halls of surpassing magnificence, where the choicest gems of Titian or Raphael enchant the eye, in drawing-rooms enriched with all the luxury of Ormolu and Sèvres; and beautiful women, arrayed in the last Parisian fashion, alternately fascinate the mind by conversation on the most celebrated novels or operas of the day, or charm the senses by the finest melodies of Mozart or Beethoven. It is this strange and startling combination of rudeness with refinement, of coarseness with elegance of taste, of barbarity with the last delicacies of civilisation, in one class, with the first attempts at improvement in those beneath it, which strikes the

element; achetant des barbares leur sécurité personnelle, ils furent plus avides d'argent et moins sensibles aux injures et à la honte; exposés sans cesse à l'insolence des tyrans étrangers, il se pourrait que le caractère actuel des Russes conservât quelques-unes des taches dont l'a souillé la barbarie des Mongols. Le soutien des boyards ayant disparu, il fallait obéir au souverain sous peine d'être regardé comme traître ou comme rebelle; et il n'existe plus aucune voie légitime de s'opposer à ses volontés, en un mot on vit naître l'autocratie."—KARAMSIN, *Histoire de Russie*, v. 44; vi. 351.

traveller at every step in Russia. Diderot long ago said that "the Russians were rotten before they were ripe;" but it would be more just to say that they are ripe in one class before they are even beginning to form fruit in those below it.

41. The Russians are essentially an imitative people, and they have carried talent in this respect to a length unequalled in any other age or country of the world. Their manners, their fashions, their arts, their luxuries, their architecture, their painting, are all copied from those of western Europe. Like the inhabitants of all northern countries, they are passionately fond of travelling, for this plain reason, that they seek in foreign countries gratifications they cannot find in their own. They make good use of the opportunities they thus enjoy: they are well known as the most lavish patrons of art both in France and Italy, and they carry back with them to their deserts not only the finest specimens of ancient statuary or modern painting, but the most refined taste for their beauties, and correct appreciation of their excellencies. Their architecture, in all but the very oldest structures of the empire, is all copied from the Greek or Roman; it is the Parthenon of Athens, the Pantheon of Rome, at every step. In the Kremlin alone, and some of the oldest structures of Nijni and Great Novgorod, are to be seen the ancient and native emanations of Russian genius before it was crushed by the barbarism of the Tartars, or nipped in the bud by the imitative passion of Peter the Great. The eye of the traveller is fascinated by these long lines of pillared scenery interspersed with monuments and obelisks; but after a time it palls on the senses, from its very richness and uniformity: it is felt to be an exotic unsuited to the climate, and which cannot take root in the soil; and the imagination sighs for the original architecture of the English cathedrals and the Moorish Alhambra, which mark the native-born conceptions of the Gothic and Arabian conquerors of the world.

42. But if western Europe has little

to fear from the rivalry of Russian art or the flights of Russian genius, it is otherwise with the imitation of the MILITARY ART, which has been carried to the very highest point in the Muscovite armies. The army consisted in 1840 of 72 regiments of infantry, 24 of light cavalry, 90 batteries of foot and 12 of horse artillery. Each regiment consists of 7 battalions of 1000 men each; so that the infantry alone, if complete, would contain above 500,000 men. The guards, which are composed of the élite of the whole male population of the empire, consist of 12 regiments of infantry, 12 of cavalry, 12 batteries of foot and 4 of horse artillery, which are always kept complete. Besides this, there are 24 regiments of heavy reserve cavalry, and 12 batteries of reserve horse-artillery, and the corps of the Caucasus, Orenburg, Siberia, Finland, and the interior, which contain 100 battalions of 1000 men each, 40 regiments of cavalry, and 36 batteries of cannon. Besides these immense forces, the Emperor has at his disposal 164 regiments of Cossacks, each containing 800 warriors, of whom 56 come from the steppes of the Don, and are superior to any troops in the world for the service of light cavalry. If these immense forces were all complete, they would contain above 800,000 infantry, 250,000 horses, and 100,000 artillerymen. But the ranks are very far, indeed, from being really filled up; and in no country in the world, except, perhaps, America, is the difference so great between the numerical force of an army on paper and its effective muster in the field. The reason is, that numerous officers in every grade have an interest in representing the force as greater than it really is, as they draw pay and rations for the whole, and appropriate such as is allotted to the non-existing to themselves. Still, after making every allowance for these great deficiencies, it is not going too far to assert that Russia, when her strength is fully called forth, could produce 400,000 infantry, 100,000 cavalry, and 50,000 artillerymen for service beyond her own frontier, though the distances of the empire are so great

that it would require more than a year to bring even the half of this immense force to bear on any point in Europe or Asia.*

43. A very curious and interesting part of the institutions of Russia is to be found in the MILITARY COLONIES, which are established in several of the southern provinces of the empire. They owe their origin to the Emperor Alexander, who, being struck with the protection which similar establishments on the frontiers of Transylvania had long afforded to the Austrians and Hungarians in warding off the predatory incursions of the Mussulman horse, resolved in 1817 to found colonies of the same sort in several parts of his dominions. The system was extended and improved, under the able guidance of General de Witt, in the southern provinces in 1821. Several divisions of veterans, regular cavalry, were colonised in this manner, and a floating population of seventy thousand and wandering tribes settled on certain districts allotted to them. The principle of these establishments is, that an immense tract of arable and pasture land is divided among a certain number of leading colonists, who are married, and for the most part have families, each of whom holds his lands, like the military tenants of former days in Europe, under the obligation of maintaining constantly a horseman and horses completely equipped, and

providing for his maintenance. In return, he is entitled to the labour of the cavalier, when not actually in the field. In addition to these horsemen, who are constantly ready for service, there are a much greater number of substitutes, or *suppléans*, as they are called, who also are trained to the use of arms, and being all expert horsemen, are ready at a moment's warning to take the principal's place if he is killed, or disabled for active service. All the children of the colony are trained to military service, and are bound to serve, if required, twenty-two years, after which they obtain their discharge and a grant of land to themselves. The whole are subjected to the most rigorous military discipline, and regulated by a code of laws entirely for themselves. At first the children were brought up somewhat after the Spartan fashion, being taken from their parents at the early age of eight years, and bred exclusively at the military schools; but this was found to be attended with so many evils that the system was essentially modified by various regulations established by the Emperor Nicholas between 1829 and 1831. At present the military colonies form a sort of permanent cantonment of a part of the army, and they can, at a moment's warning, furnish 100,000 soldiers, fully drilled and equipped, capable of being raised by the *suppléans* and principal colonists to 250,000 men.

44. The COSSACKS, so well known during the war with Napoleon, form another sort of military colony on a still greater scale. Their lands are of immense extent, embracing fifty-seven thousand square geographical miles—about two-thirds of the entire area of Great Britain, and incomparably more level and fertile. They are all held under the obligation of producing, when required, the whole male population of the country capable of bearing arms, for the service of the Emperor. They constantly furnish 100,000 men, distributed in 164 regiments, to the imperial forces. So strong, however, is the military spirit among them, and so thoroughly are they all trained from

* RUSSIAN ARMY, August 1853 :—

	Men.	Guns.	Horses.
Guards, . . .	60,296	116	17,100
Grenadiers, . . .	47,178	112	8,900
1st corps, . . .	59,178	112	8,800
2d do., . . .	59,178	112	8,800
3d do., . . .	59,178	112	8,800
4th do., . . .	59,178	112	9,400
5th do., . . .	59,178	112	8,800
6th do., . . .	59,178	112	8,800
Reserve Horse, . .	33,979	96	35,760
Active, . . .	496,821	996	99,160
Caucasian, . . .	133,508	176	16,188
Finland, . . .	13,880	16	1,300
Orenburg, . . .	21,000	24	10,480
Siberia, . . .	29,100	24	10,000
	196,488	240	37,868

Grand Total, . . . 693,309 1,236 137,028

—United Service Journal, Aug. 1853, p. 496.

infancy to the duties of horsemanship, that if summoned to his standard, they could easily furnish double this force, either for the defence of the country or the purposes of aggressive warfare. Glory, plunder, wine, and women, form irresistible attractions, which impel the entire nation into the career of conquest. It is their immense bodies of horse, more nearly resembling the hordes of Timour or Genghis Khan than the regular armies of western Europe, which constitute the real strength of the Czar ; and as their predatory and roving habits never decline, and cannot do so from the nature of the country which they inhabit, while their numbers are constantly and rapidly increasing, it is easy to foresee how formidable they must ere long become to the liberties of the other states of Christendom.

45. What renders the Russian armies the more formidable is the extreme ability with which they are trained, disciplined, and commanded. Whatever may be thought of the inferiority, in an intellectual point of view, of a nation where only 1 in 280 is at the entire schools of the State of any description, the same cannot be said of their military training, which is conducted on the most approved system, and in the most efficient manner. All the improvements in arms, tactics, accoutrements, evolutions, or discipline, which experience or science has suggested to the other nations of Europe, are, with the rapidity of the electric telegraph, transmitted to Russia, and taught in the military schools which train its youth for their duties in the field, or adopted in its vast arrays. The Russian army, accordingly, exhibits a combination of physical strength and intellectual power—of the energy of the desert and the resources of civilisation, of the unity of despotism and the vigour of democracy—which no other country in modern times can exhibit, and to find a parallel to which we must go back to the Roman legions in the days of Trajan or Severus. The ranks of the infantry are recruited by a compulsory levy, generally, in time of peace, of five in a thousand—of war,

of two or three in a hundred ; but the cavalry, in a country abounding so much in nomad tribes, and where, in many vast districts, the whole male population nearly live on horseback, is in great part made up by voluntary enrolment ; and as the whole rising talent of the empire is drawn into the military or diplomatic lines, it may easily be conceived what a formidable body, under such direction, the military force of the empire must become. Every soldier is entitled to his discharge after twenty-two years' service in the line, or twenty in the guards ; and he leaves the ranks a freeman, if before he was a serf—a privilege which goes far to diminish the hardship of a compulsory levy on the rural population. The weakness of the army consists in the rarity of integrity in its inferior officers, which is as conspicuous in general as the honour and patriotism of its generals and commanders : the necessary consequence of the want of a class of gentry from which they can alone be drawn.

46. The navy, like the army in Russia, is maintained by a compulsory levy, which amounts in time of peace to 33,000 men. The fleet consists of thirty ships of the line and twenty-two frigates in the Baltic, and to these were added, before the Crimean war, sixteen sail of the line and twelve frigates in the Black Sea, carrying in all 6000 guns. These large forces give the Czar, in a manner, the command of those two inland seas, which cannot be regarded in any other light but as vast Russian lakes. But as the sailors who man them are accustomed only to navigate a sea shut up with ice during half the year, or to plough the comparatively placid waters of the Euxine, they could never contend in the open sea with those who have been trained in the storms of the German Ocean, or braved the perils of the Atlantic. Still, as the Russian sailors, like their soldiers, are individually brave, and stand to their guns, as well as point them, as steadily as any Englishman, they may eventually prove formidable even to the colossal maritime strength of England ; the more especially when it

is recollected that Cronstadt is within a fortnight's sail of the mouth of the Thames; that the fleet is constantly kept manned and afloat in summer, by the compulsory levy; that thirty thousand soldiers are habitually put on board those in the Baltic, to accustom the crews to their conveyance to distant quarters; and that the interests of Great Britain and Russia in the East so frequently come into collision, that several times during the last thirty years they have been on the eve of a rupture, once with France and Russia united against England.

47. The revenue of Russia, though not considerable compared with that of France or England, is perfectly adequate to the maintenance of its vast establishments, from the high value of money and low rate of pay of nearly all the public functionaries, civil and military, in the empire. It amounts to 460,000,000 paper rubles, or 500,000,000 francs (£20,000,000), and is raised chiefly by, 1st, A capitation-tax of four francs (3s. 6d.) on every male inhabitant, that of serfs being paid by their masters; 2d, A tax on the capital of merchants, ascertained by their own disclosure, checked by judicial authority; 3d, The revenues of the Crown domains, with the obrok paid by the emancipated serfs, who are very numerous; 4th, The custom-house duties by sea and land, which, on articles of foreign manufacture, are for the most part very heavy; 5th, The stamp-duties, which on sales of heritable property amount to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent; 6th, A duty on spirituous liquors and salt; 7th, The imperial duties on the mines of gold and platina, which are daily becoming more productive, from the great quantities of these valuable metals, now amounting to £3,000,000 annually, which are worked out in the Ural and Atlas mountains. It cannot be said that any of these taxes are peculiarly oppressive, or such as weigh on the industry or capital of the nation; but they produce, when taken together, a sum which is very large in a country where the value of money is so high, and the standard of comfort so low,

that the common soldiers are deemed to be adequately remunerated by a pay which, after the deductions for rations and other necessities are made, leaves them scarcely a halfpenny a-day to themselves.*

48. As the distances in Russia are so prodigious that it takes at least a year and a half to gather up its mighty strength, the principal armies are permanently disposed in positions where they may be comparatively near the probable scene of military operations, and best favour the designs of the diplomatic body. The first army, 112,000 strong, is composed of three corps, and stationed in Poland and the adjacent frontiers of Russia: it is intended to overawe the discontented in the former country, and hang like a thundercloud on the rear of Austria and Prussia. The second army, also 112,000 strong, is cantoned in the southern provinces of the empire, between Odessa and the Danube: it is destined to intimidate the Turks, and give weight to the ceaseless diplomatic encroachments of Russia at Constantinople. The third, which musters 120,000 combatants, is stationed as a reserve at Moscow, Smolensko, and in the central provinces of the empire: it is intended to reinforce either of the great armies on the frontier which may require to be supported, and is advanced nearer to the scene of active operations the moment that hostilities commence. In addition to this there are never less than 60,000 men, including the guards, at St Petersburg, and 40,000 on the Caucasus, or in the province of Georgia to the south of it. These immense

* The Emperor Nicholas, since his accession to the throne, has laboured assiduously to diminish the public expenses and check the frauds continually practised in the distribution of the national revenue. In his own household and guards he has effected a reduction, with no diminution of splendour, of no less than 67,500,000 paper rubles. The expenses of the kitchen and cellar were reduced at once from 600 paper rubles to 200 a-day. By similar economies in every department he was enabled to carry on the costly war in Turkey and Russia, in 1827 and 1828, without any sensible increase to the public debt. In 1830 it amounted in all to 1,300,000,000 francs, or £52,000,000. —SCHNITZLER, *Hist. Int.*, ii. 184-186.

forces may all be rendered disposable without weakening any garrison or military station in the interior. They are, however, so far separated from each other that it requires a long time to concentrate them on any one point, or produce the imposing array of 160,000 warriors, whom Alexander, in 1815, reviewed on the plains of Vertus in Champagne.

49. Montesquieu long ago said that honour is the principle of a monarchy, and virtue of a republic. Both are true, in a certain sense, of society generally, though not of every individual of which it is composed; for though few are willing to practise these virtues themselves, yet all are ready to exact them of their neighbours. Public opinion inclines to the right side, because it is founded on our judgment of others; private acts often to the wrong, because they are prompted by our own inclinations. If we are to form our opinion from the example of Russia, we should be forced to conclude that the principle of despotism is CORRUPTION. This arises from the selfish desire of gain in individuals being unchecked by the opinion of those who, as they do not participate in, are not biassed by it; and from the immensity of the empire, and the innumerable number of functionaries employed, rendering all the vigilance of the emperor and of the higher officers of state inadequate to check the general abuses which prevail. Doubtless there are many men in the highest situations, both civil and military, in Russia, who are as pure and honourable as any in the world; but they are the exceptions, not the rule. Generally speaking, and as a national characteristic, the functionaries in Russia are corrupt. The taking of bribes is general; justice is too often venal; the chiefs of the police, on the most moderate salaries, soon accumulate large fortunes; and even elevated functionaries are often not proof against the seductions of a handsome woman, or a magnificent Cashmere shawl for their wives or daughters.* The Emperor

Alexander, in a moment of irritation at some great dilapidations which he had discovered in the naval stores, said, "If they knew where to hide them, they would steal my ships of the line; if they could draw my teeth without waking me, they would extract them during the night."*

ukases, or decrees of the Senate, passed, 1821 had remained unexecuted; in the single government of Konrok 600 lay buried and unknown in the public archives. In the same year there were 2,850,000 causes in dependence in the different tribunals of the empire, and 127,000 persons under arrest. The Senate decides annually 40,000 causes on an average; in 1825 the number was 60,000; which sufficiently proves that the vast majority must have been decided in absence, or without any consideration.—SCHNITZLER, *Histoire Int. de la Russie*, ii. 171, 175, 176.

* In the trial between Prince Dolgorouki and Count Woronzoff in December 1861, the following very curious and interesting letter from Alexander was put in evidence, and proved at the trial. See *Times*, December 23, 1861. The letter was written on the eve of his accession to the throne:—

"Yes, my dear friend, I repeat to you, I am by no means satisfied with my position: it is far too brilliant for my character, which only desires tranquillity and peace. A Court is not a place made for me; I suffer as often as I must play my part, and it curdles my blood to witness the meannesses committed every moment to secure some distinction for which I would not have given three sous. I feel myself unhappy at being compelled to share the society of people whom I would not take for my domestic servants, and who occupy here the highest posts—such as . . . who are not worthy even to be named, and who, haughty towards their inferiors, crawl in the dust before him whom they fear. In short, my dear friend, I don't feel myself at all fitted for the place which I hold at the present moment, and still less for that which I am destined one day to occupy, but which I have sworn to renounce in one way or the other. Our affairs are in incredible disorder; pillaging on all sides; all the departments are badly administered; order appears to be banished from every place, and the empire increases in nothing save in extent. How, then, is one man capable of governing it—nay, more, of reforming the abuses? It is absolutely impossible, not only for a man of ordinary capacity like myself, but even for a man of genius; and I have always held the principle that it was better not to undertake any task than to execute it ill: it is on this principle that I have taken the resolution of which I spoke to you above. My plan is, that having once renounced a post so thorny—I cannot fix the precise epoch—I shall go and settle with my wife on the banks of the Rhine, where I shall live tranquilly as a private gentleman, and find happiness in the company of my friends and in the study of nature."

* On the accession of the Emperor Nicholas in 1826, it was discovered that in sixteen governments of Russia out of no less than 2749

50. No words can convey an idea of the extent to which this system of pillage, both on the public and on individuals, prevails on the part of those intrusted with power in Russia; those practically acquainted with the administration of affairs in Great Britain may approach to a conception of its magnitude, from the strenuous efforts constantly making to introduce the same system into the British dominions, when the vigilant eye of Parliament and Government is for any considerable time averted. It is the great cause of the unexpected reverses or trifling successes which have so often attended the Russian arms on the first breaking out of fresh hostilities. So universal and systematic had been the fraud of the whole functionaries connected with the armies, that they were often found, when they took the field, to be little more than half the strength which was represented on paper, and on which the cabinet relied in commencing the campaign. When Nicholas declared war against Turkey in 1828, he relied on Wittgenstein's army in the south being, as the returns showed, 120,000 strong; but it was never able to bring 80,000 sabres and bayonets into the field: and when the army approached the Danube, he found, to his utter dismay, that the wood for the bridges which were represented as already thrown over the Danube, was *not even* cut in the forests of Bessarabia.

51. Sometimes, indeed, the enormous abuses that are going on are revealed to the emperor, and then the stroke of justice falls like a thunderbolt from heaven on the head of the culprit; but these examples are so rare in comparison with the enormous number of dilapidations which are going on in every direction, that they produce no lasting impression. Like the terrible railway or coal-mine accidents which frequently occur in England, or steamboat explosions in America, they produce general consternation for a few days, but are soon forgotten. Occasionally, too, the malversation is found to involve such elevated functionaries, that the tracing of guilt and its punishment are alike impossible. At a review in April 1826,

soon after his accession to the throne, four men, dressed as peasants, with great difficulty succeeded in penetrating to the Emperor Nicholas, near his magnificent palace of Tsareko-Selo, and revealed to him an enormous system of dilapidation of the public naval stores which was going on at Cronstadt, where cordage, anchors, and sails belonging to the Crown were publicly exposed at the bazaar, and purchased at a low price by foreigners. Nicholas instantly ordered an officer with three hundred men to surround the bazaar; and upon doing so, ample proofs of the truth of the charges were discovered. Orders were given to prosecute the delinquents with the utmost rigour, and the imperial seal was put on the dilapidated stores; but the culprits were persons of great consideration. In the night of the 21st June following, a bright light was seen from St Petersburg to illuminate the western sky, and in the morning it was cautiously whispered that the bazaar had been totally consumed by fire, and with it the whole evidence of the guilt of the accused. The *Gazette* of St Petersburg made no mention of the fraud, or of the conflagration by which its punishment had been prevented.

52. As a set-off to this inherent vice and consequent weakness in the Russian empire, there is one most important source of strength which is every day contrasting more strongly with the opposite cause of decline operating in western Europe. Emigration among them is very general: in no country in the world is a larger proportion of the population more able and prepared, on the slightest motive, to locate themselves in fresh habitations. Armed with his hatchet on his shoulder—his invariable auxiliary—the Muscovite peasant is often inclined to leave his log-house and his fields, and carve out for himself fresh ones in some distant or more fertile forest. Followed by his flocks, his mares, and his herds, the Cossack or the dweller on the steppes is ever ready to exchange the pasture of his fathers for that of other lands. But there is this vital difference between these migrations and the emi-

gration of western Europe—they are *internal* only; they do not diminish, they augment the strength of the State. From the British Islands, at this time, an annual stream of 350,000 emigrants, nearly all in the prime of life, issues, of whom two-thirds settle in the wilds of America;* and from Germany the fever of moving has, since the revolution of 1848, become so violent that 100,000 in 1852, and 149,000 in 1853, left the Fatherland. It is needless to say that such prodigious drains, springing out of the passions and necessities of civilisation, cannot go on for any length of time without seriously weakening the strength and lessening the population of western Europe. But the very reverse of all this obtains in Russia, for there the movement is all within; what is lost to one part of the empire is gained to another, and a rate of increase approaching the Transatlantic appears, not on a distant hemisphere, but on the plains of the Ukraine and the banks of the Volga. Nor will it for long be otherwise, for the remote situation of the Russian peasants renders them ignorant of other countries. and averse to the sea; while their poverty precludes them from moving, ex-

cept with their hatchets to a neighbouring forest, or their herds to an adjoining steppe.

53. To this it must be added that the introduction of the free-trade system into Great Britain has already given a very great impulse to agricultural industry in Russia, where it is advancing as rapidly as its rate is declining in the British Islands. As this change has arisen from the necessary effect of the wealth, civilisation, and advanced years of the British empire, so there is no chance of its undergoing any alteration, and it must come every day to evince a more powerful influence on the relative strength and fortunes of the two empires. Even before the free-trade system had been two years established in Great Britain, it had, despite the rude system of agriculture there prevalent, nearly doubled the exportation of grain from the harbours of Russia,† and tripled its value, while it has caused the production of cereal crops in the British Islands to decline 4,000,000 of quarters. The effect of such a continued and increasing augmentation on the one side, and decline on the other, cannot fail ere long to exercise a powerful influence

* EMIGRATION FROM THE BRITISH ISLES, 1850-1852.

Year.	Number of Emigrants.	Excess of Births over Deaths.	Total Annual Decrease.
1850, . . .	280,484 . . .	240,000 . . .	40,484
1851, . . .	335,966 . . .	240,000 . . .	95,966
1852, . . .	368,764 . . .	250,000 . . .	118,764

Total in three years, 985,214 . . . 730,000 . . . 255,214

—*Emigration Report, March 1853.* The annual increase of the births over the deaths is about 230,000; so that, when the emigration is taken into view, there is an annual decline of 120,000 or 130,000 in the entire population. This appeared in the census of 1851. Though the great emigration had only recently begun, it showed a decline in Great Britain and Ireland, taken together, of 600,000 souls since 1845; in Ireland, taken singly, of 2,000,000.

—See Census 1851, and *Ante*, c. 1, § 58.

† EXPORTATION ON AN AVERAGE OF THREE YEARS OF WHEAT, BARLEY, AND OATS FROM RUSSIA.

Years.	[Tchetverts.	Value in Rubles.	In Pounds Sterling.
1824—6, . . .	3,398,127 . . .	11,913,200 . . .	£1,970,000
1827—9, . . .	7,486,012 . . .	24,191,500 . . .	4,031,500
1830—32, . . .	11,324,831 . . .	39,407,400 . . .	6,566,000
1833—35, . . .	2,244,266 . . .	10,357,900 . . .	1,722,900
1836—38, . . .	7,540,299 . . .	31,873,200 . . .	5,312,200
1839—41, . . .	8,864,364 . . .	47,753,900 . . .	7,958,900
1842—44, . . .	8,685,907 . . .	40,131,400 . . .	6,689,000
1845—47, † . . .	14,349,986 . . .	115,483,700 . . .	19,262,100

—TEGOBORSKI, i. 350.

Captain Larcom has reported that the wheat produce of Ireland has declined 1,500,000 quarters since 1845; and the return of sales in the market-towns of England indicates a diminished production of wheat alone in Great Britain of at least 2,500,000 quarters more.

† Free trade in England.

on the fortunes and relative strength of the two empires; and when it is recollected that the increase is given to a young and rising, and the drain taken from an old and stationary State, it may easily be foreseen how important in a short time the difference must become.

54. What, then, is the destiny of Russia?—for a destiny, and that a great one, she evidently has. Her rapid growth and ceaseless progress through all the mutations of fortune in the adjoining states clearly bespeak not only consummate wisdom of general internal direction, but the evolutions of a mighty design.* She is probably not intended to shine in the career of civilisation. Her sons will not, at least for long, rival the arts of Italy or the chivalry of France, the intellect of England or the imagination of Germany. There will be no Shakespeares or Miltons, no Racines or Corneilles, no Tassos or Raphaels, no Schillers or Goethes, amidst the countless millions of her boundless territory; but there may be—there will be—an Alexander, an Attila, a Timour. Literature, science, the arts, are the efflorescence of civilisation; but in the moral, not less than the physical world, efflorescence is succeeded by decline, the riches of the harvest border on the decay of autumn. There is a winter in nations as well as in seasons; the vulture and the eagle are required to cleanse the moral not less than the physical world. If the glories of civilisation are denied to Russia, she is saved from its corruption; if she does not exhibit the beauties of summer,

she is not stained by its consequent decay. Hardened by suffering, inured to privation, compelled to struggle eternally with the severities of climate, the difficulties of space, the energy of the human character is preserved entire amidst her ice and snows. From thence, as from the glaciers of the Alps, the destroying but purifying streams descend upon the plenty of the vales beneath. Russia will evidently conquer Turkey, and plant her eagles on the dome of St Sophia; she will do what the Crusaders failed in doing—she will rescue the Holy Shrines from the hands of the Infidels. But that, though an important part, is not the whole of her destiny. Still, when the Cross is seen triumphant over the wide expanse of the Lower Empire, will her millions remain in their snowy deserts, invigorated by necessity, hardened by suffering, panting for conquest. She is never destined to be civilised, save for the purposes of war; but she is destined to do what intellect and peace can never do. Scythia will for ever remain what it has been from the earliest times—THE STOREHOUSE OF NATIONS, THE SCOURGE OF VICIOUS CIVILISATION.

55. It has been well observed, that the great difficulty in Russia is, that it contains, in a manner, *two different people*; the one on a level with the most highly civilised states of Europe, the other, at the utmost, only fashioned to civilisation by the police. The Marquis Custine says, “it contains a society half barbarous, but restrained in order by fear; and though that is by

* TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASE OF RUSSIA SINCE 1462.

Epochs.	Extent in Square German Miles, 16 to an English.	Population, Approximate.
Under Ivan III., in 1462,	18,200 .	6,000,000
At his death, in 1505,	37,137 .	10,000,000
At the death of Ivan IV., in 1584, (Conquest of Kazan, Astrakan, Siberia.)	125,465 .	12,000,000
At the death of Michael I., in 1645,	254,361 .	12,500,000
At the accession of Peter the Great, in 1689,	263,900 .	15,000,000
At his death, in 1725,	273,815 .	20,000,000
At the accession of Catherine II., in 1763,	319,538 .	25,000,000
At her death, in 1796,	331,810 .	36,000,000
At the death of Alexander, in 1825,	367,494 .	53,000,000
Under Nicholas, in 1829,	373,000 .	55,000,000
Under Nicholas, in 1852,	376,000 .	70,000,000

no means true of the first people, it is strictly so of the last. The interests, feelings, and desires of these two different people are irreconcilable; an impassable abyss separates them. That which the first desires with the most passionate ardour, is a matter of indifference or unintelligible to the other. The highly-educated classes, acquainted with the society, familiar with the literature, impregnated with the ideas of western Europe, often sigh for its institutions, its excitements, its freedom. The immense mass of the peasantry, the great majority of the trading classes, repel such ideas as repugnant to their feelings, at variance with their habits, subversive of their faith. The first long for parliaments, elections, constitutional government, a national literature, a free press; the latter are satisfied to go on as their fathers did before them, with their Czar, their bishops, their popes—obeying every mandate of government as a decree of the Most High; desiring, knowing nothing beyond their village, their fields, their steppe. For which of these different people is the emperor to legislate? for the enlightened few or the ignorant many; for the three hundred thousand travelled and highly-polished nobles, or the seventy millions of simple and unlettered peasants? Yet must institutions of some kind be established, legislation of some sort go on; and the great difficulty in Russia is, that the one class in secret desires what the other in sincerity abominates, and what would be beneficial to the former would prove utter ruin to the latter.

56. This great difficulty, by far the most serious which exists in Russian society, was much aggravated after the termination of the war by the feelings with which the *officers* of the army returned from the fields of their conquest and their fame. In the hard-fought campaigns of Germany and France they had stood side by side with the ardent youth of the Teutonic universities, whose feelings had been warmed by the fervour of the Tugenbund, whose imaginations had been kindled by the poetry of Körner; at the capture of Paris they had seen the world in tran-

sports at the magnanimous words of the Czar in praise of Liberal institutions; many of them had shared in his reception in London, and witnessed the marvellous spectacle of a free people emerging unscathed from a contest, from which they themselves had been extricated only by committing their capital to the flames. Immense was the influence which these circumstances came ere long to exercise on the highly-educated youth of Russia, speaking French and English as well as natives, associating with the very highest society of these nations, and contrasting the varied excitements and intellectual pleasures at their command, with the stillness and monotony, save from physical sensations, of their own fettered land. They saw civilisation on its bright side only: they had basked in its sunshine, they had not felt its shade. They returned home, as so many travellers do, to the cold regions of the north, discontented with their own country, and passionately desirous of a change. These sentiments were dangerous; their expression might consign the utterer at once to Siberia: they were shrouded in silence, like a secret passion in the female heart from a jealous husband; but like all other emotions, they only became the more violent from the necessity of being concealed, and came in many noble breasts entirely to absorb the mind, to the exclusion of all objects of pacific interest or ambition.

57. Ignorant of the spread of passions which were destined ere long to cause the earth to quake beneath his feet, and carried away by the intoxicating incense which the loudly expressed admiration of the world had lavished upon him at Paris, the Emperor Alexander returned to St Petersburg in 1814, after his magnificent reception in London, with a mind set rather on vast projects for the pacification of the world, the extirpation of war, and the spread of the sway of the Gospel in every land, than the establishment of any safe or practicable reforms in his own. His benevolence was great, his heart large, his imagination warm; but his practical acquaintance with men was small,

and he aimed rather at reforming mankind at once by the ukases of despotism, than putting matters in a train for the slow and almost imperceptible growth of real improvement, working through the changed habits and desires of the people. He re-entered his capital after his long absence on the 24th July, and his arrival, after such marvellous events as had signalised his absence, was prepared to be celebrated by extraordinary demonstrations of joy. By an order from the Emperor they were all stopped. "The events," said he to the governor of St Petersburg, "which have terminated the bloody wars of Europe, are the work of the Most High; it is before Him alone that it behoves us to prostrate ourselves."

58. He refused the title of "the Blessed" which the Senate had decreed should be conferred upon him. His first care was to efface, so far as possible, the traces of the war; his next, to grant a general pardon to all the persons, of whom there were many, who had, during its continuance, been drawn into traitorous correspondence with the enemy. He remitted the capitation-tax to the peasants in the provinces which had suffered the most from invasion, and opened at Berlin and Königsberg banks, where the notes of the Bank of Russia which had been given in payment during the war were retired from the holders at the current rate of exchange. Soon after, he concluded a peace with the Sultan of Persia, by which, in consideration of a very large district of country ceded to Russia, he promised his aid in supporting the son whom the Shah might design for his successor. By this treaty the Russians acquired the whole important country which lies between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and became masters of the famous gates of Derbend, which so often in former ages had opened to the Tartars an entrance into Southern Asia.

59. A full account has already been given of the part which Russia took in the Congress of Vienna, and the acquisition of Poland in a former work; and of the magnanimous sentiments which Alexander displayed at the Con-

gress of Aix-la-Chapelle in this. Two important alliances, destined to influence materially the international relations of Europe, were concluded during this period. The first was the marriage of his sister, the Grand-duchess Ann, to the Prince of Orange, which took place when he visited Brussels and the field of Waterloo in September 1815; the second, the conclusion of the arrangements for the marriage of his brother Nicholas, who has since become emperor, to Charlotte, Princess of Prussia, who is still Empress of Russia, which was solemnised some years after. From thence he proceeded to Warsaw, where he concluded the arrangements for the establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and left General Zayonchek, a Pole by birth, in command as viceroy. He returned to St Petersburg on 13th December, having, by this acquisition of territory and family alliances, extended the Russian influence in a direct line, and without any break, over the whole north of Europe, from the Niemen to the Rhine. Thus was the Netherlands restored to its proper position and rank in Continental affairs; instead of being the outwork of France against Europe, it became the bulwark of Europe against France.

60. Consumed with the desire to heal the wounds of war, and convince himself with his own eyes of the necessities of the districts for which succour was petitioned, Alexander gave himself only a few months' repose at St Petersburg. His life, for the next ten years to his death, was more than half spent in travelling, and flying with almost incredible rapidity from one part of his vast dominions to another. The postilions, urging their horses to the utmost speed, carried him over the rough roads of Russia at the rate of seventeen miles an hour: wrapt in his cloak, meditating acts of justice, dreaming of projects of philanthropy, the Czar underwent, for days and nights together, with almost incredible patience, the exhausting fatigue. Hardly was his departure from St Petersburg heard of, when the thunder of artillery announced his arrival

at Moscow, Warsaw, or Odessa. But although Alexander thus wasted his strength and passed his life in traversing his dominions, his heart was elsewhere. The great events of Paris had got possession of his imagination; the Holy Alliance, the suggestions of Madame Krudener, occupied his thoughts; and he dreamt more of his supposed mission as the apostle of peace, the arbiter of Christendom, than of his duties as the Czar of Russia, the supreme disposer of the lives and liberties of sixty millions of men.

61. The heart of the emperor, however, was too warm, his disposition too benevolent, for him not to feel keenly the sufferings of his subjects, and engage in any measures that appeared practicable for their relief. Various beneficent acts signalised the pacific years of his reign; but they were such as went to relieve local distress, or induce local advantage, rather than to stimulate the springs of industry over his whole empire, or remove the causes which obstructed civilisation over its vast extent. In August 1816 he visited Moscow, then beginning to rise from its ashes; and in a touching manifesto, which evidently came from the heart, testified his profound sympathy for the sufferings induced by its immortal sacrifice. At the same time, he set on foot or aided in the establishment of many valuable undertakings in different parts of the empire. He rebuilt, at a cost of 160,000 rubles, the bridge over the Neva; he took the most efficacious measures for restoring the naval forces of the empire, which had been unavoidably neglected during the pressure of the war—several ships of the line were begun both at Cronstadt and Odessa; no less than 1,500,000 rubles was advanced from the treasury to set on foot several new buildings in the two capitals; the completion of the splendid façade of the Admiralty; the building of a normal school for the training of teachers; an imperial lyceum, in which the imperial founder ever took a warm interest; and several important regulations adopted for the encouragement of agriculture and the establishment of colonies in desert

districts. The finances of the empire engaged his special and anxious attention. By a ukase, dated 16th April 1817, he devoted to the payment of the debts contracted during 1812 and 1813, which were still in floating assignats, 30,000,000 rubles annually out of the imperial treasury, and a like sum out of the hereditary revenue of the Crown. At the same time he advanced 30,000,000 rubles to establish a bank specially destined for the support of commerce; and decreed the "Council of Public Credit," which, by its constitution, presented the first shadow of representative institutions. Such was the effect of these measures, that when the emperor opened a subscription for a large loan, to enable him to retire a proportion of the floating, and reduce considerably the immense mass of paper assignats in circulation, at an advance of 85 rubles paid for 100, inscribed as 6 per cent stock, 30,000,000 was subscribed the first day, and before the end of the year 33,000,000 more—in all, 63,000,000—which enabled the Government to retire a similar amount of assignats.*

62. Alexander was sincerely and deeply interested in the prosperity of Poland, to which he was attached, not only by the brilliant additions which it made to the splendour and influence of the empire, but by the more tender feelings excited by the Polish lady to whom he had been so long and deeply attached. The sufferings of the country had been unparalleled, from the events of the war, and the enormous exactions of the French troops: the population of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which, before it commenced, had been 3,300,000, had been reduced at its close to 2,600,000 souls. The country, however, had prospered in the most extraordinary degree during the three

* The public debt of Russia, on 1st January 1818, stood thus:—

Foreign (Dutch loan),	99,600,000 florins.
Bank assignations, . . .	214,201,184 rubles.
In silver, . . .	3,344,000 do.
In gold, . . .	18,520 do.

	Rubles.
Paid off in 1817—Capital,	13,863,000
... Interest,	16,171,000
— <i>Ann. Historique</i> , i. 277.	

years of peace that it had since enjoyed: new colonists had been invited and settled from the neighbouring states of Germany; and industry had flourished to such an extent that the State was now able to maintain, without difficulty or contracting debt, a splendid army of forty thousand men, which, clothed in the Polish uniform, commanded by Polish officers, and following the Polish standards, was almost worshipped by the people as the germ of their reviving nationality. The emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 13th March, and immediately the Polish standard was hoisted on the palace amidst the thunder of artillery and cheers from every human being in the city.

63. The Diet opened on the 27th of March, and the speech of the emperor, which was listened to with the deepest attention, was not only prophetic of peace and happiness to Poland, but memorable as containing evidence of the views he at that period entertained for the regeneration and freedom of mankind. After having expatiated on the advantage of a constitutional regime, he added, "With the assistance of God, I hope to extend its salutary influence to ALL the countries intrusted to my care; prove to the contemporary kings that liberal institutions, which they pretend to confound with the disastrous doctrines which in these days threaten the social system with a frightful catastrophe, are not a dangerous illusion, but that, reduced in good faith to practice, and directed in a pure spirit towards conservative ends and the good of humanity, they are perfectly allied to order, and the best security for the happiness of nations." Such were the sentiments and intentions of the Czar, while yet influenced by the illusions of 1814, and before the brilliant and benevolent dream had been dissipated by the military treason and social revolutions of southern Europe in 1820. When such words came from such lips, and everything around bespoke order and peace, and the reviving nationality of Poland, it need not be said that all was unanimity and

hope in the Diet, and its sittings were closed, after a short session of thirty days, without a dissenting voice on any question of general interest having been heard in the assembly.

64. From Warsaw, which he left on the 30th April, the emperor proceeded to Odessa, after traversing, with the utmost rapidity, the fertile plains and verdant turf of the Ukraine, where, as their poets say, the "sky is ever blue, the air clear, and storms and hurricanes are unknown." In Odessa he beheld, with astonishment, the rapid progress and rising importance of a city which, under the fostering care of government, and the wise direction of the Duke de Richelieu, had sprung up, as if by enchantment, on the edge of the wilderness, become the emporium of the south, and realised all that the genius of Virgil had fancied of the fabled rise of Carthage under the sceptre of Dido. He there assisted at the launching of a seventy-four, laid down a 110-gun ship, and evinced at once his sympathy with the sufferings of humanity, by erecting a monument to the celebrated Howard, who had died, in 1790, in the neighbourhood of that city, and his admiration of its virtues, by subscribing to the erection of one in Paris to Malesherbes, the generous and intrepid defender of Louis XVI. He there appointed also a government commission, specially intrusted with the duty of watching over and aiding the settlement of colonists in Bessarabia and the southern provinces of the empire, of whom vast numbers had already begun to flock from the neighbouring states; and, passing by Moscow to the north, he there met the King of Prussia, with whom he returned to St Petersburg, where magnificent rejoicings attended the union of the two sovereigns. Hardly were they concluded when he set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, where his generous interposition, in conjunction with the Duke of Wellington, in favour of France, already mentioned, was attended with such happy results; and from thence returned to St Petersburg, and concluded an almost incessant

journey of two thousand leagues, devoted, without a day's intermission, to the interests of humanity.

65. Although Alexander's mind was not of the most penetrating character, and his practical knowledge of mankind was small, his intentions were all of the most generous, his feelings of the most philanthropic kind. He had already, by several ukases, completed the enfranchisement of the peasants on the Crown domains; and at Mittau, on his way to Aix-la-Chapelle, he had assisted at a very interesting ceremony—that which completed, by a solemn act, the entire liberation of the serfs of Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, the provinces of the empire next to Germany, by the voluntary act of the nobles, who, in this instance, had anticipated the wishes of the emperor. He had also, in the same year, published a ukase, which accorded several important immunities to the peasants of Merick, whose miserable condition had forcibly arrested his attention in passing through that province on his way from Warsaw to Odessa. He opened the year 1819 by a still more important step, because it was one of general application, and of vast influence on the social training of the nation. This was a ukase which extended to serfs in every part of the empire, and to whomsoever pertaining, the right, hitherto confined to the nobles and merchants, of establishing themselves as manufacturers in any part of the empire, and relieving them from the capitation tax during four years. At the same time he took a step, and a very material one, in favour of public instruction, by completing the organisation of universities at Moscow, Wilna, Abo, St Petersburg, Karkow, and Kazan; and of religious freedom, by taking the Lutheran and Calvinist clergy and flocks under the imperial protection, and establishing in the capital an Episcopal chair for the clergy of those persuasions.

66. The finances of the empire, in the following year, exhibited the elasticity which might have been expected from the continuance of peace, and the wise measures for the reduction of the floating debt adopted in the preceding

year. The sinking fund had withdrawn from circulation 80,000,000 paper rubles (£4,000,000) in the preceding year; and specie, to the number of 26,000,000 silver rubles (£4,600,000), had issued from the mint in the same time—a quantity greater than had been coined during the ten preceding years. The deposits and discounts at the bank recently established exhibited a large and rapid increase. The Lancasterian system of instruction was extended by the emperor even to Siberia, and normal schools established at St Petersburg to train teachers for the principal towns, from which alone the light of knowledge could radiate to the country. In the autumn of this year the emperor visited Archangel, which had not been honoured by the presence of the sovereign for a hundred and seventeen years; and from thence he issued a decree, authorising the levy of two men in every five hundred, which produced a hundred and eighty thousand soldiers—the first levy which had taken place since the war. At the same time, measures were taken for colonising the army cantoned in Bessarabia, above a hundred thousand strong; and steps adopted for establishing the army on the Polish frontier in like manner. The design of the emperor, which was a very magnificent one, was to encircle the empire with a zone of military colonies, stretching from the Black Sea to the Baltic, where the soldiers might acquire dwellings, and pursue the labours of agriculture, like the Roman legions, while still guarding the frontiers, and connect them with similar establishments of a pastoral kind on the frontiers of Persia and Tartary, where the vigilance of the Cossacks guarded from insult the vast steppes which run up to the foot of the Caucasus.

67. The year 1820 commenced with a very important step—the entire expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia. They had already, in consequence of their intrigues, been banished in 1815 from St Petersburg and Moscow, but their efforts to win over proselytes to their persuasion had since that time been so incessant and harassing, that

they were now finally expelled from the whole empire.* Provision was made for their maintenance in the mean time, and every precaution taken to render the measure as gentle in its operation as possible. Certainly, as the Roman Catholics, like most other sects, regard theirs as the only true faith, and all others as heresies, it can be no matter of surprise, still less of condemnation, that they everywhere make such strenuous efforts to gain proselytes and reclaim souls, as they deem it, on the eve of perdition, to the bosom of the Church. But as other persuasions are equally convinced that their own is the true form of worship, they cannot be surprised, and have no right to complain, if their everywhere aggressive attitude is met by a corresponding defensive one; and if these states, without seeking to convert them to their faith, seek only to adopt measures that may secure their own.

68. The time, however, had now arrived when the views of the emperor, heretofore so liberal and indulgent, were to undergo an entire change, when the illusions of 1814 were to be dispelled, and Russia, instead of being, as it had been for many years, at the head of the movement party in Europe, was to become its most decided opponent. Already the emperor had been warned by anonymous letters and various mysterious communications, as well as by reports from the secret police, of the existence of a vast conspiracy, which embraced several of the leading officers in the armies both

of Poland and the Danube, and nobles of the highest rank and consideration in St Petersburg. The object of the conspirators was stated to be to dethrone and murder the emperor, imprison the other members of the imperial family, and establish a constitutional monarchy on the footing of those of western Europe. For long the emperor gave no credit to these warnings; he could not believe that an army which, under himself, had done such great things, and had given him personally such proofs of entire devotion, could have so soon become implicated in a traitorous project for his destruction. But the military revolution in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, in the early part of the year 1820, opened his eyes to the volcano on which possibly his empire might be resting; and the events in Poland ere long left no doubt that the danger was rapidly approaching his own dominions.

69. The Polish Diet opened in September, and the emperor, who assisted at it in person, in the Polish uniform, and surrounded with Polish officers, was received with enthusiasm: the city was illuminated on his arrival, and at several reviews the troops of the national army evinced the most loyal feelings. The exposition of the minister exhibited the most flattering appearance; the population had increased to 3,468,000, being no less than a million since the termination of the war; agriculture, manufactures, the finances, were in the most flourishing state. But what is material prosperity, beneficent government, to a country infested with the fever of revolution? It soon appeared, when the Diet proceeded to real business, with what species of spirit they were animated. On a proposition to amend the criminal law, brought forward by the ministers, a violent opposition broke forth in the chamber, on the ground that the proposed mode of trial was not by jury; and it was rejected by 120 votes to 3. Another proposal of government, for certain changes in the Senate, was also rejected by a large majority. It was evident that the Diet was animated with the wild spirit of

* "Les Jésuites quoique suffisamment avertis par l'animadversion qu'ils avaient encourue, ne changèrent pas néanmoins de conduite. Il fut bientôt constaté par les rapports des autorités civiles qu'ils continuaient à attirer dans leur communion les élèves du rit orthodoxe, placés au collège de Moholow à Saratof et dans la Sibérie. Le Moniteur des Cultes ne manqua point de signaler ces transgressions au Père Général de l'ordre, dès l'année 1815. Ces administrations furent inutiles. Loin de s'abstenir, à l'instance de l'église dominante, de tout moyen de séduction et de conversion, les Jésuites continuèrent à semer le trouble dans les colonies du rit Protestant, et se poussèrent jusqu'à la violence pour soustraire les enfants Juifs à leurs parents."—Ukase, 25 Mars 1820. *Annuaire Historique*, iii. 296, 297.

Polish equality, not merely from their measures, but from the extreme violence of the language which they used, and that they would be as difficult to manage as the old *comitia*, where any member, by the exercise of his *liberum veto*, might paralyse the whole proceedings. Alexander was profoundly affected; he saw at once the depth of the abyss which yawned beneath his feet, if these ideas, as in Spain and Naples, should gain possession of the army, the main prop of the throne in his despotic realms; and he closed the Diet with a speech, in which his apprehensions and indignation exhaled in the most striking manner.*

70. This incident exercised an important influence on the affairs of Europe in general, for the emperor at this period was on his way to the Congress of TROPPAU, where the recent revolution in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, and the alarming state of affairs in France, were to be taken into consideration. As this congress was called chiefly in consequence of the suggestions of the Emperor Alexander, and was the first practical application of the principles of the Holy Alliance of which he was the author, it belongs more properly to the annals of Russia than Germany, within whose bounds

it was held. The Emperor of Austria, whose terror at the alarming situation of Italy was extreme, arrived there on the 18th October; the Emperor of Russia joined him there on the 20th. Indisposition prevented the King of Prussia from coming till the 7th November, but he was represented by the hereditary prince, his son. Prince Metternich and M. Gentz on the part of Austria; Count Nesselrode and Capo d'Istria on that of Russia; Prince Hardenberg and Count Bernstorff on that of Prussia; Count Caraman, the French ambassador at Vienna, and Sir Charles Stewart, the English ambassador there, represented the several powers. The events in Italy and Spain had excited the greatest alarm among all the parties assembled, and the most vigorous measures were resolved on; and although the English government did not take an active part in their deliberations, it did not formally oppose the measures resolved on.

71. So great was the importance of the topics discussed at the Congress of Troppau, and so various the interests of the powers there assembled, that in former days it would in all probability have led to a general war. But the remembrance of past strife was too recent, the terror of present revolutions too great, to permit of any serious divergence of opinion or measures taking place. From the very outset the Emperor Alexander, whose apprehensions were now fully awakened, declared that he was prepared to second with all his forces any measures which the Emperor of Austria might deem necessary for the settlement and pacification of Italy. At the same time the march of the Austrian troops towards the south of Italy continued without intermission, and a holograph letter was despatched from the assembled sovereigns to the King of Naples, inviting him to join them in person at a new congress, to be held at Laybach in Styria. A minister sent from Naples on the part of the revolutionary government was refused admission; and the views of the assembled monarchs on the late revolutions were announced in several semi-official articles, pub-

* "Parvenus au terme où s'arrêtent aujourd'hui les travaux qui doivent vous conduire par degrés vers ce but important de développer et d'affermir vos institutions nationales, vous pouvez facilement apprendre de combien vous en êtes rapprochés. Interrogez votre conscience, et vous saurez si dans le cours de vos discussions, vous avez rendu à la Pologne tous les services qu'elle attendait de votre sagesse, ou si, au contraire, entraînés par des séductions trop communes de vos jours, et immolant un espoir qu'aurait réalisé une prévoyante confiance, vous n'avez pas retardé dans son progrès l'aurore de la restauration de votre Patrie. Cette grave responsabilité pèsera sur vous. Elle est la sûreté nécessaire de l'indépendance de vos suffrages. Ils sont libres, mais une intention pure doit toujours les déterminer. La mienne vous est connue. Vous avez reçu le bien pour le mal, et la Pologne est remontée au rang des états. Je persévérerai dans mes desseins à son égard, qu'elle que soit l'opinion qu'on puisse se former sur la manière dont vous venez d'excuser vos prorogations."—*Discours de l'Empereur Alexandre à Varsovie, 1/13 Octobre 1820, à la clôture de la Diète Polonoise. Annuaire Historique, iii. 616.*

lished in the Vienna papers, which, even more than their official instruments, revealed their real sentiments.*

72. The congress, to be nearer the scene of action, was soon after transferred to LAYBACH, where the Emperor of Austria arrived on the 4th January, and the Emperor of Russia on the 7th. The King of Prussia was hourly expected; and the King of Naples, whom the revolutionary government established in his dominions did not venture to detain at home, came on the 8th. So much had been done at Troppau in laying down principles, that nothing remained for Laybach but their practical application. The principle which Alexander adopted, and which met with the concurrence of the other sovereigns, was that the spirit of the age required Liberal institutions, and a gradual admission of the people to a share of power; but that they must flow from the sovereign's free will, not be forced upon him by his subjects; and, therefore, that no compromise whatever could be admitted with revolutionists either in the Italian or Spanish peninsulas. In conformity with this determination, there was signed, on 2d February 1821, a treaty, by which it was stipulated that the allied powers should in no way recognise the revolutionary government in Naples; and that the royal authority should be re-established on the footing on which it stood

* "On a acquis la conviction que cette révolution, produite par une secte égarée et exécutée par des soldats indisciplinés, suivie d'un renversement violent des institutions légitimes, et de leur remplacement par un système d'arbitraire et d'anarchie, est non-seulement contraire aux principes d'ordre, de droit, de morale, et de vrai bien-être des peuples, tels qu'ils sont établis par les monarchies, mais de plus incompatible par ses résultats inévitables avec le repos et la sécurité des autres états Italiens, et par conséquent avec la conservation de la paix en Europe. Pénétrés de ces vérités, les Hauts Monarques ont pris la ferme résolution d'employer tous leurs moyens afin que l'état actuel des choses dans le royaume des Deux-Siciles, produit par la révolte et la force, soit détruit, mais cependant S. M. le Roi sera mis dans une position telle qu'il pourra déterminer la constitution future de ses états d'une manière compatible avec sa dignité, les intérêts de son peuple, et le repos des états voisins."—*Observateur Autrichien*, Nov. 16, 1820.

prior to the insurrection of the army on 5th July 1820. To carry their resolution into effect, it was agreed that an Austrian army should, in the name of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, be put at the disposition of the King of the Two Sicilies; that, from the moment of its passing the Po, its whole expenses should be at the charge of that kingdom, and that the Neapolitan dominions should be occupied by the Austrian forces during three years, in the same manner, and on the same conditions, as France had been by the army under the Duke of Wellington. England and France were no parties to this treaty, but neither did they oppose it, or enter into any alliance with the revolutionary states. They simply remained neuter, passive spectators of a matter in which they were too remotely interested to be called on practically to interfere, but which they could not theoretically approve. Lord Castlereagh contented himself with declaring that Great Britain could take no part in such transactions, as they were directly opposed to the fundamental laws of his country.*

* "Le système des mesures proposées serait, s'il était l'objet d'une réciprocité d'action, diamétralement opposé aux lois fondamentales de la Grande Bretagne; mais lors même que cette objection décisive n'existerait pas, le gouvernement Britannique n'en jugerait pas moins, que les principes qui servent de base à ces mesures ne peuvent être admis avec quelque sûreté comme systèmes de loi entre les nations. Le gouvernement du roi pense que l'adoption de ces principes sanctionnerait inévitablement, et pourrait amener par la suite, de la part des souverains moins bienveillants, une intervention dans les affaires intérieures des états, beaucoup plus fréquente et plus étendue que celle dont il est persuadé que les augustes personnages ont l'intention d'user, ou, qui puisse se concilier avec l'intérêt général, ou avec l'autorité réelle, et la dignité des souverains indépendants. Quant à l'affaire particulière de Naples, le gouvernement Britannique n'a pas hésité, dès le commencement, à exprimer fortement son improbation de la manière dont cette Révolution s'est effectuée, et des circonstances dont elle paraissait avoir été accompagnée; mais en même temps, il déclara expressément aux différentes cours alliées, qu'il ne croyait pas devoir, ni même conseiller une intervention de la part de la Grande Bretagne. Il admit toujours que d'autres états Européens, et spécialement l'Autriche, et les puissances Italiennes, pouvaient juger que les circonstances étaient

73. This deserves to be noted as a turning-point in the modern history of Europe. It marks the period when separate views and interests began to shake the hitherto firmly cemented fabric of the Grand Alliance; and Great Britain and France, for the first time, assumed a part *together* at variance with the determination of the other great powers. They had not yet come into actual collision, much less open hostility; but their views had become so different, that it required not the gift of prophecy to foresee that collision was imminent at no distant period. This was the more remarkable, as England had been, during the whole of the revolutionary war, the head and soul of the alliance against France, and strenuously contended for the principle, that though no attempt should be made to force a government against their will on the French people, yet a coalition of the adjoining powers had become indispensable to prevent them from forcing their institutions upon other states. The allied governments commented freely on this great change of policy, and observed that England was very conservative as long as the danger was at her own door, and her own institutions were threatened by the contagion of French principles; but that she became very Liberal when the danger was removed to a more distant quarter, and the countries threatened were Italy, Southern Germany, or France itself.*

différentes relativement à eux, et il déclara que son intention n'était pas de préjuger la question en ce qui pouvait les affecter, ni d'intervenir dans la marche que tels états pourraient juger convenable d'adopter pour leur propre sûreté; pourvu toutefois, qu'ils fussent disposés à donner toutes les assurances raisonnables que leur vues n'étaient ni dirigées vers des objets d'agrandissement, ni vers la subversion du système territorial de l'Europe, tel qu'il a été établi par les derniers traités."—CASTLEREAGH, *Dépêche Circulaire adressée aux Ministres de S. M. Britannique pour les Cours Etrangères*, 19 Jan. 1821. *Ann. Historique*, ii. 683, 689.

* "La Révolution de Naples a donné au monde un exemple, aussi instructif que déplorable, de ce que les nations ont à gagner, lorsqu'elles cherchent les réformes politiques dans les voies de la rébellion. Ourdie en secret par une secte, dont les maximes impies attaquent à la fois la religion, la morale,

74. To fix the just principles, and define the limits of the right of intervention, is unquestionably one of the most difficult problems in politics, and one fraught with the most momentous consequences. If the right is carried out to its full extent, incessant warfare would, in civilised communities in different stages of civilisation, be the inevitable destiny of the species; for every republican state would seek to revolutionise its neighbours, and every despotic one to surround itself with a girdle of absolute monarchies. Each party loudly invokes the principle of non-intervention, when its opponents are acting on the opposite principle; and as certainly follows their example, when an opportunity occurs for establishing elsewhere a regime conformable to its own wishes or example. Perhaps it is impossible to draw the line more fairly than by saying, that no nation has a right to interfere in the internal concerns of another nation, unless that other is adopting measures which threaten its own peace and tranquillity: in a word, that intervention is only justifiable when it is done for the purposes of self-defence. Yet is this a very vague and unsatisfactory basis on which to rest the principle; for who is to judge when internal tranquillity is threatened, and external intervention has become indispensable? It is much to be feared that here, as elsewhere, in the transactions of independent states, which

et tous les liens sociaux; exécutée par des soldats traités à leurs serments: consummée par la violence, et les menaces dirigées contre le souverain légitime, cette Révolution n'a produit que l'anarchie et la disposition militaire qu'elle a renforcée, au lieu de l'affaiblir, en créant un régime monstrueux, incapable de servir de base à un gouvernement quel qu'il soit, incompatible avec tout ordre public, et avec les premiers besoins de la société. Les souverains alliés ne pouvant, dès le principe, se tromper sur les effets inévitables de ces funestes attentats; se décidèrent sur-le-champ à ne point admettre, comme légal, tout ce que la révolution et l'insurrection avaient prétendu établir dans le royaume de Naples; et cette mesure fut adoptée par la presque totalité des gouvernements de l'Europe."—LE COMTE NESSELRODE au COMTE DE STACKELBERG, *Ambassadeur à Naples, Laybach*, 19/31 Jan. 1821. *Ann. Historique*, ii. 693.

acknowledge no superior, much must depend on the moderation of the stronger; and that "might makes right" will be the practice, whatever may be the law of nations, to the end of the world. But one thing is clear, that it is with the democratic party that the chief—indeed, of late years, the entire—blame of intervention rests. The monarchical powers have never moved since 1789 but in self-defence. Every war which has desolated Europe and afflicted humanity since that time has been provoked by the propagandism of republican states; if left to themselves, the absolute monarchs would have been too happy to slumber on, reposing on their laurels, weighed down by their debt, recovering from their fatigues.

75. It was the circumstance of the three powers which had signed the Holy Alliance appearing banded together to crush the revolution in Italy, which caused that Alliance to be regarded as a league of sovereigns against the liberties of mankind, and to become the object of such unmeasured obloquy to the whole Liberal party throughout the world. There never was a greater mistake. The Holy Alliance *became* a league, and it proved a most efficient one, against the progress of revolution; but it was not so at first. It was forced into defensive measures by the aggressions of its political antagonists in Spain and Italy. Not one shot had been fired in Europe, nor one sabre drawn, from any contest which it commenced, though many have been so from those into which it has been driven. In truth, this celebrated Alliance, which was the creation of the benevolent dreams of the Emperor Alexander, and the mystical conceptions of Madame Krudener, was, as already explained, a philanthropic effusion, amiable in design, but unwise in thought, and incapable of application in a world such as that in which we are placed.

76. It is evident, however, that it was impossible for England to have acted otherwise than she did on this occasion, and that the line which Lord Castlereagh took was such as alone befitted the minister of a free people.

Being the representative of a country which had progressively extorted its liberties from its sovereigns, and at length changed the dynasty on the throne to secure them, he could not be a party to a league professing to extinguish popular resistance: placed at a distance from the theatre of danger, the plea of necessity could not be advanced to justify such a departure from principle. He took the only line which, on such an occasion, was consistent with his situation, and dictated by a due regard to the national interest;—he abstained from taking any part in the contest, and contented himself with protesting against any abuse of the pretension on which it was rested.

77. The contest in Italy was of very short duration. The revolutionists proved incapable of defending themselves against an Austrian army, little more than half of their own strength; they were formidable only to their own sovereign. The Minister at War announced to the parliament at Naples, on the 2d January, that the regular army amounted to fifty-four thousand men, and the national guards to a hundred and fifty thousand more; that the fortresses were fully armed and provisioned, and in the best possible state of defence; and that everything was prepared for the most vigorous resistance. But already serious divisions had broken out in the army, especially between the guards and the troops of the line; and dissensions of the most violent kind had arisen between the leaders of the revolt, especially the Cardinal Ruffo and the chiefs of the Carbonari. The consequence was, that when the moment of action arrived, scarce any resistance was made. On 8th February a courier from Laybach announced at Naples that all hope of accommodation was at an end, and that the sovereigns assembled there would in no shape recognise the revolutionary authorities at Naples. The effect of this announcement was terrible; it did not rouse resistance—it overpowered it by fear. In vain the assembly ordered fifty thousand of the national guards to be called out, and moved to the frontier; nothing efficient was done—terror froze every

heart. The ministers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia left Naples; the presence of ten French and eight English sail of the line in the bay rather excited alarm than inspired confidence. On the 4th February, General Frimont published from his headquarters at Padua a proclamation, announcing that his army was about to cross the Po, to assist in the pacification of Italy; and on the following day the troops, nearly fifty thousand strong, commenced the passage of that river at five points between Cremona and St Benedetto.

78. The march of the Austrian army met with so little opposition that the events which followed could not be called a campaign. When they arrived at Bologna, the troops were separated into two divisions; one of which, under the command of Count Walmoden, crossed the Apennines, and advanced, by Florence and Rome, by the great road to Naples; while the other moved by the left to the sea-side, and reached Ancona. The first corps passed Rome, without entering it, on February 28th; the second occupied Ancona on the 19th. Meanwhile the preparations of the Neapolitans were very extensive, and seemed to presage a serious resistance. Their forces, too, were divided into two corps; the first of which, forty thousand strong, under General Carascosa, occupied the strong position of St Germano, with its left on the fortress of Gaeta, within the Neapolitan territory; while the second, under General Pepe, of thirty thousand, chiefly militia, was opposed to the corps advancing along the Adriatic, and charged with the defence of the Abruzzi. But it was all in vain. Pepe, finding that his battalions were disbanding, and his troops melting away before they had ever seen the enemy, resolved to hazard an attack on the Austrians at Rieti. But no sooner did they come in sight of the German vanguard, consisting of a splendid regiment of Hungarian cavalry, than a sudden panic seized them. The new levies disbanded and fled, with the cry of "*Tradimento; salvarsi chi può!*" The contagion spread to the old troops. Soon the whole army was a mere mob, every one trying to

outrun his neighbour. Cannon, ammunition, standards, were alike abandoned. Pepe himself was carried away by the torrent, and the Abruzzi were left without any defence but the impediments arising from the wreck of the army, whose implements of war strewn the roads over which it had fled.*

79. This catastrophe was a mortal stroke to the insurrection; for, independent of the moral influence of such a discreditable scene succeeding the warm appeals and confident predictions of the revolutionists, the position of their main army, and on which alone they could rely for the defence of Naples at St Germano, under Carascosa, was liable to be turned by the Abruzzi, and was no longer tenable. The broken remains of Pepe's army dispersed in the Apennines, and sought shelter in its fastnesses; some made their appearance in Naples, where they excited universal consternation. In this extremity the parliament, assembled in select committee, supplicated the Prince Vicar to mediate between them and the king; and, above all, to arrest the march of the Austrian troops. But it was all in vain. The Imperial generals, seeing their advantage, only pressed on with the more vigour on the disorderly array of their opponents. Walmoden advanced without opposition through the Abruzzi. Aquila opened its gates on the 10th March, its castle on the 12th; and Carascosa,

* "*Vacillarono le nostre giovani bande, si ritirarono le prime, non procederono le seconde, si confusero le ordinanze. Ed allora avanzò prima lentamente, poscia incalzando i passi, ed alfine in corsa un superbo reggimento di cavalleria Ungherese, sì che nell'aspetto del crescente pericolo le milizie civili, nuove alla guerra, trepidarono, fuggirono, strascinarono coll'impeto e coll'esempio qualche compagnia di più vecchi soldati, si ruppero gli ordini, si udirono le voci di *tradimento, e salvarsi chi può*: scomparve il campo. — Proseguirono nella succedente notte i disordini dell'esercito: Antrodoto fu abbandonata; il General Pepe seguiva i fuggitivi. — Miserando spettacolo! gettate le armi e le insegne; le macchine di guerra, fatte inciampare al fuggire, rovesciate, spezzate; gli argini, le trincere, opere di molte menti e di molte braccia, aperte, abbandonate; ogni ordine scomposto: esercito poco innanzi spaventoso al nemico, oggi volto in ludibrio.*"—COLLETTA (a Liberal historian), ii. 437, 438.

seeing his right flank turned by the mountains, gave orders for his troops to retire at all points from the position they occupied on the Garigliano. This was the signal for a universal dissolution of the force. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery, alike disbanded and fled. A few regiments of the royal guard alone preserved any semblance of military array, and the main Austrian army advanced without opposition towards Naples, where terror was at its height, securities of all sorts unsaleable, and the revolutionary government powerless. Finding further resistance hopeless, Carascosa made the Prince Vicar, who had set out to join the army, return to Naples; and on the 20th of March a suspension of hostilities was agreed on, the condition of which was the surrender of Capua and Aversa to the Imperialists. This was followed by the capitulation of Naples itself, a few days after, on the same terms as that of Capua. The Austrians entered on the following day, and were put in possession of the forts; while Carascosa, Pepe, and the other chiefs of the insurrection, obtained passports, which were willingly granted by the conquerors, and escaped from the scene of danger. Sicily, where the revolution had assumed so virulent a form, submitted, after a vain attempt at resistance, shortly after; and the king, on the 12th May, amidst general acclamations, re-entered his capital, now entirely garrisoned, and under the control of the Austrian troops.

80. It was during these events, so fatal to the cause of revolution in Naples, that the old government was overturned in Piedmont, and the standard of treason hoisted on the citadel of Turin. The account of that important but ill-timed event, which took place on the 13th March, has been already given, as forming the last in the catalogue of revolutionary triumphs which followed the explosion in Spain. As it broke out at the very time when the Neapolitan armies were dissolving at the sight of the Hungarian hussars, and only ten days before Naples opened its gates to the victors, it was obviously a hopeless movement, and the

only wisdom for its promoters would have been to have extricated themselves as quietly and speedily as they could from a contest now plainly become for the time hopeless. But the extreme revolutionary party, deeming themselves too far committed to recede, determined on the most desperate measures. War was resolved on by the leaders of the movement at Alessandria, which had always been the focus of the insurrection, and a ministry installed to carry it into execution; but the Prince Regent escaped in the night from Turin, with some regiments of troops, upon whom he could still rely, to Novarra, where the nucleus of a royal army began to be formed; from whence, two days after, he issued a declaration renouncing the office of Prince Regent, and thus giving, as he himself said, "now and for ever, the most respectful proof of obedience to the royal authority." This made all persons at Turin who were still under the guidance of reason aware that the cause of revolution was for the present hopeless. Symptoms of returning loyalty appeared in the army; and Count de la Tour, who was secretly inclined to the royalists, resolved to retire to Alessandria, with such of the troops as he could rely on, to await the possible return of better times; and orders were given to that effect.

81. Meanwhile the allied sovereigns at Laybach were taking the most vigorous measures to crush the insurrection in Piedmont. The Emperor of Austria instantly ordered the formation of a corps of observation on the frontier of that kingdom, drawn from the garrisons in the Lombard-Venetian provinces; and the Emperor of Russia directed the assembling of an army of 100,000 men, taken from the armies of the South and Poland, with instructions to march direct towards Turin. Requisitions were made to the Helvetic cantons to take precautionary measures against a conflagration which threatened to embrace the whole of Italy. Before this resolution, however, could be carried into effect, intelligence was received that the queen's regiment of dragoons had left Novarra amidst cries

of "Viva la Costituzione !" This news so elevated the spirits of the insurgents, that the orders to retire to Alessandria were countermanded ; and, on the following day, they issued from the seat of government a proclamation, in which, after declaring that the king was a captive in the hands of Austria, and that the Prince Regent had been deceived, they called on the Piedmontese to take up arms, promising them "the succour of the Lombards and the support of France." This appeal had little effect ; the intelligence of the unresisted march of the Austrians towards Naples froze every heart in the capital. At Genoa, however, the popular determination was more strongly evinced. A proclamation of the governor, calling on the people to abandon the constitution and submit themselves to the former government, led to a fresh commotion, in which he narrowly escaped with his life, and which was only appeased by the appointment of a junta of government composed of the most decided popular chiefs. The intelligence of this fresh insurrection greatly raised the spirit of the leaders at Turin, and the preparations for war in the capital were continued with unabated zeal by the government.

82. But it was too late : the fate of the Piedmontese revolution had been determined in the passes of the Abruzzi. Already, on the requisition of Charles Felix, the deposed king, a corps of Austrians, fifteen thousand strong, had been assembled, under Count Bubna, on the Ticino, the bridges over which had been broken down, to prevent any communication with the insurgents. General La Tour, meanwhile, the governor of Turin, seeing the cause of the revolution hopeless, and wishing to avoid the interference of foreigners, was taking measures to restore the royal authority there without the intervention of the Austrians ; and a large part of the army, especially the royal carabineers, were already disposed to second him. But his designs were discovered and frustrated by the Minister at War, a stanch revolutionist, who caused several regiments known to be most attached to

the constitution to come to Turin, where they had a skirmish with the carabineers, which ended in two-thirds of the latter body leaving the capital and taking the road to Novarra, where eight thousand men were already assembled round the royal standard. The knowledge of their strength, which nearly equalled that of the troops on the other side, and of the certain support of the Austrians, made the members of the junta lend a willing ear to the proposals of the Count Mocenigo, the Russian minister, who suggested, in the name of the emperor, a submission to the king on the condition of a general amnesty, and the hope of a constitution which should guarantee the interests of society.

83. But, as often happens in such convulsions, the ardour of the extreme and enthusiastic of the insurgents defeated all the efforts of the more moderate of their party, and left to the Piedmontese the exasperation of civil war and the bitterness of foreign subjugation. The majority of the junta continued to hold out ; and their eyes were not opened to the declining circumstances of their cause even by the disbanding of several battalions of the militia, who, instead of joining the general rendezvous at Alessandria, left their colours, and returned home. At length, seeing no prospect of an accommodation, the Count de la Tour, who had joined the royal army at Novarra, and was at its head, having concerted measures with the Austrian general, advanced to Vercelli. Here, however, he was met by a considerable body of the insurgents, and not deeming himself in sufficient strength to encounter them, he fell back to Novarra, where he was joined, on the 7th April, by the Austrians, who had crossed the Ticino at Buffalora and Mortara. Their junction, which took place at two in the morning of the 8th, was unknown to the insurgents, who, driving the light troops of the royalists before them, appeared at ten in the morning, in front of the bastions of the place, anticipating its speedy capture, and an easy victory. But they were soon undeceived. Suddenly a terrible fire of

grape and musketry opened from the bastions; as the smoke cleared away, the Austrian uniform and shakos were seen above the parapets, and the insurgents found themselves engaged with the combined Austrian and Piedmontese forces, nearly triple their own, supported by the guns of the place. The effect of this unexpected apparition was immense upon the spirits of the assailants, who immediately fell back towards Vercelli. The retreat was conducted at first with more order than could have been expected, as far as the bridge over the Agogna, at the entrance of a long defile formed by the chaussée, where it traverses the marshes. There, however, the rear-guard was charged vigorously by the Austrian horse, and thrown into confusion; the disorder rapidly spread to the troops engaged in the defile, who were already encumbered with their artillery and baggage-waggons; and ere long the whole dispersed, and sought their homes, leaving their cannon, baggage, and colours, to the enemy.

84. This affair terminated the war, although it had cost only a few killed and wounded to the defeated party; so swift had been their flight that very few prisoners were taken. The junta at Turin, upon hearing of this defeat, gave orders to evacuate the capital, and fall back to Genoa, where they declared they would defend themselves to the last extremity. But it is seldom, save in a single city, that the cause of an insurrection can be maintained after a serious defeat. The constitutionalists melted away on all sides; every one hastened to show not only that he was loyal now, but had been so throughout, and in the worst times. Finding the case hopeless, the junta surrendered their powers, on the day following, to a committee of ten, invested with full power to treat. They immediately sent a deputation to General La Tour, offering him the keys of the capital, and entreating that it should be occupied only by the national troops. This was agreed to, and it was promised that the Austrians should not advance beyond Vercelli. On the 12th, General La Tour, surrounded by

a brilliant staff, and followed only by the national troops, made his public entrance into Turin, where the royal authority was immediately re-established. The revolutionary journals disappeared; the clubs were closed; and the public funds, which had lately been at 69, rose to 77. On the following day, the Austrian troops took possession of Alessandria, and other fortresses on the frontier; and as the old king, Charles Felix, persisted in his resolution to abdicate after he had become a free agent, and his sincerity could no longer be suspected, his brother, the Prince of Carignan, assumed the title, and began to exercise the powers of royalty. A commission was appointed to examine the conduct of the chiefs of the insurrection: the leaders had, for the most part, escaped into France; but the effects of forty-three were put under sequestration, and themselves executed, happily only in effigy.

85. The violent repression of the revolution in Italy, by the Austrian bayonets, was followed by a great variety of harsh and oppressive measures on the part of the conquerors, which augured ill for the peace of the peninsula in future times. A general disarmament of all the provinces of the Neapolitan territories where Austrian soldiers had been assassinated, was decreed, and enforced by domiciliary visits; the whole irregular corps, raised since 5th July 1820, were disbanded; foreign journals loaded with such heavy taxes as amounted to a prohibition; and the most rigorous inquiry made into the books, many of them highly dangerous, which had been put into the hands of the young at schools. The king, on his return, published a decree, engaging to "stifle all personal resentment, and make the nation forget, in years of prosperity, the disastrous events which have stained the last days of Neapolitan history;" but within three days after, measures of severity began. Four courts-martial were constituted, to take cognisance of the military who had taken part in the revolts which ended in the revolution, and several of the leading deputies of the assembly were sent into

confinement in Austria. By a decree on July 1, which commented, in severe but just terms, on their treacherous conduct, the army, which had been the chief instrument of the revolution, was disbanded, and reorganised anew on a different footing.* The finances were found to be in so deplorable a condition, that loans to the amount of 3,800,000 ducats (£850,000) alone enabled the king to provide for immediate necessities, and heavy taxes were levied to enable him to carry on the government. Finally, a treaty was signed on 28th October, by which it was stipulated that the army of occupation should consist of forty-two thousand men, including seven thousand cavalry, besides the troops stationed in Sicily; and that it should remain in the Neapolitan territory for three years, entirely at the charge of its inhabitants.

86. Piedmont did not fare better, after the dissolution of the revolutionary forces, than Naples had done. The prosecutions against the principal authors of the revolt, both civil and military, were conducted with vigour, and great numbers of persons were arrested, or deprived of their employments. Happily, however, as the whole chiefs of the conspiracy had escaped into France, there were no capital executions, except among a few of the

most guilty in the army. To tranquilise the fears of Austria, and give stability to the restored order of things in Piedmont, a treaty between the two powers was concluded on the 26th July, by which it was stipulated that an imperial force of twelve thousand men should continue in occupation, until September 1822, of Stradella, Voghera, Tortona, Alessandria, Valencia, Coni, and Vercelli. Its pay, amounting to 500,000 francs (£20,000) a-month, and its maintenance, extending to thirteen thousand rations daily, was to be wholly at the charge of the Piedmontese government. A general amnesty, disfigured by so many exceptions as to render it applicable only to the mass of the insurgents, was published on 30th September; and a few days after, a very severe decree was fulminated against the secret societies, which had brought such desolation and humiliation on Italy. The king made his public entry into Turin shortly after, assumed the reins of government, and appointed a royalist ministry; but every one felt that it was a truce only, not a peace, which had been established between the contending parties, and that beneath the treacherous surface there lurked the embers of a conflagration which would break out with additional violence on the first favourable opportunity.

* "L'armée est la principale cause de ces maux. Factieuse, ou entretenue par des factions, elle nous a abandonnés au moment du danger; et nous a par là, privés des moyens de prévenir les malheureuses conséquences d'une révolution. S'étant livrée à une secte qui détruit tous les liens de la subordination, et de l'obéissance, l'armée, après avoir trahi ses devoirs envers nous, s'est vue incapable de remplir les devoirs que la révolte avait voulu lui imposer. Elle a opéré elle-même sa destruction, et les chefs qu'elle s'était donnés, n'ont fait que présider à sa dissolution; elle n'offre plus aucune garantie nécessaire à l'existence d'une armée; le bien de nos états exige cependant l'existence d'une force protectrice, nous avons été obligés de la demander à nos alliés; ils l'ont mise à notre disposition. Nous devons pourvoir à son entretien, mais nous ne pouvons pas faire supporter à nos sujets, le pesant fardeau des frais d'une armée qui n'existe plus, parce qu'elle n'a pas su exister. Ces motifs nous ont déterminés à dissoudre l'armée, à compter du 24 Mars de cette année."—*Décret, 1 Juillet 1821. Annuaire Historique, iv. 364.*

87. The Emperor Alexander found, on his return to St Petersburg after the closing of the Diet of Warsaw, that the danger had reached his own dominions, and infected even the guards of the imperial palace. During his absence in Poland a serious mutiny occurred in the splendid regiment of the guards called Semenoff, which had been established by Peter the Great, and was much esteemed by the present emperor. It was occasioned by undue severity of discipline on the part of the colonel, who was a Courlander by birth, and enamoured of the German mode of compelling obedience by the baton. The regiment openly refused to obey orders, broke the windows of its obnoxious colonel, and was only reduced to obedience by the

courage and *sang froid* of the governor of St Petersburg, General Milarado-witch, at whose venerated voice the mutineers were abashed, and retired to their barracks. It was ordered by the Czar to be dissolved, and the officers and men dispersed through other regiments, and the most guilty delivered over to courts-martial. The St Petersburg papers all represented this mutiny as the result merely of misgovernment on the part of its colonel, and unconnected with political events; but its succeeding so rapidly the military revolutions in Spain and Naples led to an opposite opinion being generally entertained, and it had no slight influence in producing the vigorous resolutions taken at the congresses of Troppau and Laybach against the insurgents in the south of Europe. This impression was increased by the emperor in the following year, after his annual journey to the southern provinces, after the usual great reviews of the army there, returning abruptly to St Petersburg.

88. In truth, Alexander was now seriously alarmed, and the suspicions which he had conceived as to the fidelity of his troops, and the dread of insurrection, not only embittered all the remaining years of his life, but materially modified his external policy. This appeared in the most decisive manner in his conduct in regard to the Greek revolution, which began in this year, and which will form the interesting subject of a subsequent chapter of this History. Everything within and without eminently favoured a great and decisive movement in favour of the Greeks, on whose behalf, as co-religionists, the warmest sympathy existed among all classes in the Russian empire. The army was unanimous in favour of it, and at a great review of his guards, fifty thousand strong, in September 1821, at Witepsk, the feelings of the soldiers were so strong on the subject that, amidst unbounded demonstrations of enthusiastic loyalty, they could not be prevented from giving vent to their warlike ardour in favour of their Greek brethren. The news of the insurrection of Prince Ip-

silanti in Moldavia reached the emperor at Laybach, and such was the consternation of the European powers at the revolutions of Spain and Italy at that period, that no serious opposition was to be apprehended to any measures, how formidable soever, which he might have proposed, against the Turks, or even their entire expulsion from Europe. But that very circumstance determined the Czar, in opposition to the declared wish of both his army and people, to disavow the insurrection. He saw in it, not, as heretofore, a movement in favour of the Christian faith, or an effort for religious freedom, but a revolutionary outbreak, similar to those of Spain and Italy, which he could not countenance without departing from his principles, or support without the most imminent risk of the contagion spreading to his own troops. He returned for answer, accordingly, to the earnest application for aid from the insurgent Greeks, "Not being able to consider the enterprise of Ipsilanti as anything but the effect of the excitement which characterises the present period, and of the inexperience and levity of that young man, he had given orders to the Minister of the Interior to disapprove of it formally." The consequence was that the insurrection was crushed, and a great number of the heroic youths who had taken up arms in defence of their faith perished under the sabres of the Mussulmans.*

* The Emperor Alexander, in a highly interesting conversation with M. de Chateaubriand at Verona in 1823, explained his views on this important subject: "Je suis bien aise," said he, "que vous soyez venu à Vérone, afin de rendre témoignage à la vérité. Auriez-vous cru, comme le disent nos ennemis, que l'Alliance n'est qu'un mot qui ne sert qu'à couvrir des ambitions? Cela eut pu être vrai dans l'ancien état des choses; mais il s'agit bien aujourd'hui de quelques intérêts particuliers, quand le monde civilisé est en péril. Il ne peut plus y avoir de Politique Anglaise, Française, Prussienne, Autrichienne. Il n'y a plus qu'une politique générale qui doit, pour le salut de tous, être admise en commun par les peuples et les rois. C'est à moi de me montrer le premier convaincu des principes, sur lesquels j'ai fondé l'Alliance. Une occasion s'est présentée, le soulèvement de la Grèce. Rien sans doute ne paraissait être plus dans mes intérêts, dans ceux de mon peuple, dans l'opinion de mon pays, qu'une guerre religieuse contre la Turquie; mais j'ai

89. This year the already gigantic empire of the Czar received a huge addition by the appropriation of a vast territory opposite Kamtschatka, on the north-western coast of America. Several settlements of the Russians, chiefly for the purpose of fishing and the fur trade, had already been made on this desert and inhospitable coast from the opposite shores of Asia, which, in the immensity of the wilderness, had scarcely been noticed even by the United States, most interested in preventing them. They were for the most part made on the shores which had been discovered by Captain Cook and Vancouver, so that, on the footing of priority of discovery, the best claim to them belonged to Great Britain. But England already possessed an enormous territory in the North American Continent, amounting to four million square miles, of which scarce a tenth was capable of cultivation, and her government was indifferent to the settlement of Russians on the coast of the Pacific. The consequence was that they were allowed quietly to take possession, and on the 16/28 September the Czar issued a ukase defining the limits of the Russian territory in America, which embraced twice as much as the whole realm of France. The ukase also confined to Russian subjects the right of fishing along the coast from Behring Straits to the southern cape of the island of Oouf, and forbade all foreign vessels to fish within a hundred miles of the coast, under pain of con-

fiscation of their cargo. These assumed rights have not hitherto been called in question, but as the Anglo-Saxons in America are as aspiring as the Muscovites, and growing even more rapidly, it is not likely that this will long continue; and it is not impossible that the two great races which appear to divide the world are destined to be first brought into collision on the shores of the Pacific.

90. The increasing jealousy of the Czar at Liberal opinions, and the secret societies by which it was attempted to propagate them in his dominions, was evinced in the same year by a decree suppressing the order of Freemasons throughout the whole of his empire. In spite, however, of every precaution that could be taken, the secret societies continued and multiplied; and it was ere long ascertained that they embraced not only many of the first nobles in the country, but, what was far more dangerous, several of the officers high in the army, and even in the imperial guard. Obscure intimations of the existence of a vast conspiracy were frequently sent to the Government, but not in so distinct a form as to enable them to act upon it until 1823, when a ukase was issued, denouncing, under the severest penalties, all secret societies, especially in Poland; and a number of leaders of the "Patriotic Society," in particular Jukasinsky, Dobrogoyski, Machynicki, and several others, chiefly Poles, were arrested, and sent to Siberia. It was hoped at the time that the danger was thus removed, but it proved just the reverse. The seizure of these chiefs only served to warn the others of the necessity of the most rigorous secrecy, and gave additional proof, as it seemed to them, of the necessity for a forcible reformation in the State. The secret societies rapidly spread, especially amongst the highest in rank, the first in patriotic spirit, and the most generous in feeling, both in the civil and military service; a melancholy state of things, when those who should be the guardians of order are leagued together for its overthrow, but the natural result of a state of society such

cro remarquer, dans les troubles du Péloponèse, le signe révolutionnaire; dès lors je me suis abstenu. Que n'a-t-on fait pour rompre l'Alliance? On a cherché tour à tour à me donner des provocations; on a blessé mon amour-propre; on m'a outragé ouvertement. On me connaissait bien mal, si l'on a cru que mes principes ne tenaient qu'à des vanités, ou pouvaient céder à des ressentiments. Non, je ne me séparerai jamais des monarques auxquels je me suis uni. Il doit être permis aux rois d'avoir des alliances publiques, pour se défendre contre les sociétés secrètes. Qu'est-ce qui pourrait me tenter? Qu'ai-je besoin d'accroître mon empire? La Providence n'a pas mis à mes ordres huit cent mille soldats pour satisfaire mon ambition; mais pour protéger la religion, la morale, la justice; et pour faire régner ces principes d'ordre, sur lesquels repose la société humaine."—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Congrès de Vérone*, i. 221, 222.

as then existed in Russia, where the power of the sovereign, entirely despotic, was rested on the blind submission of the vast majority of the nation, and a longing for Liberal institutions and the enjoyment of freedom existed only in a very limited circle of the most highly-educated classes, but was felt there in the utmost intensity.

91. The desponding feelings of the Czar, occasioned by the discovery that his efforts for the amelioration of his country were only met by secret societies banded together for his destruction, was much aggravated by the failure of some of his most favourite philanthropic projects. In many of the provinces in which the serfs had received from the sovereign or their lords the perilous gift of freedom, they had suffered severely from the change. The newly enfranchised peasants, in many places, regretted the servitude which had secured to them an asylum in sickness or old age. In the province of Witepsk, where the change had been carried to a great extent, they refused to pay the capitation-tax imposed on them in lieu of their bondage, alleging that they had not the means of doing so; and besieged the empress-dowager, who was known to adhere to old ideas, with the loudest complaints on the "fatal gift" which they had received. So serious did the disorders become among the new freemen, that they were only appeased by the quartering of a large military force on the disturbed districts. Russia suffered even more than the other countries of Europe, in this and the preceding year, from the depreciation of prices, which fell with unmitigated severity on the holders of the immense stores of its rude produce. Banks, by order of the emperor, were established in many places to relieve the distresses of the surcharged proprietors, but they did not meet with general success; and the advances meant to stimulate industry, were too often applied only to feed luxury or minister to depravity.

92. The external transactions of Russia in regard to the Congress of Verona, the Greek revolution, and the Turkish war, will be recounted more suitably in the chapters which

relate to those important subjects. But there are a few internal events in Russia which deserve notice before the melancholy period when Alexander paid the common debt of mortality. The first of these was the dreadful inundation at St Petersburg, in November 1824. The emperor had just returned from a visit to Orenburg, and the south-eastern provinces of his empire, to his palace at Tsarekolo near St Petersburg, when a terrible hurricane arose, which, sweeping over the whole of the Baltic, strewn its shores with wrecks, and inflicted the most frightful devastation on all the harbours with which it is studded. But the catastrophe at the capital was so frightful, that for some hours it was menaced with entire destruction, and all but accomplished a remarkable prophecy, made to Peter the Great when he commenced its construction, that it would one day perish under the waves of the Baltic.*

93. To understand how this happened, it is necessary to obtain a clear idea of the local circumstances and situation of St Petersburg. When Peter selected the islands at the mouth of the river Neva, which, descending from the vast expanse of the Lake Ladoga, empties itself in a mighty stream into the Baltic, for the site of his future capital, he was influenced entirely by the suitability of its situation for a great harbour, of which he severely felt the want, as Archangel, on the frozen shores of the White Sea, was the only port at that period in his

* A curious incident, highly characteristic of Peter, occurred when these constructions began. "When the foundation of his new capital was commencing on the desolate islands of the Neva, which are now covered by the fortress of Cronstadt and the superb palaces of St Petersburg, Peter observed, by accident, a tree marked at a considerable height from the ground. He called a peasant of Finland, who was working near, and asked him 'what the mark was for?' 'It is the highest level,' replied the peasant, 'which the water reached in the inundation of 1680.' 'You lie!' cried the Czar in a fury; 'what you say is impossible;' and seizing a hatchet, he with his own hands cut down the tree, hoping thereby to extinguish alike all memory of the former flood, and guard against the recurrence of a similar calamity."—SCHNITZLER, i. 85, 86.

dominions. Carried away by this object, which, no doubt, was a very important one, he entirely overlooked the probable unhealthiness of the situation, where a metropolis rested like Venice on marshy islands, the highest part of which was only elevated a few feet above the branches of the river with which they were surrounded; the extreme cold which must ensue in winter, from the close proximity of enormous ice-fields; and the probability of its being exposed to the greatest danger from a sudden rising of the waters of the river owing to a high wind of long continuance blowing in the waters of the Baltic, and backing those which usually flow from the Lake Ladoga. It was this which had previously occurred on more than one occasion, and which now threatened the capital with destruction.

94. Regardless of these dangers, and of the enormous consumption of human life which took place during the building of the city, from the unhealthiness of the situation, which is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand persons, the Czar drove on the work with the impetuosity which formed so leading a feature in his character, and at length the basis of a great city was laid amidst the watery waste. On the spongy soil and low swamps, which had previously encumbered the course of the Neva, the modern capital arose. Vast blocks of granite, brought from the adjacent plains of Finland, where they are strewed in huge masses over the surface, faced the quays; palaces were erected, of more fragile materials, on the surface, within the isles; and the Perspective Newski is perhaps now the most imposing street in Europe, from the beauty of its edifices and the magnitude of its dimensions. The splendid façade of the Admiralty, the Winter Palace of the emperor, the noble Cathedral of St Isaac, the statue of Peter the Great, resting on a single block of granite of 1800 tons weight, the lofty pillar of Alexander, formed of a single stone of the same material, the largest in the world, combined in a single square, now overpower the imagination of the beholder by their

magnificence, and the impression they convey of the power of the sovereign by whose energy these marvels have been made to spring up amidst the watery wilderness. But the original danger, arising from the lowness of the situation, and its liability to inundations, still continues. Great as it is, the power of the Czar is not so great as that of the Baltic waves. From the main channel, where the Neva majestically flows through superb quays of granite, surmounted by piles of palaces, branch off, as from the great canal at Venice, numerous smaller streams, forming by their intersection so many isles, some covered with streets, and forming the most populous quarters; others adorned by beautiful villas and public gardens, the recreation of the citizens during their brief but brilliant summer. But these canals open so many entrances for the floods of the Neva or waves of the Baltic to penetrate into every part of the city. None of it is elevated in its foundations more than a few feet above the ordinary level of the water, and the spectator shudders to think that the rise of the flood, even in a small degree, may threaten the entire city with destruction.

95. This was what in effect happened at this time. On several former occasions the river had been much swollen: once, immediately before the birth of the present emperor, it was ten feet above its ordinary level. But this was as nothing compared to the terrible inundation which now presaged his death. All the 19th of November the wind blew from the south-west with terrific violence, and brought the Baltic waves in such a prodigious mass to the mouth of the Neva that its waters were made to regorge, and soon the quays were overflowed, and the lower parts of the city began to be submerged. This at first, however, excited very little attention, as such floods were not uncommon in the end of autumn; but the alarm soon spread, and terror was depicted in every visage, when it rapidly ascended and spread over the whole town. By half-past ten the water in the Perspective New-

ski was ten feet deep; in the highest parts of the city it was five. The Neva had risen four fathoms above its ordinary level, and, worse still, it was continuing to rise. The whole inhabitants crowded to the upper storeys of the houses. Despair now seized on every heart; the reality of the danger came home to every mind; the awful scenes of the Deluge were realised in the very centre of modern civilisation. At Cronstadt a ship of the line was lifted up from a dry dock, and floated over the adjacent houses into the great square. At eight in the morning the cannon of alarm began to be discharged. The terrible warning, repeated every minute, so unusual amidst the ordinary stillness of the capital, proved the terror which was felt by government, and augmented the general consternation. Ships torn up from their anchors; boats filled with trembling fugitives; stacks of corn borne on the surface of the waves from a great distance; cattle buffeting with the torrent, intermingled with corpses of persons drowned, or at their last gasp, imploring aid; and immense quantities of furniture, and movables of every description, were floated on to the most intricate and secluded parts of the city. The waters continued to rise till four in the afternoon, and every one imagined that all who could not save themselves in boats would be drowned. The rush was dreadful, accordingly, into every vessel that could be seized on, and numbers perished in striving to get on board. At five in the evening the wind fell, and the water sank as rapidly as it had risen, and by the next morning the Neva had returned to its former channel. The total loss occasioned by the wind and the inundation was estimated at 100,000,000 rubles (£4,000,000); five hundred persons perished in the waves, and twice that number, sick or infirm, were drowned in their houses. Such had been the violence of the wind and flood, that when the waters subsided they were found to have floated from their place cannons weighing two tons and a half.

96. At the sight of this terrible ca-

lamity, which for a time seemed to bid defiance to the utmost human efforts, the Czar in despair stretched forth his hands to Heaven, and implored that its anger might fall upon his own head, and spare his people. He did not, however, neglect all human means of mitigating the calamity. Throwing himself into a bark, he visited in person the quarters most threatened, distributed the troops in the way most likely to be serviceable, and exposed himself to death repeatedly in order to save his people. All would have been unavailing, however, and the city totally destroyed, if the wind had not mercifully abated, and the waters of the Neva found their usual vent into the Baltic. Munificent subscriptions followed the calamity; the emperor headed the list with fifty thousand pounds. The most solid houses were impregnated with salt, and in a manner ruined; and a severe frost which set in immediately after, before the water had left the houses, augmented the general suffering by filling them with large blocks of ice. Even the most solid granite was exfoliated, and crumbled away before spring, from the effects of the frost on the humid structures. The people regarded this calamity as a judgment of Heaven for not having assisted their Christian brethren during their recent and frightful persecutions from the Turks—the emperor as a punishment for sins of which he was more immediately concerned in his domestic relations.

97. The year 1824 was marked by a ukase ordering a levy of two in five hundred males over the whole empire—a measure which brought 120,000 men to the imperial standards. As this measure was adopted during the contest in Greece, and when all thought was turned towards the liberation of its inhabitants from the Ottoman yoke, it was obeyed with alacrity, and even enthusiasm. The persons drawn took their departure as for a holy war, amidst the shouts of their relations and neighbours; and from them, in great part, were formed the redoubtable bands which in a few years carried the

Russian eagles to Varna, Erivan, and Adrianople. A dangerous revolt in the same year broke out in the province of Novgorod, owing to the peasants having been misled into the belief that the emperor had given them their freedom, and that it was withheld by their lords, which was only crushed by a great display of military force and considerable bloodshed. It was the more alarming, from its being ascertained that the conspiracy had its roots in the military colonies recently established in the southern provinces. The financial measures adopted in 1820 and 1822, for withdrawing a large part of the assignats from circulation, were continued with vigour and success—a circumstance which, of course, made a progressive rise in the value of money, and fall in that of produce, and added much to the general distress felt among the class of producers. Already the ruble was worth 50 per cent more than it had been a few years before. A treaty was signed on the 27th April between Russia and the United States, which settled the respective limits of their vast possessions in North America: the line of demarcation was fixed at 54° north latitude; all to the north was Russian, all to the south American; and the reciprocal right was secured to the inhabitants of both countries, of fishing on each other's coasts, navigating the Pacific, and disembarking on places not occupied, but for the purpose only of trade with the inhabitants, or supplies for themselves.

98. When, in 1793, the Empress Catherine deemed it time to select a spouse for her grandson, Alexander, she cast her eyes on the family of the Grand-duke of Baden, who at that time had three daughters, gifted with all the virtue and graces, and much of the beauty, of their sex. They all made splendid alliances. The eldest became Queen of Sweden; the youngest, Queen of Bavaria; the second, Empress of Russia. Married on 9th October 1793 to the young Alexander, then only sixteen years of age, when she was fifteen, she took, according to the Russian custom, the name of Elizabeth Alexejona instead of her own, which was

Louise-Marie-Auguste, under which she had been baptised. The pair, though too young for the serious duties of their station, charmed every eye by the beauty of their figures and the affability of their manners. But the union, however ushered in by splendid prognostications, proved unfortunate: it shared the fate of nearly all in every rank which are formed by parental authority, before the disposition has declared itself, the constitution strengthened, or the tastes formed. The young empress was gifted with all the virtues and many of the graces of her sex. Her countenance, though not regular, was lightened by a sweet expression; her hair, which she wore in locks over her shoulders, beautiful; her figure was elegant, and her motions so graceful that she seemed to realise the visions of the poet, which made the goddess reveal herself by her step.* In disposition she was in the highest degree amiable and exemplary, self-denying, generous, and affectionate. But with all these charms and virtues she wanted the one thing needful for a man of a thoughtful and superior turn of mind: she was not a companion. She had little conversation, few ideas, and none of that elasticity of mind which is necessary for the charm of conversational intercourse. Hence even the earliest years of their marriage were productive of no lasting ties; they seldom met, save in public; and the death of their two only children, both of whom were daughters, deprived them of the enduring bond of parental love. No one need be told that conjugal fidelity is of all others the virtue most difficult to practise on the throne, and that it is never so much so as to sovereigns of the most energetic and powerful minds. Ardent in one thing, they are not less so in another: of few, from Julius Cæsar to Henry IV., can it be said that they are, like Charles XII.,

“Unconquered lords of pleasure and of pain.”

99. Alexander was not a sensualist, and he had none of the passion for meretricious variety, which so often in

* “Et vera incessu patuit Dea.”—VIRGIL.

high rank has disgraced the most illustrious characters. But his mind was ardent, his heart tender, and he had the highest enjoyment in the confidential *épanchements* which, rarely felt by any save with those of the opposite sex, can never be so but with them—by sovereigns whose elevation keeps all of their own at a distance. Before many years of his married life had passed, Alexander had yielded to these dispositions; and the knowledge of his infidelities completed the estrangement of the illustrious couple. “Out of these infidelities arose,” says M. de Chateaubriand, “a fidelity which continued eleven years.” Alexander, however, suffered in his turn by a righteous retribution the pangs of jealousy. The object of his attachment (a married Polish lady of rank) had all the beauty, fascination, and conversational talent which have rendered her countrywomen so celebrated over Europe, and to which even the intellectual breast of Napoleon did homage; but she had also the spirit of coquetry and thirst for admiration which has so often turned the passions they have awakened into a consuming fire. Unfaithful to duty, she had proved equally so to love: the influence of the Emperor was, after a long constancy, superseded by a new attachment; and the *liaison* between them was already broken, when a domestic calamity overwhelmed him with affliction. Meanwhile the empress, who had left Russia, and sought solace in foreign travelling, mourned in silence and dignified retirement the infidelity of her husband—the blasting of her hopes. Yet even then, under a calm and serene air, and the cares of a life entirely devoted to deeds of beneficence, was concealed a heart wasted by sorrow, but faithful to its first attachment. “How often,” says the annalist, “was she surprised in tears, contemplating the portrait of that Alexander, so lovable, yet so faithless!”

100. From this irregular connection had sprung three children, two of which had died in infancy. But the third, Mademoiselle N., a child gifted with all the graces and charms of her mother, though in delicate health, still

lived, and had become the object of the most passionate affection to her father. It became necessary to send her to Paris, for the benefit of a milder climate and the best medical advice; and during her absence, the emperor, a solitary hermit in his palace, but thirsting for the enjoyments of domestic life, sought a temporary respite to his anxiety in frequenting the houses of some highly respectable families in middle life, for the most part Germans, to whom his rank was known, but where he insisted upon being treated as an ordinary guest. There he often expressed his envy at the happiness which reigned in those domestic circles, and sighed to think that the Emperor of All the Russias was compelled to seek, at the hearth of others, that felicity which his grandeur or his faults had denied him at his own. But the hand of fate was upon him; he was to be pierced to the heart through the fruit of his own irregularities. His daughter, who was now seventeen, had returned from France, apparently restored to health, and in all the bloom of youth and beauty. She was engaged to be married, with the entire consent of her father: the magnificent trousseau was ordered at Paris, but when it arrived at St Petersburg she was no more. So sudden was the death of the young *fiancée*, that it occurred when the emperor was out at a review of his guards. An aide-de-camp, with a melancholy expression, approached, and requested leave to speak to him in private. At the first words he divined the whole: a mortal paleness overspread his visage, and, turning up his eyes to heaven, he struck his forehead and exclaimed, “I receive the punishment of my sins!”

101. These words were not only descriptive of the change in the emperor's mind in the latter years of his life, but they presaged, and truly, an important alteration in his domestic relations, which shed a ray of happiness over his last moments. His mind, naturally inclined to deep and mystical religious emotions, had been much affected by the dreadful scenes which he had witnessed at the inundation of

St Petersburg, and this domestic bereavement completed the impression that he was suffering, by the justice of Heaven, the penalty of his transgressions. Under the influence of these feelings, he returned to his original dispositions; and that mysterious change took place in his mind, which so often, on the verge of the grave, brings us back to the impressions of our youth. He again sought the society of the empress, who had returned to St Petersburg, was attentive to her smallest wishes, and sought to efface the recollection of former neglect by every kindness which affection could suggest. The change was not lost upon that noble princess, who still nourished in her inmost heart her first attachment; and the reconciliation was rendered complete by the generous tears which, in sympathy with her husband's sorrow, she shed over the bier of her rival's daughter. But she, too, was in an alarming state of health; long years of anxiety and suffering had weakened her constitution, and the physicians recommended a change, and return to her native air. But the empress declared that the sovereign must not die elsewhere but in her own dominions, and she refused to leave Russia. They upon this proposed the Crimea; but Alexander gave the preference to TAGANROG. The emperor fixed his departure for the 13th September 1825, some days before that of the empress, in order to prepare everything for her reception. Though his own health was broken, as he had not recovered from an attack of erysipelas, he resolved upon running the risk of the journey: an expedition of some thousand miles had no terrors for one the half of whose life was spent in travelling.

102. Sincerely religious to the extent even of being superstitious, the emperor had a presentiment that this journey was to be his last, and that he was about to expire beside the empress, amidst the flowery meads and balmy air of the south. Impressed with this idea, he had fixed his departure for the 1st September old style (13th), the day after a solemn service had been celebrated in the cathedral of Kazan,

on the translation of the bones of the great Prince Alexander Newski from the place of his sepulture at Vladimir to that holy fane on the banks of the Neva. On every departure for a long journey, the emperor had been in the habit of repairing to its altar to pray; but on this occasion he directed the metropolitan bishop in secret to have the service *for the dead* chanted for him when he returned on the following morning at four o'clock. He arrived there, accordingly, next day at that early hour, when it was still dark, and was met by the priests in full costume as for the burial service, the service of which was chanted as he approached. He drove up to the cathedral by the magnificent street of Perspective Newski in a simple caleche drawn by three horses abreast, without a single servant, and reached the gate as the first streaks of light were beginning to appear in the eastern sky. Wrapped in his military cloak, without his sword, and bareheaded, the emperor alighted, kissed the cross which the archbishop presented to him, and entered the cathedral alone, the gates of which were immediately closed after him. The prayer appointed for travellers was then chanted; the Czar knelt at the gate of the rail which surrounded the altar, and received the benediction of the prelate, who placed the sacred volume on his head, and, receiving with pious care a consecrated cross and some relic of the saint in his bosom, he again kissed the emblem of salvation, "which gives life,"* and departed alone and unattended, save by the priests, who continued to sing till he was beyond the gates of the cathedral the chant, "God save thy People."

103. The archbishop, called in the Greek Church "the Seraphim," requested the emperor, while his travelling carriage was drawing up, to honour his cell with a visit, which he at once agreed to do. Arrived at this retreat, the conversation turned on the *Schinnik*, an order of peculiarly austere monks, who had their cells in the vicinity. The emperor expressed a wish to see one of them, and imme-

* A term consecrated in the Russian Church.

diately the archbishop accompanied him to their chief. The emperor there found only a small apartment furnished with deal boards, covered with black cloth, and hung with the same funeral garb. "I see no bed," said the emperor. "Here it is," said the monk, and, drawing aside a curtain, revealed an alcove, in which was a coffin covered with black cloth, and surrounded with all the lugubrious habiliments of the dead. "This," he added, "is my bed; it will ere long be yours, and that of all, for their long sleep." The emperor was silent, and mused long. Then suddenly starting from his reverie, as if recalled to the affairs of this world, he bade them all adieu with the words, "Pray for me and for my wife." He ascended his open calèche, the horses of which bore him towards the south with their accustomed rapidity, and was soon out of sight; but he was still uncovered when the carriage disappeared in the obscure grey of the morning.

104. Alexander made the journey in twelve days; and as the distance was above fifteen hundred miles, and he was obliged to stop at many places, he must have gone from a hundred and fifty to two hundred miles a-day. He was fully impressed with the idea of his approaching death the whole way, and often asked the coachman "if he had seen the wandering star?" "Yes, your majesty," he replied. "Do you know what it presages? Misfortune and death: but God's will be done." Arrived at Taganrog, he devoted several days to preparing everything for the empress, which he did with the utmost solicitude and care. She arrived ten days after, and they remained together for some weeks, walking and driving out in the forenoon, and conversing alone in the evening with the utmost affection, more like newly-married persons than those who had so long been severed. The cares of empire, however, ere long tore the emperor from this charming retreat; and on the urgent entreaty of Count Woronzoff, governor of the Crimea, he undertook a journey in that province. He set out on the 1st November; and during seventeen days that the expedition lasted, alternately

admired the romantic mountain scenery and beautiful sea-views, rivalling those of the Corniche between Nice and Genoa, which the route presented. At Ghirai, however, on the 10th, after dinner, when conversing with Sir James Wylie, his long-tried and faithful medical attendant, on his anxiety about the empress, who had just heard of the death of the King of Bavaria, her brother-in-law, he mentioned, as if accidentally, that he felt his stomach deranged, and that for several nights his sleep had been disturbed. Sir James felt his pulse, which indicated fever, and earnestly counselled the adoption of immediate remedies. "I have no need of you," replied the emperor, smiling, "nor of your Latin pharmacopœia—I know how to treat myself. Besides, my trust is in God, and in the strength of my constitution." Notwithstanding all that could be said, he persisted in his refusal to take medicine, and even continued his journey, and exposed himself to his wonted fatigue on horseback when returning along the pestilential shores of the Putrid Sea.

105. He returned to Taganrog on the 17th, being the exact day fixed for that event before his departure; but already shivering fits, succeeded by cold ones, the well-known symptoms of intermittent fever, had shown themselves. The empress, with whom he shared every instant that could be spared from the cares of empire, evinced to him the most unremitting attention, and by the earnest entreaties of his physician he was at length prevailed on to take some of the usual remedies prescribed for such cases. For a brief space they had the desired effect; and the advices sent to St Petersburg of the august patient's convalescence threw the people, who had been seriously alarmed by the accounts of his illness, into a delirium of joy. But these hopes proved fallacious. On the 25th the symptoms suddenly became more threatening. Extreme weakness confined him to his couch, and alarming despatches from General Diebitch and Count Woronzoff augmented his anxiety, by revealing the existence and magnitude of the

vast conspiracy in the army, which had for its object to deprive him of his throne and life. "My friend," said he to Sir James Wylie, "what a frightful design! The monsters—the ungrateful! when I had no thought but for their happiness."*

106. The symptoms now daily became more alarming, and the fever assumed the form of the bilious or gastric, as it is now called, and at last showed the worst features of the typhus. His physicians then, despairing of his life, got Prince Volkonsky to suggest the last duties of a Christian. "They have spoken to me, Wylie," said the emperor, "of the communion; has it really come to that?" "Yes," said that faithful counsellor, with tears in his eyes; "I speak to you no longer as a physician, but as a friend. Your Majesty has not a moment to lose." Next day the emperor confessed, and with the empress, who never for an instant, day or night, left his bedside, received the last communion. "Forget the emperor," said he to the confessor; "speak to me simply as a dying Christian." After this he became perfectly docile. "Never," said he to the empress, "have I felt such a glow of inward satisfaction as at this moment; I thank you from the bottom of my heart." The symptoms of erysipelas in his leg now returned. "I will die," said he, "like my sister," alluding to the Grand-duchess of Oldenburg, who had refused Napoleon at Erfurth, and afterwards died of that complaint. He then fell into a deep sleep, and awakened when it was near mid-day, and the sun

was shining brightly. Causing the windows to be opened, he said, looking at the blue vault, "What a beautiful day!"* and feeling the arms of the empress around him, he said tenderly, pressing her hand, "My love, you must be very fatigued." These were his last words. He soon after fell into a lethargic sleep, which lasted several hours, from which he only awakened a few minutes before he breathed his last. The power of speech was gone; but he made a sign to the empress to approach, and imprinted a last and fervent kiss on her hand. The rattle was soon heard in his throat. She closed his eyes a few minutes after, and, placing the cross on his bosom, embraced his lifeless remains for the last time. "Lord!" said she, "pardon my sins; it has pleased Thy omnipotent power to take him from me."†

107. The body of the emperor, after being embalmed, was brought to the Church of St Alexander Newski at Taganrog, where it remained for some days in a *chapelle ardente*, surrounded by his mourning subjects, and was thence transferred, accompanied by a splendid cortège of cavalry, Cossacks, and artillery, after a long interval, to the cathedral of St Peter and St Paul, in the citadel of St Petersburg, where his ancestors were laid. The long journey occupied several weeks, and every night, when his remains were deposited in the church of the place where the procession rested, crowds of people,

* "Light—more light!" the well-known last words of Goethe, as noticed by Bulwer in his beautiful romance, "My Novel." Those who have witnessed the last moments of the dying, know how often a request for, or expressions of satisfaction for light, are among their last words.

† The empress addressed the following beautiful letter to her mother-in-law on this sad bereavement: "Maman, votre ange est au ciel, et moi, je végète encore sur la terre. Qui aurait pensé que moi, faible malade, je pourrais lui survivre? Maman, ne m'abandonnez pas, car je suis absolument seule dans ce monde de douleurs. Notre cher défunt a repris son air de bienveillance, son sourire me prouve qu'il est heureux, et qu'il voit des choses plus belles qu'ici-bas. Ma seule consolation dans cette perte irréparable est, que je ne lui survivrai pas; j'ai l'espérance de m'unir bientôt à lui."—L'IMPERATRICE à MARIE FEODOROVNA, 2 Dec. 1825.

* "Le monarque dit un jour à M. Wylie, 'Laissez-moi, je sais moi-même ce qu'il me faut: du repos, de la solitude, de la tranquillité.' Un autre jour, il lui dit: 'Mon ami, ce sont mes nerfs qu'il faut soigner; ils sont dans un désordre épouvantable.' 'C'est un mal,' lui répliqua Wylie, 'dont les rois sont plus souvent atteints que les particuliers.' 'Surtout dans les temps actuels!' répliqua vivement Alexandre. 'Ah! j'ai bien sujet d'être malade.' Enfin, étant en apparence sans aucune fièvre, l'Empereur se tourna brusquement vers le docteur, qui était seul présent. 'Mon ami,' s'écria-t-il, 'quelles actions, quelles épouvantables actions!' et il fixa sur le médecin un regard terrible et incompréhensible."—*Annuaire Historique*, viii. 37, note.

from a great distance around, flocked to the spot to kneel down, and kiss the bier where their beloved Czar was laid. The body reached St Petersburg on the 10th of March, but the interment, which was conducted with extraordinary magnificence in the cathedral, did not take place till the 25th. The Grand-duke Nicholas (who since became emperor), with all the imperial family, was present on the occasion, and a splendid assembly of the nobility of Russia and diplomacy of Europe. There was not a heart which was not moved, scarce an eye that was not moistened with tears. The old grenadiers, his comrades in the campaigns in Germany and France, and who bore the weight of the coffin when taken to the grave, wept like children; and he was followed to his last home by his faithful servant Ilya, who had driven the car from Taganrog, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, and who stood in tears at the side of the bier, as his beloved master was laid in the tomb.

108. The Empress Elizabeth did not long survive the husband who, despite all her sorrows, had ever reigned supreme in her heart. The feeble state of her health did not permit of her accompanying his funeral procession to St Petersburg, which she was passionately desirous to have done; and it was not till the 8th May that she was able to leave Taganrog on her way to the capital. The whole population of the town, by whom she was extremely beloved, accompanied her for a considerable distance on the road. Her weakness, however, increased rapidly as she continued her journey; grief for the loss of her husband, along with the sudden cessation of the anxiety for his life, and the want of any other object in existence, proved fatal to a constitution already weakened by long years of mourning and severance. She with difficulty reached Belef, a small town in the government of Toule, where she breathed her last, serene and tranquil, on the 16th May. Her remains were brought to St Petersburg, where she was carried to the cathedral on the same car which had conveyed her husband, and laid beside him on the 3d

July. Thus terminated a marriage, celebrated thirty years before with every prospect of earthly felicity, and every splendour which the most exalted rank could confer. "I have seen," said a Russian poet, "that couple, he beautiful as Hope, she ravishing as Felicity. It seems only a day since Catherine placed on their youthful heads the nuptial crown of roses: soon the diadems were mingled with thorns; and too soon, alas! the angel of death environed their pale foreheads with poppies, the emblem of eternal sleep."

109. Had Alexander died shortly after the first capture of Paris in 1814, he would have left a name unique in the history of the world, for never before had so great a part been so nobly played on such a theatre. It is hard to say whether his fortitude in adversity, his resolution in danger, or his clemency in victory, were then most admirable. For the first time in the annals of mankind, the sublime principles of the forgiveness of injuries were brought into the government of nations in the moment of their highest excitement, and mercy in the hour of triumph restrained the uplifted hand of justice. To the end of the world the flames of Moscow will be associated with the forgiveness of Paris. But time has taken much from the halo which then environed his name, and revealed weaknesses in his character well known to his personal friends, but the existence of which the splendour of his former career had hardly permitted to be suspected. He had many veins of magnanimity in his character, but he was not a thoroughly great man. He was so, like a woman, by impulse and sentiment, rather than principle and habit. Chateaubriand said, "*Il avait l'âme forte, mais le caractère foible.*" He wanted the constancy of purpose and perseverance of conduct which is the distinguishing and highest mark of the masculine character.

110. Warm-hearted, benevolent, and affectionate, he was without the steadiness which springs from internal conviction, and the consistency which arises from the feelings being permanently guided by the conscience and

ruled by the reason. He was sincerely desirous of promoting the happiness of his subjects, and deeply impressed with a sense of duty in that respect ; but his projects of amelioration were not based upon practical information, and consequently, in great part, failed in effect. They savoured more of the philanthropic dreams of his Swiss preceptor La Harpe, than either the manners, customs, or character of his own people. At times he was magnanimous and heroic, when circumstances called forth these elevated qualities ; but at others he was flexible and weak, when he fell under influences of a less creditable description. Essentially religious in his disposition, he sometimes sank into the dreams of superstition. The antagonist of Napoleon at one time came to share the reveries of Madame Krudener at another. Affectionate in private life, he yet broke the heart of his empress, who showed by her noble conduct on his deathbed how entirely she was worthy of his regard. His character affords a memorable example of the truth so often enforced by moralists, so generally forgot in the world, that it is in the ruling power of the mind, rather than the impulses by which it is influenced, that the distinguishing mark of character is to be looked for ; and that no amount of generosity of disposition can compensate for the want of the firmness which is to control it.

111. The death of Alexander was succeeded by events in Russia of the very highest importance, and which revealed the depth of the abyss on the edge of which the despotic sovereigns of Europe slumbered in fancied security. It occasioned, at the same time, a contest of generosity between the two brothers of Alexander, Constantine and Nicholas, unexampled in history, and which resembles rather the fabled magnanimity with which the poets extricate the difficulties of a drama on the opera stage, than anything which occurs in real life. By a ukase of 5 16th April 1797, the Emperor Paul had abolished the right of choosing a successor out of the imperial family, which Peter the Great had assumed, and es-

tablished for ever the succession to the crown in the usual order, the males succeeding before the females, and the elder in both before the younger. This settlement had been formally sanctioned by the Emperor Alexander on two solemn occasions, and it constituted the acknowledged and settled law of the empire. As the late emperor had only two daughters, both of whom died in infancy, the undoubted heir to the throne, when he died, was the Grand-duke Constantine, then at Warsaw, at the head of the government of Poland. On the other hand, the Grand-duke Nicholas, the next younger brother, was at St Petersburg, where he was high in command, and much beloved by the guards in military possession of the capital. In these circumstances, if a contest was to be apprehended, it was between the younger brother on the spot endeavouring to supplant the elder at a distance. Nevertheless it was just the reverse. There was a contest, but it was between the two brothers, each endeavouring to devolve the empire upon the other.

112. Intelligence of the progress of the malady of Alexander was communicated to Constantine at Warsaw, as regularly as to the empress-mother at St Petersburg ; and it was universally supposed that, as a matter of course, upon the demise of the Czar, to whom he was only eighteen months younger, he would succeed to the throne. The accounts of the death of the reigning sovereign reached Warsaw on the 7th December, where both Constantine and his youngest brother, the Grand-duke Michael, were at the time. The former was immediately considered as emperor by the troops, and all the ministers and persons in attendance in the palace, though he shut himself up in his apartment for two days on receiving the melancholy intelligence. But to the astonishment of every one, instead of assuming the title and functions of empire, he absolutely forbade them ; declared that he had resigned his right of succession in favour of his younger brother Nicholas ; that this had been done with the full knowledge and consent of the late emperor ; and that

Nicholas was now emperor. And in effect, on the day following, the Grand-duke Michael set out for St Petersburg, bearing holograph letters from Constantine to the empress-mother and his brother Nicholas, in which, after referring to a former act of renunciation in 1822, deposited in the archives of the empire, and which had received the sanction of the late emperor, he again, in the most solemn manner, repeated his renunciation of the throne.*

113. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise that the Grand-duke Constantine, like his brother Alexander, had been married, at the early age of sixteen, by the orders of the Empress Catherine, to the Princess Julienne of Saxe-Coburg, a house which has since been illustrated by so many distinguished marriages into the royal families of Europe. The marriage, from the very first, as already mentioned, proved unfortunate: the savage manners of the Grand-duke proved insupportable to the princess; they had no family; and at the

* The letter to the empress-mother was in these words: "Habitué dès mon enfance à accomplir religieusement la volonté, tant de feu mon père que du défunt empereur, ainsi que celle de V. M. I.; et me renfermant maintenant encore dans les bornes de ce principe, je considère comme une obligation de céder mon droit à la puissance, conformément aux dispositions de l'acte de l'empire sur l'ordre de succession dans la famille impériale, à S. A. I. le Grand-duc Nicolas et à ses héritiers." In the letter, of the same date, to the Grand-duke Nicholas, Constantine thus expressed himself: "Je regarde comme un devoir sacré, de prier très-humblement V. M. I. qu'elle daigne accepter de moi, tout le premier, mon serment de sujétion et de fidélité; et de me permettre de lui exposer que, n'élevant mes yeux à aucune dignité nouvelle, ni à aucun titre nouveau, je désire de conserver seulement celui de Césarowitch, dont j'ai été honoré pour mes services, par feu notre père. Mon unique bonheur sera toujours que V. M. I. daigne agréer les sentiments de ma plus profonde vénération, et de mon dévouement sans bornes; sentiments dont j'offre comme gage, plus de trente années d'un service fidèle, et du zèle le plus pur qui m'anime envers L. L. M. les empereurs mon père et mon frère de glorieuse mémoire. C'est avec les mêmes sentiments que je ne cesserai jusqu'à la fin de mes jours de servir V. M. I., et ses descendants dans mes fonctions et ma place actuelle."—CONSTANTIN à l'Impératrice MARIE et au Grand-duc NICOLAS, 8th December 1825. SCHNITZLER, *Hist. Int. de la Russie*, i. 190, 191.

end of four years they separated by mutual consent, and the Grand-duchess returned, with a suitable pension, to her father in Germany. The Grand-duke was occupied for twenty years after with war, interspersed with temporary *liaisons*; but at length, in 1820, when he was Viceroy of Poland, his inconstant affections were fixed by a Polish lady of uncommon beauty and fascination. She was Jeanne Grudzińska, daughter of a count and landed proprietor at Pistolaf, in the district of Bromberg. So ardent was the passion of Constantine for the Polish beauty, that he obtained a divorce from his first wife on 1st April 1820, and immediately espoused, though with the left hand, the object of his present passion, upon whom he bestowed the title of Princess of Lowicz, after a lordship in Masovia which he gave to her brother, and which had formerly formed part of the military appanage bestowed by Napoleon upon Marshal Davoust.

114. The marriage of Constantine, however, was with the left hand, or a *morganatic* one only; the effect of which was, that, though legal in all other respects, the sons of the marriage were not grand-dukes, and could not succeed to the throne; nor did the princess by her marriage become a grand-duchess. But in addition to this, Constantine had come under a solemn engagement, though verbal, and on his honour as a prince only, to renounce his right of succession to the crown in favour of his brother Nicholas; and it was on this condition only that the consent of the emperor had been given to his divorce. In pursuance of this engagement he had, on the 14/26th January 1822, left with his brother, the Emperor Alexander, a solemn renunciation of his right of succession, which had been accepted by the emperor by as solemn a writing, and a recognition of Nicholas as heir to the throne. The whole three documents had been deposited by him in a packet sealed with the imperial arms, endorsed, "Not to be opened till immediately after my death, before proceeding to any other act," with

Prince Pierre Vassiluvitch Lapoukhine, President of the Imperial Council.*

115. The intelligence of the death of Alexander arrived at St Petersburg on the 9th December, in the morning, at the very time when the imperial family were returning thanks, in the chapel of the palace, to Heaven for his supposed recovery, which the despatches of the preceding day had led them to hope for. The first thing done was, in terms of the injunction of Alexander, to open the sealed packet containing Constantine's resignation. As soon as it was opened and read, the Council declared Nicholas emperor, and invited him to attend to receive their homage. But here an unexpected difficulty presented itself. Nicholas positively refused to accept

the throne. "I am not emperor," said he, "and will not be so at my brother's expense. If, maintaining his renunciation, the Grand-duke Constantine persists in the sacrifice of his rights, but in that case only, will I exercise my right to the throne." The Council remained firm, and entreated him to accept their homage; but Nicholas positively refused, alleging, in addition, that as Constantine's renunciation had not been published or acted upon during the lifetime of the late emperor, it had not acquired the force of a law, and that he was consequently emperor, and if he meant to renounce, must do so afresh, when in the full possession of his rights. The Council still contested the point; but finding the Grand-duke immovable, they submitted with the words, "You are our emperor; we owe you an absolute obedience: since, then, you command us to recognise the Grand-duke Constantine as our legitimate sovereign, we have no alternative but to obey your commands." They accordingly declared Constantine emperor. Their example determined the Senate; and the guards, being drawn up on the place in front of the Winter Palace, took the usual oath to the Cesarowitch as the new emperor. The motives which determined Nicholas to take this step were afterwards stated in a noble proclamation on his own accession to the throne.*

116. Matters were in this state, the Grand-duke Constantine being proclaimed emperor, and recognised by

* "Ne reconnaissant en moi, ni le génie, ni les talents, ni la force nécessaire pour être jamais élevé à la dignité souveraine, à laquelle je pourrais avoir droit par ma naissance, je supplie V. M. I. de transférer ce droit à celui à qui il appartient après moi, et d'assurer ainsi pour toujours la stabilité de l'empire. Quant à moi, j'ajouterai par cette renonciation, une nouvelle garantie et un nouvelle force à l'engagement que j'ai spontanément et solennellement contracté, à l'occasion de mon divorce avec ma première épouse. Toutes les circonstances de ma situation actuelle, me portent de plus en plus à cette mesure, qui prouvera à l'empire et au monde entier la sincérité de mes sentiments. Daignez, sire, agréer avec bonté ma prière, daignez contribuer à ce que notre auguste mère veuille y adhérer; et sanctionnez-la de votre assurance impériale. Dans la sphère de la vie privée, je m'efforcerai toujours de servir d'exemple à vos fidèles sujets; à tous ceux qu'anime l'amour de notre chère Patrie."

—CONSTANTIN à l'Empereur, *St Petersburg*, 14/26 Jan. 1822. The acceptance of the emperor of this renunciation was simple and unqualified, and dated 2/14th Feb. 1822. The emperor added a manifesto in the following terms, declaring Nicholas his heir: "L'acte spontané par lequel notre frère puîné, le Césarowitch et Grand-duc Constantin, renonce à son droit sur le trône de toutes les Russies, est, et demeurera, fixe et invariable. Ledit Acte de Renonciation sera, pour que la notoriété en soit assurée, conservé à la Grande Cathédrale de l'Assomption à Moscow, et dans les trois hautes administrations de notre Empire, au Saint Synode, au Conseil de l'Empire, et au Sénat Dirigeant. En conséquence de ces dispositions, et conformément à la stricte teneur de l'acte sur la succession au trône, est reconnu pour notre héritier notre second frère le Grand-duc Nicolas. ALEXANDRE."—*Journal de St Petersburg*, No. 150. SCHNITZLER, i. 163, 164.

* "Nous n'eûmes ni le désir, ni le droit, de considérer comme irrévocable cette renonciation, qui n'avait point été publiée lorsqu'elle eut lieu; et qui n'avait point été convertie en loi. Nous voulions ainsi manifester notre respect pour la première loi fondamentale de notre Patrie, sur l'ordre invariable de la succession au trône. Nous cherchions uniquement à garantir de la moindre atteinte la loi qui règle la succession au Trône, à placer dans tout son jour la loyauté de nos intentions, et de préserver notre chère Patrie, même d'un moment d'incertitude, sur la personne de son légitime souverain. Cette détermination, prise dans la pureté de notre conscience devant le Dieu qui lit au fond des cœurs, fut bénie par S. M. l'Impératrice Marie, notre mère bien-aimée."—*Proclamation*, 25 Dec. 1825; *Journal de St Petersburg*, No. 150. SCHNITZLER, i. 169, 170.

all the authorities at St Petersburg, when the Grand-duke Michael arrived there, with the fresh renunciation by the former of his rights, after the death of the late sovereign had been known to him. Nothing could be more clear and explicit than that renunciation, concerning the validity of which no doubt could now be entertained. Nevertheless Nicholas persisted in his generous refusal of the throne, and, after a few hours' repose, despatched the Grand-duke Michael back to Warsaw, with the intelligence that Constantine had already been proclaimed emperor. He met, however, at Dorpat, in Livonia, a courier with the answer of Constantine, after he had received the despatches from St Petersburg, again positively declining the empire, in a letter addressed "To his Majesty the Emperor." Nicholas, however, still refused the empire, and again besought his brother to accept it. The interregnum continued three weeks, during which the two brothers—a thing unheard of—were mutually declining and urging the empire on the other! At length, on 24th December, Nicholas, being fully persuaded of the sincerity and legality of his brother's resignation, yielded to what appeared the will of Providence, mounted the throne of his fathers, and notified his accession to all the sovereigns of Europe, by whom he was immediately recognised.

117. But while everything seemed to smile on the young emperor, and he was, in appearance, receiving the reward of his disinterested and generous conduct, in being seated, by general consent, on the greatest throne in the world, the earth was trembling beneath his feet, and a conspiracy was on the point of bursting forth, which ere long involved Russia in the most imminent danger, and had well-nigh terminated, at its very commencement, his eventful reign. From the documents on this subject which have since been published by the Russian Government, it appears that, ever since 1817, secret societies, framed on the model of those of Germany, had existed in Russia, the object of which was to subvert the existing

government, and establish in its stead representative institutions and a constitutional monarchy. They received a vast additional impulse upon the return of the Army of Occupation from France, in the close of 1818, where the officers, having been living in intimacy, during three years, with the English and German military men, and familiar with the Liberal press of both countries, as well as of Paris, had become deeply imbued with republican ideas, and enthusiastic admirers of the popular feelings by which they were nourished, and of the establishments in which they seemed to end. The conspiracy was the more dangerous that it was conducted with the most profound secrecy, embraced a number of the highest nobles in the land, as well as military officers, and had its ramifications in all the considerable armies, and even in the guards at the capital. So strongly was the danger felt by the older officers of the empire, who were attached to the old regime, that one of them said, on the return of the troops from France, "Rather than let these men re-enter Russia, I would, were I emperor, throw them into the Baltic."

118. The conspiracy was divided into two branches, each of which formed a separate society, but closely connected by correspondence. The directing committee of both had its seat at St Petersburg, and at its head was Prince Troubetzkoi—a nobleman of distinguished rank, but more ardour than firmness of character, who was high in the emperor's confidence. Ryleif, Prince Obolonsky, and some other officers in the garrison, besides sixty officers in the guards, were in the first branch of the association. The second society, which was much more numerous, and embraced a great number of colonels of regiments, had its chief ramifications in the army of the south on the Turkish frontier, then under the command of Count Wittgenstein. At the head of this society were Captain Nikitas Mouravieff, Colonel Pestel, and Alexander Mouravieff, whose names have acquired a melancholy celebrity from the tragedy in which their efforts terminated. These men were all animated

with a sincere love of their country, and were endowed with the most heroic courage. Under these noble qualities, however, were concealed, as is always the case in such conspiracies, an inordinate thirst for elevation and individual ambition, and an entire ignorance of the circumstances essential to the success of any enterprise having for its object the establishment of representative institutions in their country. They were among the most highly educated and cultivated men in the Russian empire at the time; and yet their project, if successful, could not have failed to reduce their country to anarchy, and throw it back a century in the career of improvement and ultimate freedom. So true it is that the first thing to be inquired into, in all measures intended to introduce the institutions of one country into another, is, to consider whether their political circumstances and national character are the same. The conspiracy was headed by the highest in rank and the first in intelligence, because it was on them that the chains of servitude hung heaviest. "Envy," says Bulwer, "enters so largely into the democratic passion, that it is always felt most strongly by those who are on the edge of a line which they yet feel to be impassable. No man envies an archangel."

119. Information respecting these societies, though in a very vague way, had been communicated to the late emperor; but it was not suspected how deep-seated and extensive they in reality were, or how widely they had spread throughout the *officers* of the army. The *privates* were, generally speaking, still steady in their allegiance. Wittgenstein, however, and Count de Witt, had received secret but authentic accounts of the conspiracy at the time of Alexander's journey to Taganrog, and it was that information, suddenly communicated during his last illness, which had so cruelly aggravated the anxiety and afflicted the heart of the Czar. The project embraced a general insurrection at once in the capital and the two great armies in Poland and Bessarabia; and the success of similar movements in Spain and Italy inspired

the conspirators with the most sanguine hopes of success. The time had been frequently fixed, and as often adjourned from accidental causes; but at length it was arranged for the period of Alexander's journey to Taganrog, in autumn 1825. It was only prevented from there breaking out by the appointment of Wittgenstein to the command of the army of the south, whose known resolution of character rendered caution necessary; and it was then finally resolved it should take place in May 1826. The conspirators were unanimous as to an entire change of government, and the adoption of representative institutions; but there was a considerable division among them, at first, what was to be done with the emperor and his family. At length, however, as usual in such cases, the more decided and sanguinary resolutions prevailed, and it was determined to put them all to death.

120. The death of Alexander at first caused uncertainty in their designs; but the long continuance of the interregnum, and the strange contest between the two brothers for the abandonment of the throne, offered unhopèd-for chances of success of which they resolved to avail themselves. To divide the army, and avoid shocking, in the first instance at least, the feelings of the soldiers, it was determined that they should espouse the cause of Constantine; and as he had been proclaimed emperor by Nicholas and the Government, it appeared an easy matter to persuade them that the story of his having resigned his right of succession was a fabrication, and that their duty was to support him against all competitors. As Nicholas seemed so averse to be charged with the burden of the empire, it was hoped he would renounce at once when opposition manifested itself, and that Constantine, supported by their arms, would be easily got to acquiesce in their demands for a change of government. Their ulterior plans were, to convoke deputies from all the governments; to publish a manifesto of the Senate, in which it was declared that they were to frame laws for a representative government;

that the deputies should be summoned from Poland, to insure the unity of the empire, and in the mean time a provisional government established. Constantine was to be persuaded that it was all done out of devout feelings of loyalty towards himself.

121. In contemplation of these changes, the greatest efforts had been made for several days past to secure the regiments of the guards, upon whose decision the success of all previous revolutions had depended; and they had succeeded in gaining many officers in several of the most distinguished regiments, particularly those of Preobrazinsky, Simoneffsky, the regiments of Moscow, the body-guard grenadiers, and the corps of marines. Information, though in a very obscure way, had been conveyed to Nicholas, of a great conspiracy in which the household troops were deeply implicated, and in consequence of that the guard had not been called together; but it was determined that, on the morning of the 26th, the oath of allegiance should be administered to each regiment in their barracks. The Winter Palace, where the emperor dwelt, was intrusted to the regiment of Finland and the sappers of the guard, instead of the grenadiers-du-corps, to whom that charge was usually confided, and all the posts were doubled. But for that precaution, incalculable evils must have arisen. In truth, the danger was much greater, and more instant, than was apprehended. Prince Troubetzkoi, Ryleif, and Prince Obolonsky, the chiefs of the conspiracy, had gained adherents in almost every regiment of the guards, especially among the young men who were highest in rank, most ardent in disposition, and most cultivated in education; and the privates could easily be won, by holding out that Constantine, who had already been proclaimed, was the real Czar, and that their duty required them to shed their blood in his defence.

122. Matters were brought to a crisis by the return of the Grand-duke Michael from Livonia with the intelligence of the final refusal of the throne

by Constantine. It was then determined to act at once; and Troubetzkoi was named dictator—a post he proved ill qualified to fill, by his want of resolution at the decisive moment. The emperor published a proclamation on the 24th December, in which he recounted the circumstances which had compelled him to accept the empire, and called on the troops and people to obey him; and on the same day a general meeting of the conspirators was held, at which it was determined to commence the insurrection without delay. It was agreed to assassinate the emperor. “Dear friend,” said Ryleif to Kakhofski, “you are alone on the earth; you are bound to sacrifice yourself for society; disembarrass us of the emperor.” Jakoubovitch proposed to force the jails, liberate the prisoners, and rouse the refuse of the population by gorging them with spirits; but these extreme measures were not adopted. Orders were sent to the army of the south, where they reckoned on a hundred thousand adherents, to raise the standard of revolt. On the following evening, very alarming intelligence was received, in consequence of which it was agreed immediately to adopt the most desperate measures. They learned that they had been betrayed, and information sent to government of what was in agitation; thus their only hope now was in the boldness of their resolutions. “Una spes victis nullam sperare salutem.” “We have passed the Rubicon,” said Alexander Bestoujif, “and now we must cut down all who oppose us.” “You see,” said Ryleif, “we are betrayed; the court is partly aware of our designs, but they do not know the whole. Our forces are sufficient; our scabbards are broken; we can no longer conceal our sabres. Have we not an admirable chief in Troubetzkoi?” “Yes,” answered Jakoubovitch, “*in height*”—alluding to his lofty stature. At length all agreed upon an insurrection on the day when the oath should be tendered to the troops.

123. On the morning of the 26th, the oath was taken without difficulty in several of the first regiments of the

guards, especially the horse-guards, the chevalier guards, and the famous regiments Preobrazinsky, Simoneffsky, Imaïloffsky, Pauloffsky, and the chasseurs of the guard. But the case was very different with the regiment of Moscow, the grenadiers of the body-guard, and the marines of the guard. They were for the most part at the devotion of the conspirators. The troops were informed that Constantine had not resigned, but was in irons, as well as the Grand-duke Michael; that he loved their regiments, and, if reinstated in authority, would double their pay. Such was the effect of these representations, enforced as they were by the ardent military eloquence of the many gifted and generous young men who were engaged in the conspiracy from patriotic motives,* that the men tumultuously broke their ranks, and, with loud hurrahs, "Constantine for ever!" rushed into their barracks for ammunition, from whence they immediately returned with their muskets loaded with ball. They were just coming out when an aide-de-camp arrived with orders for the officers to repair forthwith to the headquarters of the general (Frederick) and the Grand-duke Michael. "I do not acknowledge the authority of your general," cried Prince Tchetchipine, who commanded one of the revolted companies, and immediately he ordered the soldiers to load their pieces. At the same instant Alexander Bestoujif discharged a pistol at General Frederick himself, who was coming up, and wounded him on the head. He fell insensible on the pavement, while Tchetchipine attacked General Chenchine, who commanded

the brigade of the guard of which the regiment of Moscow formed a part, and stretched him on the ground by repeated blows of his sabre. In a transport of enthusiasm at this success, he with his own hand snatched the standard of the regiment from the officer who bore it, and, waving it in the air, exclaimed aloud, "Constantine for ever!" The soldiers loudly answered with the same acclamation, and immediately the greater part of the regiments, disregarding the voice of their superior officers, Colonel Adlesberg and Count Lieven, who held out for Nicholas, moved in a body forward from the front of their barracks, and took up a position on the Grand Place behind the statue of Peter the Great. There they were soon joined by a battalion of the marines of the guard, who had been roused in a similar manner by Lieutenant Arbousoff, and by several companies of the grenadiers of the body-guard. By ten o'clock, eighteen hundred men were drawn up in battle array on the Place of the Senate, behind the statue, surrounded by a great crowd of civilians, most of whom were armed with pistols or sabres; and the air resounded with cries of "Constantine for ever!"

124. The die was now cast, and the danger was so imminent that, if there had been the slightest indecision at headquarters, the insurrection would have proved successful, and Russia have been delivered over to the horrors of military licence and servile revolt. But in that extremity Nicholas was not wanting to himself; he won the empire by proving he was worthy of it. He could no longer reckon on his guards, and without their support a Russian emperor is as weak as with it he is powerful. At eleven he received intelligence that the oath had been taken by the principal officers in the garrison, and it was hoped the danger was over; but in a quarter of an hour news of a very different import arrived—that an entire regiment of horse-artillery had been confined to their barracks, to prevent their joining the insurgents, and that a formidable body of the guards in open revolt were

* Alexander Bestoujif, brother of Michael Bestoujif, one of the leaders of the revolt, addressed the following prayer to the Almighty, as he rose on the eventful day: "O God! if our enterprise is just, vouchsafe to us thy support; if not, thy will be done to us." It is difficult to know whether to admire the courage and sincerity of the men who braved such dangers, as they conceived, for their country's good, or to lament the blindness and infatuation which led them to strive to obtain for it institutions wholly unsuited for the people, and which could terminate in nothing but temporary anarchy and lasting military despotism.—SCHNITZLER, i. 221, note.

drawn up on the Place of the Senate. He instantly took his resolution, and in a spirit worthy of his race. Taking the empress, in whom the spirit, if not the blood, of Frederick the Great still dwelt, by the hand, he repaired to the chapel of the palace, where, with her, he invoked the blessing of the Most High on their undertaking. Then, after addressing a few words of encouragement to his weeping but still courageous consort, he took his eldest son, a charming child of eight years of age, by the hand, and descended to the chief body of the yet faithful guards, stationed in front of the palace, and gave orders to them to load their pieces. Then presenting the young Grand-duke to the soldiers, he said, "I trust him to you; yours it is to defend him." The chasseurs of Finland, with loud acclamations, swore to die in his cause; and the child, terrified at their cheers, was passed in their arms from rank to rank, amidst the tears of the men. They put him, while still weeping, into the centre of their column, and such was the enthusiasm excited that they refused to give him back to his preceptor, Colonel Moerder, who came to reclaim him.* "God knows our intention," said they; "we will restore the child only to his father, who intrusted him to us."

125. Meanwhile Nicholas put himself

at the head of the first battalion of the regiment Preobrazinsky, which turned out with unheard-of rapidity, and advanced towards the rebels, supported by the third battalion, several companies of the grenadiers of Pauloffsky, and a battalion of the sappers of the guard. On the way he met a column proceeding to the rendezvous of the rebels. Advancing to them with an intrepid air, he called out in a loud voice, "Good morning, my children!"—the usual salutation of patriarchal simplicity of the emperors to their troops. "Hourra, Constantine!" was the answer. Without exhibiting any symptoms of fear, the emperor, pointing with his finger to the other end of the Place, where the insurgents were assembled, said, "You have mistaken your way; your place is there with traitors." Another detachment following them, to which the same salute was addressed, remained silent. Seizing the moment of hesitation, with admirable presence of mind he gave the order, "Wheel to the right—march!" with a loud voice. The instinct of discipline prevailed, and the men turned about and retraced their steps, as if they had never deviated from their allegiance to their sovereign.

126. The rebels, however, reinforced by several companies and detachments of some regiments which successively

* What a scene for poetry or painting! realising on a still greater theatre all that the genius of Homer had prefigured of the parting of Hector and Andromache:—

"Thus having spoke, the illustrious chief of Troy
Stretched his fond arms to clasp the lovely boy.
The babe clung crying to his nurse's breast,
Scared at the dazzling helm and nodding crest.
With secret pleasure each fond parent smiled,
And Hector hasted to relieve his child;
The glittering terrors from his brows unbound,
And placed the beaming helmet on the ground;
Then kissed the child, and, lifting high in air,
Thus to the gods preferred a father's prayer:
O thou! whose glory fills the ethereal throne,
And all ye deathless powers, protect my son!
Grant him, like me, to purchase just renown,
To guard the Trojans, to defend the crown;
Against his country's foes the war to wage,
And rise the Hector of the future age.
So, when triumphant from successful toils,
Of heroes slain, he bears the reeking spoils,
Whole hosts may hail him with deserved acclaim,
And say this chief transcends his father's fame;
While, pleased amidst the general shouts of Troy,
His mother's conscious heart o'erflows with joy."

—POPE'S *Homer's Iliad*, vi. 594-615.

joined them, were by one o'clock in the afternoon above three thousand strong, and incessant cries of "Hourra, Constantine !" broke from their ranks. The ground was covered with snow, some of which had recently fallen ; but nothing could damp the ardour of the men, who remained in close array, cheering, and evincing the greatest enthusiasm. Loud cries of "Long live the Emperor Constantine !" resounded over the vast Place, and were repeated by the crowd, which, every minute increasing, surrounded the regiments in revolt, until the shouts were heard even in the imperial palace. Already, however, Count Alexis Orlof had assembled several squadrons of his regiment of horse-guards, and taken a position on the Place in front of the mutineers ; and the arrival of the emperor, with the battalion of the Preobrazinsky regiment and the other corps from the palace, formed an imposing force, which was soon strengthened by several pieces of artillery, which proved of the greatest service in the conflict that ensued. Of the chiefs of the revolt, few had appeared on the other side. Troubetzkoi was nowhere to be seen ; Colonel Boulatoff was in the square, but concealed in the crowd of spectators awaiting the event. Ryleif was at his post, as was Jakoubovitch ; but the former, not seeing Troubetzkoi, could not take the command, and lost the precious minutes in going to seek him. Decision and resolution were to be found only on the other side, and, as is generally the case in civil conflicts, they determined the contest.

127. Deeming the forces assembled sufficient to crush the revolt, the generals who surrounded the emperor besought him to permit them to act ; but he long hesitated, from feelings of humanity, to shed the blood of his subjects. As a last resource, he permitted General Milaradowitch, the governor of St Petersburg, a noble veteran, well known in the late war, who had by his single influence appeased the mutiny in the guards in the preceding year, to advance towards the insurgents, in hopes that his presence might again produce a similar effect.

Milaradowitch, accordingly, rode forward alone, and when within hearing, addressed the men, in a few words, calling on them to obey their lawful sovereign, and return to their duty. He was interrupted by loud cries of "Hourra, Constantine !" and before he had concluded, Prince Obolonsky made a dash at him with a bayonet, which the veteran, with admirable coolness, avoided by wheeling his horse ; but at the same instant Kakhofski discharged a pistol at him, within a few feet, which wounded him mortally, and he fell from his horse. "Could I have believed," said the veteran of the campaign of 1812, "that it was from the hand of a Russian I was to receive death ?" "Who," said Kakhofski, "now speaks of submission ?" Milaradowitch died the following morning, deeply regretted by all Europe, to whom his glorious career had long been an object of admiration.*

128. The emperor, notwithstanding this melancholy catastrophe, was reluctant to proceed to extremities ; and perhaps he entertained a secret dread as to what the troops he commanded might do, if called on to act decisively against the insurgents. A large part of the guards were there ranged in battle array against their sovereign : what a contest might be expected if

* " 'Hear me, good people : I proclaim, in the name of the king, free pardon to all excepting'—'I give thee fair warning,' said Burley, presenting his piece. 'A free pardon to all but'—'Then the Lord grant grace to thy soul !' with these words he fired, and Cornet Richard Graham fell from his horse. He had only strength to turn on the ground, and exclaim, 'My poor mother !' when life forsook him in the effort. 'What have you done ?' said one of Balfour's brother officers. 'My duty,' said Balfour, firmly. 'Is it not written, Thou shalt be zealous even to slaying ? Let those who dare now speak of truce or pardon.'—*Old Mortality*, chap. viii. How singular that the insurrection of St Petersburg in 1825 should realise, within a few hours, what the bard of Chios had conceived in song and the Scottish novelist in prose, at the distance of twenty-five centuries from each other ; and what a proof of the identity of human nature, and the deep insight which those master-minds had obtained into its inmost recesses, that a revolt in the capital of Russia in the nineteenth century should come so near to what, at such a distance of time and place, they had respectively prefigured.

the signal was given, and the chevalier guards were to be ordered to charge against their levelled bayonets! Meanwhile, however, the forces on the side of Nicholas were hourly increasing. The sappers of the guard, the grenadiers of Pauloffsky, the horse-guards, and the brigade of artillery, had successively come up; and the Grand-duke Michael, who acted with the greatest spirit on the occasion, had even succeeded in ranging six companies of his own regiment, the grenadiers of Moscow, the leaders of the revolt, on the side of his brother. Still the emperor was reluctant to give the word; and as a last resource, the Metropolitan Archbishop, an aged prelate, with a large part of the clergy, were brought forward, bearing the cross and the sacred ensign, who called on them to submit. But although strongly influenced by religious feelings, the experiment failed on this occasion: the rolling of drums drowned the voice of the Archbishop, and the soldiers turned his grey hairs into derision. Meanwhile the leaders of the revolt, deeming their victory secure, began to hoist their real colours. Cries of "*Constantine and the Constitution!*" broke from their ranks. "What is that?" said the men to each other. "Do you not know," said one, "it is the empress (Constitoutzia)?" "Not at all," replied a third: "it is the carriage in which the emperor is to drive at his coronation."*

129. At length, having exhausted all means of pacification, the emperor ordered the troops to act. The rebels were attacked in front by the horse-guards and chevalier guards, while the infantry assailed them in flank. But these noble veterans made a vigorous resistance, and for a few minutes the

* "The leaders of the revolt, however, had different ideas of what they, at all events, understood by the movement. On loading his pistols on the morning of that eventful day, Boulatoff said, 'We shall see whether there are any Brutuses or Riegos in Russia to-day.' Nevertheless, he failed at the decisive moment: he was not to be found on the Place of the Senate."—*Rapport sur les Evénements*, &c., 26 Dec., p. 125; and SCHNITZLER, i, 232, note.

result seemed doubtful. Closely arrayed in column, they faced on every side: a deadly rolling fire issued from the steady mass, and the cavalry in vain strove to find an entrance into their serried ranks. The horsemen were repulsed; Kakhofski with his own hand slew Colonel Strosler, who commanded the grenadiers; and Kuchelbecker had already uplifted his arm to cut down the Grand-duke Michael, when a marine of the guard on his own side averted the blow. Jakoubovitch, charged with despatching the emperor, eagerly sought him out, but, in the mêlée and amidst the smoke, without effect. The resistance, however, continued several hours, and night was approaching, with the rebels, in unbroken strength, still in possession of their strong position. Then, and not till then, the emperor ordered the cannon, hitherto concealed by the cavalry, to be unmasked. The horsemen withdrew to the sides, and showed the muzzles of the guns pointed directly into the insurgent square: they were again summoned to surrender, while the pieces were charged with grape, and the gunners waved their lighted matches in the now darkening air. Still the rebels stood firm; and a first fire, intentionally directed above their heads, having produced no effect, they cheered and mocked their adversaries. Upon this the emperor ordered a point-blank discharge, but the cannoneers refused at first to fire on their comrades, until the Grand-duke Michael, with his own hand, discharged the first gun. Then the rest followed the example, and the grape made frightful gaps in the dense ranks. The insurgents, however, kept their ground, and it was not till the tenth round that they broke and fled. They were vigorously pursued by the horse-guards along the quays and through the cross streets, into which they fled to avoid their bloody sabres. Seven hundred were made prisoners, and several hundred bodies remained on the Place of the Senate, which were hastily buried under the snow with which the Neva was overspread. By six o'clock the rebels were entirely dispersed; and

the emperor, now firmly seated on his throne, returned to his palace, where the empress fell into his arms, and a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted in the chapel.

130. Of all the conspirators during this terrible crisis, Jakoubovitch had alone appeared at the post assigned him. Troubetzkoi, whose firmness had deserted him on this occasion, sought refuge in the hotel of the Austrian ambassador, Count Libzeltern, but, on the requisition of the emperor, he was brought from that asylum into his presence. At first he denied all knowledge of the conspiracy; but when his papers were searched, which contained decisive proof not merely of his accession to it, but of his having been its leader, he fell at the emperor's feet, confessed his guilt, and implored his life. "If you have courage enough," said Nicholas, "to endure a life dishonoured and devoted to remorse, you shall have it; but it is all I can promise you." On the following morning, when the troops were still bivouacked, as the evening before, on the Place of the Senate, and the curious crowds surveyed at a distance the theatre of the conflict, the emperor, accompanied by a single aide-de-camp, rode out of the palace to review those who had combated for him on the preceding day. Riding slowly along their ranks, he thanked them for their fidelity, and promised them a considerable augmentation of pay, as well as the usual largesses on occasion of the accession of a new emperor. He then proceeded to the regiments which had revolted, and granted a pardon alike politic and generous. To the marines of the guard, who had lost their colours in the conflict, he gave a fresh one, with the words, "You have lost your honour; try to recover it." The regiment of Moscow, in like manner, received back its colours, and was pardoned on the sole condition that the most guilty, formed into separate companies, should be sent for two years to expiate their fault in combating the mountaineers of the Caucasus. The emperor promised to take their wives and children under his protection during their ab-

sence. These generous words drew tears from the veterans, who declared themselves ready to set out on the instant for their remote destination.

131. But although all must admit the justice of these sentiments—and indeed it was scarcely possible to act otherwise with men who were merely misled, and who resisted the Czar when they thought they were defending him—a very different course seemed necessary with the leaders of the revolt, who had seduced the soldiers into acts of treason through the very intensity of their loyalty. All the chiefs were apprehended soon after its suppression, and the declarations of the prisoners, as well as the papers discovered in their possession, revealed a far more extensive and dangerous conspiracy than had been previously imagined. The emperor appointed a commission to investigate the matter to the bottom, and on the 31st he published a manifesto, in which, after exculpating the simple and loyal-hearted soldiers who were drawn into the tumult, he denounced the whole severity of justice against the leaders, "who aimed at overturning the throne and the laws, subverting the empire, and inducing anarchy."*

* "Deux classes d'hommes ont pris part à l'événement du 14-16 Décembre, événement qui, peu important par lui-même, ne l'est que trop par son principe et par ses conséquences. Les uns, personnes égarées, ne savaient pas ce qu'ils faisaient; les autres, véritables conspirateurs, voulaient abattre le Trône et les lois, bouleverser l'empire, amener l'anarchie, entraîner dans le tumulte les soldats des compagnies séduites, qui n'ont participé à ces attentats, ni de fait, ni d'intention: une enquête sévère m'en a donné la preuve; et je regarde, comme un premier acte de justice, comme ma première consolation, de les déclarer innocents. Mais cette même justice défend d'épargner les coupables. D'après les mesures déjà prises, le châtimement embrasserait dans toute son étendue, dans toutes ses ramifications, un mal dont le germe compte des années; et j'en ai la confiance, elles le détruiront jusque dans le sol sacré de Russie; elles feront disparaître cet odieux mélange de tristes vérités et de soupçons gratuits, qui répugne aux âmes nobles; elles tireront à jamais, une ligne de démarcation entre l'amour de la Patrie et les passions révolutionnaires, entre le désir du mieux et la fureur des bouleversements; elles montreront au monde, que la nation Russe, toujours fidèle à son souverain et aux lois, repousse les secrets efforts de l'anarchie, comme elle a repoussé les attaques ouvertes de ses ennemis déclarés; elles

A commission was accordingly appointed, having at its head the Minister at War, General Talischof, president; the Grand-duke Michael; Prince Alexander Gallitzin, Minister of Public Instruction; General Chernicheff, Aide-de-camp General, and several other members, nearly all military men. There were only two civilians, Prince Alexander Gallitzin and M. Blondof.

132. From a commission so composed, the whole proceedings of which were private, there was by no means to be expected the same calm and impartial inquiry which might be looked for from an English special commission which conducted all its proceedings in public, and under the surveillance of a jealous and vigilant press. But nevertheless their labours, which were most patient and uninterrupted, continuing through several months, revealed the magnitude and frightful perils of the conspiracy, and the abyss on the edge of which the nation had stood, when the firmness of Nicholas and the fidelity of his guards saved them from the danger. Their report—one of the most valuable historical monuments of the age, though of necessity, under the circumstances in which it was drawn up, one-sided to a certain degree—unfolds this in the clearest manner: and although no judicial investigation can be implicitly relied on which is not founded on the examination of witnesses on *both* sides, in public, yet enough which cannot be doubted has been revealed, to demonstrate how much the cause of order and real liberty is indebted to the firmness which on this momentous occasion repressed the treasonable designs which in such an empire could have terminated only in the worst excesses of anarchy.

133. Before the commission had well commenced their labours, a catastrophe occurred in the south which afforded confirmation strong of the extent of the conspiracy and the magnitude of the

danger which had been escaped. The great armies both of the south and west were deeply implicated in the designs of the rebels, and it was chiefly on their aid that the leaders at St Petersburg reckoned in openly hoisting the standard of revolt. It was in the second army (that of the south) that the conspiracy had the deepest roots, and Paul Pestel was its soul. He was son of an old officer who had been governor-general of Siberia, and had gained his company by his gallant conduct at the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, in France, in 1814. Colonel of the regiment of Vitikka in 1825, when the revolt broke out, his ability and pleasing manners had made him an aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, Count Wittgenstein. He was inspired with a strong horror at oppression of any kind; but the other conspirators said it was only till he was permitted to exercise it himself. He was a declared republican, but Ryleif said of him, "He is an ambitious man, full of artifice—a Buonaparte, and not a Washington." He had great resolution, however, and power of eloquence, and these qualities had procured for him unbounded influence among his comrades.

134. In the first army, stationed on the Polish frontier, the conspiracy had ramifications not less extensive. At its head, in that force, were two brothers, Serge and Matthew Mouravieff-Apostol, the first of whom was a colonel of the regiment of Tchernigof; the second a captain in that of Semenov. Their father, who was nephew of the preceptor of Alexander, had been educated with that prince, by whom he was tenderly loved; and he was one of the few Russians of family, at that period, who engaged in literary pursuits. He had translated the *Clouds* of Aristophanes into Russian; and his *Travels in Tauris*, published at St Petersburg in 1825, revealed the extent and accuracy of his classical knowledge. He had composed a beautiful sonnet, in Greek verse, on the death of Alexander, which he had also translated into Latin. His two sons, on whom he had bestowed the most polished education, had been brought up abroad, where they had

montreront comme on se délivre d'un tel fléau; elles montreront que ce n'est point, pourtant, qu'il est indestructible."—*Proclamation*, 29th December 1825; SCHNITZLER, i. 255-296—said to have come from the pen of the celebrated historian Karamsin, who died shortly after.

imbibed the Liberal ideas, and vague aspirations after indefinite freedom, at that period so common in western Europe. They returned to Russia deeply imbued with republican ideas, nurtured in good faith; and with benevolent views, but without any practical knowledge of mankind, or any fixed plan of reform, or what was to be established in its stead, entered into the project for the overthrow of the government. A third leader was a young man named Michel Bestoujif-Rumine, an intimate friend of Pestel, and who formed the link which connected the two Mouravieffs with the projects of the conspirators in the capital, and in the army of the south.

135. When the papers of the persons seized at St Petersburg, on the 26th December, were examined, it was discovered that the two Mouravieffs were deeply implicated in the conspiracy, and orders were sent to have them immediately arrested. The orders, however, got wind, and they sought safety in flight, but were arrested, on the 18th January, in the burgh of Trilissia, by Colonel Ghebel, whose painful duty it was to apprehend one of his dearest friends. Informed of their arrest, a number of officers of the Society of United Slavonians surrounded the house in which they were detained by Ghebel, and rescued them, after a rude conflict, in which Ghebel fell, pierced by fourteen wounds. Delivered in this manner, the Mouravieffs had no safety but in a change of government. Serge Mouravieff succeeded in causing his regiment to revolt, by the same device which had proved so successful at St Petersburg, that of persuading them to take up arms for their true Czar, Constantine. The leaders of the conspiracy, amidst the cries of "Hourra, Constantine!" tried to introduce the cry of "Long live the Slavonic Republic!" but the soldiers could not be brought to understand what was meant. "We are quite willing," said an old grenadier, "to call out, 'Long live the Slavonic Republic!' but *who is to be our emperor?*" The officers spoke to them of liberty, and the priests read some passages from the Old Testament,

to prove that democracy was the form of government most agreeable to the Almighty; but the soldiers constantly answered, "Who is to be emperor—Constantine or Nicholas Panlovitch?" So strong was this impression, that Mouravieff, by his own admission, was obliged to give over speaking of liberty or republics, and to join the cry of "Hourra, Constantine!"

136. It was now evident that the common men were at heart loyal, and that it was by deception alone that they had been drawn into mutiny. Taking advantage of their hesitation, Captain Koglof, who commanded the grenadiers, harangued his men, informing them that they had been deceived, and that Nicholas was their real sovereign. "Lead us, captain," they exclaimed; "we will obey your orders." He led them, accordingly, out of the revolted regiment, without Mouravieff venturing to oppose any resistance. Reduced by this defection to six companies, that regiment was unable to commence any offensive operations. Mouravieff remained two days in a state of uncertainty, sending in vain in every direction in quest of succour. Meanwhile, the generals of the army were accumulating forces round them in every direction; and though numbers were secretly engaged in the conspiracy, and in their hearts wished it success, yet as intelligence had been received of its suppression at St Petersburg, none ventured to join it openly. The rebels, obliged to leave Belain-Tzerskof, where they had passed the night, were overtaken, on the morning of the 15th, on the heights of Ostinofska. Mouravieff, nothing daunted, formed his men into a square, and ordered them to march, with their arms still shouldered, straight on the guns pointed at them. He was in hopes the gunners would declare for them; but he was soon undeceived. A point-blank discharge of grape was let fly, which killed great numbers. A charge of cavalry quickly succeeded, which completed their defeat. Seven hundred were made prisoners, among whom were Matthew and Hippolyte Mouravieff, and the chief leaders of the revolt; and a conspiracy, which per-

vaded the whole army, and threatened to shake the empire to its foundation, was defeated by the overthrow of six companies, and fifty men killed and wounded. The unhappy Mouravieff, father of the rebels, saw himself deprived of his three sons at one fell swoop. "Nothing remained," he said, "but for him to shroud his head under their ashes."

137. The commission which had been appointed to try the insurgents at St Petersburg extended its labours to the conspiracy over the whole empire, and traced its ramifications in their whole extent. It cannot be said that their proceedings were stained with unnecessary cruelty; for of so great a number of conspirators actually taken in arms against the Government, or whose guilt was established beyond a doubt, five only—viz., Colonel Pestel, Ryleif, Colonel Serge Mouravieff, Bestoujif-Rumine, and Kakhofski—were sentenced to death; while thirty-one others, originally sentenced to death, had their sentences commuted to exile, accompanied with hard labour for life or for long periods, in Siberia. They formed a melancholy list; for among them were to be found several men of the highest rank and noblest feelings in Russia, the victims of mistaken zeal and deluded patriotism. Among them were Prince Troubetzkoi, Colonel Matthew Mouravieff-Apostol, Colonel Davidof, General Prince Serge Volkonsky, Captain Prince Stehpine Boslowsky, and Nicholas Tourgunoff, councillor of state. One hundred and thirty others were sentenced to imprisonment and lesser penalties.

138. The conspirators who were selected for execution met their fate in a worthy spirit. They faced death on the scaffold with the same courage that they would have done in the field. Their original sentence was to be broken on the wheel; but the humanity of the emperor led him to commute that frightful punishment, and they were sentenced to be hanged. This mode of death, unusual in Russia, was keenly felt as a degradation by men who expected to meet the death of soldiers. Ryleif, the real head of

the conspiracy, and the most intellectual of all its members, acknowledged that his sentence was just, according to the existing laws of Russia; but he added, that, having been deceived by the ardour of his patriotism, and being conscious only of pure intentions, he met death without apprehension. "My fate," said he, "will be an expiation due to society." He then wrote a beautiful letter to his young wife, in which he conjured her not to abandon herself to despair, and to submit, as a good Christian, to the will of Providence and the justice of the emperor. He charged her to give his confessor one of his golden snuff-boxes, and to receive from him his own last blessing from the scaffold. Nothing shook Pestel's courage; he maintained to the last his principles and the purity of his intentions. All received and derived consolation from the succours of religion.

139. There had been no capital sentence carried into execution in St Petersburg for eighty years; and in all Russia but few scaffolds had been erected for death since the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, a century before. The knowledge that five criminals, all of eminent station, were about to be executed, excited the utmost consternation in all classes; and Government wisely kept secret the exact time when the sentence was to be carried into effect. At two in the morning of the 25th July, however, a mournful sound was heard in every quarter of the city, which presaged the tragedy which was approaching: it was the signal for every regiment in the capital to send a company to assist at the melancholy spectacle. Few spectators, save the military, were present, when, on the edge of the rampart of the citadel, was seen dimly through the twilight which preceded the morning, a huge gallows, which froze every heart with horror. The rolling of drums was soon heard, which announced the approach of the thirty-one criminals condemned to death, but whose lives had been spared, who were led out, and on their knees heard their sentence of death read out. When it

was finished, their epaulettes were torn off, their uniform taken off their backs, their swords broken over their heads, and, dressed in the rude garb of convicts, they were led away to undergo their sentence in the wilds of Siberia. Next came the five criminals who were to be executed: they mounted the scaffold with firm steps, and in a few minutes the preparations were adjusted, and the fatal signal was given. Pestel and Kakhofski died immediately; but a frightful accident occurred in regard to the other three. The ropes broke, and they were precipitated, while yet alive, from a great height into the ditch beneath. The unhappy men, though severely bruised by their fall, reascended the scaffold with a firm step. The spectators hoped they were about to be pardoned; but this was not so, for the emperor was absent at Tsariko-Velo, and no one else ventured to give a respite. "Can nothing, then, succeed in this country," said Ryleif—"not even death?" "Woe to the country," exclaimed Serge Mouravieff, "where they can neither conspire, nor judge, nor hang!" Bestoujif-Rumine was so bruised that he had to be carried up to the scaffold; but he, too, evinced no symptoms of trepidation. This time fortunately the rope held good, and in five minutes a loud rolling of drums announced that justice was satisfied, and the insurrection terminated.

140. It is impossible to recount these details without the most melancholy feelings—feelings which will be shared to the end of the world by all the generous and humane, who reflect on capital executions for political offences. The peculiar and harrowing circumstance in such cases is, that the persons upon whom the extreme punishment of the law is thus inflicted are sometimes of noble character—men actuated by the purest patriotism, who in a heroic spirit sacrifice themselves for their country, and, as they conceive, the good of mankind. Even when, as in this as in most other instances, such conspiracy could terminate only in disaster, and its suppression was a blessing to humanity, and

a step in the march of real freedom, it is impossible to avoid feeling respect for the motives, however mistaken, of the persons engaged in it, and admiration for the courage with which they met their fate. The ends of justice, the cause of order, is more advanced by the humanity which, in purely political offences, remits or softens punishment, than by the rigour which exacts its full measure. The state criminal of one age often becomes the martyr of the next, the hero of a third; and the ultimate interests of society are never so effectually secured as when, by depriving treason of the halo of martyrdom, it is allowed to stand forth to the memory of futurity in its real colours.*

141. But if the fate of these gallant though deluded men must ever excite very mixed feelings in every generous bosom, there is one subject connected with their companions in suffering which must awaken the most unbounded interest and admiration. The convicts who were banished to Siberia were for the most part of high rank and noble family; many of them were married, and their wives, of equal station in society, had moved in the very first circles in St Petersburg. The conduct of these ladies, on this terrible crisis, was worthy of eternal admiration. When their husbands set off on their long and painful journey of three thousand miles into the interior of Siberia, seated on wooden chariots without springs, and often exposed to the insults and assaults of the populace, they did not go alone.

* Ryleif, who was a man of fine genius, in his remarkable poem, entitled *Voinarovski*, expressed his firm confidence in the irresistible march of freedom in these words, which he put into the mouth of an Ataman of the Cossacks: "That which in our dream seemed a dream of heaven, was not recorded on high. Patience! Let us wait till the colossus has for some time accumulated its wrongs—till, in hastening its increase, it has weakened itself in striving to embrace the half of the earth. Allow it: the heart swollen with pride parades its vanity in the rays of the sun. Patience! the justice of Heaven will end by reducing it to the dust. In history, *God is retribution*: He does not permit the seed of sin to pass without its harvest."—SCHNITZLER, ii. 309.

These noble women, who were themselves entirely innocent, and were offered the protection of the emperor, and all the luxuries of the elevated circles in which they had been born and lived, if they would remain behind, unanimously refused the offer, and insisted upon accompanying their husbands into exile. They bore without repining, even with joy, the mortal fatigues of the long and dreary journey in open carts, and all the insults of the populace in the villages through which they passed, and arrived safe, supported by their heroic courage. To accustom themselves to the hardships they were to undergo, they voluntarily laid aside in their palaces at St Petersburg, some weeks before their departure, the splendid dresses to which they had been accustomed, put on instead the most humble garments, and inured their delicate hands to the work of peasants and servants, on which they were so soon to enter. "Thou shalt eat thy bread with the sweat of thy brow" became their resolution, as it is the ordinary lot of humanity. The Princess Troubetzkoi, the Princess Serge Volkonsky, Madame Alexander Mouravieff, Madame Nikitas Mouravieff (*née* Tchencichef), and Madame Narischkine (*née* Ronovnitsyne), the two last of the noblest families in Russia, were among the number of those who performed this heroic sacrifice to duty. History may well preserve their names with pride; it is seldom that in either sex it has such deeds to recount.

142. It is some consolation to know that the generous self-sacrifice did not even in this world go without its reward. A sense of duty, the courage which often springs up with misfortune, the consciousness of suffering together, softened the horrors of the journey to such a degree that before it was concluded they had come to be contented, even happy, and it would have been deemed a misfortune to have been turned back.* Their ultimate destination was the village of Tchi-

tinsk, on the Ingoda river, beyond the lake Baikal, and not far removed from the frontiers of China. The climate there is somewhat less severe than in the same latitude in other parts of Siberia; and the humanity of the emperor permitted a few articles of comfort to be introduced, which softened the asperities of that deep solitude. Tchi-tinsk, where they were all assembled, became a populous colony, an oasis of civilisation in the midst of an immense desert. The forced labour of the convicts extended only to a few hours a-day; some slender comforts, and even luxuries, were stealthily introduced; and a library containing a few books, permitted by the police, enlivened the weary hours of solitude by the pleasures of intellectual recreation. But the simple duties of their situation left them little leisure for such amusements, and the regular routine of humble life, if it deprived them of the excitement, at least saved them from the torment of ennui, the bane and punishment of civilised selfishness. Many of them tasted a happiness, in this simple and patriarchal existence, to which they had been strangers amidst all the splendours of St Petersburg. The Princess Troubetzkoi had been on distant terms with her husband before his banishment, and she had no family; but misfortune did that which prosperity had failed to effect—they were drawn together by suffering in common; they lived contentedly together in their humble cottage, and she is now the happy mother of five children.

143. The emperor behaved generously to the families and relations of such as had suffered either death or exile for their political offences. So far from involving them in any species of responsibility, he in many cases did much to relieve them from the consequences of that which they had already undergone in the punishment of those who were dear to them. He gave 50,000 rubles (£2500) to the father of Pestel, with a valuable farm on one

journey, "Sophie, if you don't behave better, you shan't go to Siberia."—SCHNITZLER, ii. 310.

* One of the travelling companions of one of those mothers overheard her say to her daughter, who had been petulant on the

of the domains of the Crown, and appointed his brother, a colonel in the chevalier guards, one of his own aides-de-camp. He was extremely anxious to relieve the distresses of Ryleif's widow, who had been left in very destitute circumstances, and sent repeatedly to inquire into her necessities; but this high-minded woman, proud of her suffering, refused all his proffered kindness, and said the only favour she asked of him was to put her to death, and lay her beside her husband. Unknown to her, he caused relief to be conveyed to her children, with whose maintenance and education he charged himself. But to the women who had accompanied their husbands into exile he showed himself inexorable; he thought that by so doing they had adopted their crimes, instead of extenuating it by the opposite virtues. After undergoing fifteen years of exile in their appointed place of banishment, the Princess Troubetzkoi earnestly petitioned the emperor for a removal, not into Russia, but to a place where the climate was milder, and she might obtain the rudiments of education for their children, and be near an apothecary to tend them when ill. She wrote a touching letter to the emperor, which concluded with the words, "I am very unhappy; nevertheless, if it was to do over again, I would do the same." But her petition was sternly refused. "I am astonished that you venture to speak to me," said he to the lady who ventured to present it, "in favour of a family which has conspired against me."

144. According to an established usage in Russia, a solemn religious ceremony was performed on the termination of the great contest with the principles of anarchy which had signalled the emperor's accession to the throne. "On the spot," said the emperor in another proclamation, "where seven months ago the explosion of a sudden revolt revealed the existence of a vast conspiracy which had been going on for ten years, it is meet that a last act of commemoration—an expiatory sacrifice—should consecrate on the same spot the memory of the Rus-

sian blood shed for religion, the throne, and the country. We have recognised the hand of the Almighty, when He tore aside the veil which concealed that horrible mystery: it permitted crime to arm itself in order to assure its fall. Like a momentary storm, the revolt only broke forth to annihilate the conspiracy of which it was the consummation."* In conformity with these ideas, the whole garrison of St Petersburg, sixty thousand strong, was on the morning after the execution of the conspirators assembled on the Place of the Senate, where the mutineers had taken their station. The emperor issued from the Church of the Admiralty, which is the centre of St Petersburg, led by the Metropolitan Archbishop, clad in his pontifical robes, and accompanied by the Empress and Prince Charles of Prussia, her brother. A solemn thanksgiving was then performed at the altar, and the priests, descending from the steps, scattered holy water over the soldiers, the people, and the pavement of the square. When the purification was completed, the bands of all the regiments struck up a hallelujah; and the discharge of a hundred guns announced that the expiation was concluded and the crime effaced.

145. Nicholas made, in one important respect, a noble use of his victory. During the course of the long investigation which took place into the conspiracy, great part of which was conducted by the emperor in person, ample revelations were made, not merely

* The address contained these words, applicable to all ages and people: "May the fathers of families by this sad example be led to pay proper attention to the moral education of their children. Assuredly it is not to the progress of civilisation, but to the vanity which is the result of idleness and want of intelligence—to the want of *real education*—that we are to ascribe that licentiousness of thought, that vehemence of passion, that *half-knowledge, so confused and so perilous*, that thirst after extreme theories and political visions, which begin by demoralising and end by ruining. In vain will the Government make generous efforts, in vain will it exhaust itself in sacrifices, if the *domestic education* of the people does not second its views and intentions, if it does not pour into the hearts the germs of virtue."—*Journal de St Pétersbourg*, July 24, 1826, No. 86; and SCHNITZLER, ii. 316.

in regard to the extent and ramifications of the conspiracy, but to the numerous social and political evils which had roused into such fearful activity so large a portion of the most intrepid and patriotic of the higher classes. The leaders, who were examined by the emperor, unfolded without reserve the whole evils which were complained of, in particular the dreadful corruption which pervaded every branch of the administration, and the innumerable delays and venality which obstructed or perverted the course of justice in every department.* He was so horror-struck by the revelations which were made, that for a long time he despaired of success in the attempt to cleanse out so vast and frightful an Augean stable; and his spirits were so affected by the discoveries made, that gloom pervaded the whole court for a long time after his accession. But at length he rose superior to the difficulties with which he was environed, and boldly set about applying a remedy, in the only true and safe method, by cautious and practical reform.

* While the conspirators avowed that their designs ultimately involved the destruction of the emperor and his family, and expressed the deepest contrition for that offence, they at the same time portrayed with courage and fidelity the social evils which consumed their country, and had induced them to take up arms. Many of them, Ryleif and Bestoujif in particular, evinced a noble spirit in misfortune. "I knew before I engaged in it," said the former to the emperor, "that my enterprise would ruin me, but I could no longer bear to see my country under the yoke of despotism: the seed which I have sown, rest assured, will one day germinate, and in the end bear fruit." "I repent of nothing I have done," said Michel Bestoujif; "I die satisfied, and soon to be avenged." The emperor was so struck with the courage of his answers, and the hideous revelations which he made in regard to the abuses of the public administration, that he said to him, "I have the power to pardon you; and if I felt assured you would prove a faithful servant, I would gladly do so." "That, sire!" said he, "is precisely what we complain of; the emperor can do everything, and there is no law. In the name of God, let justice take its course, and let the fate of your subjects not in future depend on your caprices or the impressions of the moment." They were noble men who, in presence of the emperor, and with the axe suspended over their heads, could express such sentiments in such language.—SCHNITZLER, ii. 134, 135.

146. His first care was to despatch circulars to all the judges and governors in the empire, urging them in the most earnest way to the faithful discharge of their duty, under the severest penalties, and inculcating in an especial manner the immediate decision of the numerous cases in arrear before them, both in regard to persons and property. With such success was this attended, that out of 2,850,000 processes depending in the beginning of 1826, nearly all had been decided before the end of that year; and out of 127,000 persons under arrest, there remained only 4900, in the beginning of 1827, in custody. The change was so great and satisfactory, that it was with reason made the subject of a special congratulation from the emperor to the Minister of Justice. Some of the laws which pressed with most severity on the Cossacks and the southern provinces were repealed. But the grand defect, which struck the emperor in the internal administration of Russia, was the want of any regular code of laws in the hands of all the judges, accessible to all, according to which justice might be uniformly administered in all the governments. This was the more essential, since, as already noticed, in a great proportion of the governments the ukases of the emperors had never reached the judges. Great part, indeed, were what may be termed private ukases, being addressed to individuals, not the Senate, and yet binding on the whole community. They formed, as was well observed at the time, "a hidden code of laws, yet ruling the empire." To remedy this great defect, a complete collection of the ukases, which formed, like the rescripts of the Roman emperors, the laws of Russia, was arranged, printed, and codified by the order of Nicholas. The great work proved to be one of immense labour; but by the vigilant attention and incessant energy of the emperor, it was completed in a surprisingly short space of time. The printing commenced on 1st May 1828, and was concluded on 1st April 1830. It then embraced 35,993 ukases or acts, of which 5075 had been pronounced since the accession of the present em-

peror, and the collection which was sent to all the judges amounted to fifty-six large quarto volumes. In addition to this, Nicholas undertook, and successfully carried through, a still more difficult undertaking—viz., the construction of a uniform code, forming a complete system of law, out of the enormous and often heterogeneous materials. This gigantic undertaking, akin to the Institutes and Pandects of Justinian, was completed in seven years more, and now forms the “*soud*,” or body of Russian law. Thus had Nicholas the glory, after having rivalled Caesar in the courage with which he had suppressed military revolt, of emulating Justinian in the zeal with which he prosecuted legal reforms. Yet must his antagonists not be denied their share in the honour due to the founders of the august temple; for if the emperor raised the superstructure, it was the blood of the martyrs which cemented the foundations.

147. Yet was the crime of these generous but deluded men great, and their punishment not only necessary, but just. The beneficial results which followed their insurrection were accidental only, and arose from its defeat; had it been suppressed by other hands, or proved successful, it could not have failed to have induced the most terrible calamities. Met and crushed by Ivan the Terrible or the Empress Catherine, it would have drawn yet closer the bands of tyranny on the State, and thrown it back for centuries in the career of real freedom. No man had a right to calculate on the suppression of the revolt being immediately followed on the part of the conqueror by the compilation of the Pandects. It was utterly impossible that a military revolt, of which a few officers only knew the object, into which the private soldiers had been drawn by deceit, and to which the common people were entire strangers, could, if successful, terminate in anything but disaster. Even the Reign of Terror in France would have been but a shadow of what must have ensued in the event of success; the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, the slaughter of Nero, the centra-

lised unmitigated despotism of the Lower Empire, could alone have been looked for. Benevolent intentions, generous self-devotion, patriotic spirit, are neither alone sufficient in public men, nor do they afford, even in the light of morality, an adequate vindication of their acts, if the laws are infringed. It is the first duty of those who urge on a movement, to consider in what it must terminate, and whether the instruments by which it is to be accomplished are capable of performing the new duties required of them, if successful. Nations have seven ages, as well as man; and he is their worst enemy, who, anticipating the slow march of time, inflames childhood with the passions of youth, or gives to youth the privileges of manhood.

148. The coronation of the emperor and empress took place, with extraordinary pomp, at Moscow on the 22d August (3d September) in the same year. The youth and beauty of the two sovereigns, the dreadful contest which had preceded their accession to the throne, the generous abnegation of self by which the mutual renunciation of the throne by the two imperial brothers had been characterised, gave an extraordinary interest to the august spectacle, and crowds of the most distinguished strangers from every part of Europe flocked together to witness it. The entry of their imperial majesties took place on the 5th August (17th), the emperor riding between the Grand-duke Michael and Prince Charles of Prussia; the empress followed in a magnificent chariot, drawn by eight horses, having her son, the heir of the empire, by her side. Enthusiastic acclamations burst from the immense crowd, which advanced several miles on the road to St Petersburg to meet them. Moscow exhibited the most splendid spectacle. All traces of the conflagration of 1812 had disappeared, magnificent buildings had arisen on every side, and the quarters which had suffered most from its ravages could now be traced only by the superior elegance and durability of the stone structures, by which the former wooden palaces and buildings had been re-

placed. On the 15th, when, according to the custom of Russia, a great religious ceremony took place, an unexpected event threw the people into transports of joy. The emperor appeared, holding with his right hand the Grand-duke Constantine, who had arrived the evening before in Moscow, and with his left the Grand-duke Michael. Shouts of joy arose from the assembled multitude, but the cry which resounded above all, "Hourra, Constantine!" at first startled the emperor; he had heard it on the Place of the Senate on the 26th December. It was but for a moment, however, and his countenance was soon radiant with joy, when that prince was the first to do him homage, and threw himself into his arms. The universal acclamations now knew no bounds, the reality of the self-sacrifice was demonstrated; future concord was anticipated from the happy union in the imperial family. Splendid reviews of fifty thousand of the guards and chosen troops of the empire, and a hundred and sixty guns, succeeded, and the coronation took place on the day fixed, 22d August (3d September), in the cathedral of Moscow, with circumstances of unheard-of magnificence and splendour. The Grand-duke Constantine was the first to tender his homage to the new sovereign.

149. Nicholas I., who, under such brilliant circumstances, and after the display of such invincible resolution, thus ascended the throne of Russia, and whom subsequent events have, in a manner, raised up to become an arbiter of Eastern Europe, is the greatest sovereign that that country has known since Peter the Great; in some respects he is greater than Peter himself. Not less energetic in character and ardent in improvement than his illustrious predecessor, he is more thoroughly national, and he has brought the nation forward more completely in the path which nature had pointed out for it. Peter was a Russian only in his despotism: his violence, his cruelty, his beneficence, his ardour for improvement, his patriotic ambition, were all borrowed from the states of Western Europe. As these states were greatly

farther advanced in the career of civilisation than his was, his reforms were in great part premature, his improvements abortive, his refinements superficial. He aimed at doing by imperial, what so many ardent men have endeavoured to effect by democratic despotism—to engraft on one nation the institutions of another, and reap from the infancy of a state the fruits of its maturity. The attempt failed in his hands, as it has ever done in those of his republican imitators, as it will do in those of their successors, whether on the throne or in the tribune, to the end of the world. His improvements were all external merely; they made a brilliant appearance, but they did not extend beneath the surface, and left untouched the strength and vitals of the State. He flattered himself he had civilised Russia, because he ruled by a police which governed it by fear, and an army which retained it in subjection by discipline.

150. Nicholas, on the other hand, is essentially Russian in all his ideas. He is heart and soul patriotic, not merely in wish, but in spirit and thought. He wishes to improve and elevate his country, and he has done much to effect that noble object; but he desires to do so by developing, not changing the national spirit—by making it become a first Russia, not a second France or England. He has adopted the maxim of Montesquieu, that no nation ever attained to real greatness but by institutions in conformity with its spirit. He is neither led away by the thirst for sudden mechanical improvement, like Peter, nor the praises of philosophers, like Catherine, nor the visions of superstitious inexperienced philanthropy, like Alexander. He has not attempted to erect a capital in a pestilential marsh, and done so at the expense of a hundred thousand lives; nor has he dreamt of mystical regeneration with a visionary sibyl, and made sovereigns put their hands to a holy alliance from her influence. He neither corresponds with French atheists nor English democrats; he despises the praises of the first, he braves the hostility of the last.

His maxim is to take men as they are, and neither suppose them better nor worse. He is content to let Russia grow up in a Russian garb, animated with a Russian spirit, and moulded by Russian institutions, without the aid either of Parisian Communism or British Liberalism. The improvements he has effected in the government of his dominions have been vast, the triumphs with which his external policy have been attended unbounded; but they have all been achieved, not in imitation of, but in opposition to, the ideas of Western Europe. They bespeak, not less than his internal government, the national character of his policy. But if success is the test of worldly wisdom, he has not been far wrong in his system; for he has passed the Balkan, heretofore impervious to his predecessors; he has conquered Poland, converted the Euxine into a Russian lake, planted the cross on the bastions of Erivan, and opened through subdued Hungary a path, in the end, to Constantinople.

151. Nature has given him all the qualities fitted for such an elevated destiny. A lofty stature and princely air give additional influence to a majestic countenance, in which the prevailing character is resolution, yet not unmingled with sweetness. Like Wellington, Cæsar, and many others of the greatest men recorded in history, his expression has become more intellectual as he advanced in years, and been exercised in the duties of sovereignty, instead of the stern routine of military discipline. Exemplary in all the relations of private life, a faithful husband, an affectionate father, he has exhibited in a brilliant court, and when surrounded by every temptation which life can offer, the simplicity and affections of patriarchal life. Yet is he not a perfect character. His virtues often border upon vices. His excellences are akin to defects. Deeply impressed with the responsibility of his situation, his firmness has sometimes become sternness, his sense of justice degenerated into severity.* He

knows how to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, and has often evinced a noble and magnanimous spirit in separating the one from the other, and showing oblivion of injury, even kindness to the relatives of those who had conspired against his throne and life. But towards the guilty themselves he has not been equally compassionate. He has not always let the passions of the contest pass away with its termination. He is an Alexander the Great in resolution, but not in magnanimity. He wants the last grace in the heroic character—he does not know how to forgive.

serious dye, however, that this severity chiefly applies. In lesser matters, relating to order and discipline, he is more indulgent, and at times generous. At his coronation at Moscow, his eyes met those of General Paskiewitch, who had severely upbraided him for some military error at the head of his regiment some years before. 'Do you recollect,' said he, with a stern air, 'how you once treated me here? The wind has turned; take care lest I return you the like.' Two days after, he appointed him General-in-Chief.—SCNITZLER, ii. 356.

A striking proof of the emperor's simplicity of character is recorded by the Marquis Custine, who had frequent and confidential conversations with him. Speaking of his conduct on the revolt of 26th December, he said: "'J'ignorais ce que j'allais faire, j'étais inspiré.' 'Pour avoir de pareilles inspirations,' disait le Marquis, 'il faut les mériter.' 'Je n'ai fait rien d'extraordinaire,' répondit l'Empereur; 'j'ai dit aux soldats, retournez à vos rangs; et au moment de passer le régiment en revue, j'ai crié, à genoux. Tous ont obéi. Ce qui m'a rendu fier, c'est que l'instant auparavant, j'étais résigné à la mort. Je suis reconnaissant du succès, je n'en suis pas fier; je n'y ai aucun mérite.' 'Votre majesté,' répliqua Custine, 'a été sublime dans cette occasion.' 'Je n'ai pas été sublime,' répondit l'Empereur, 'je n'ai fait que mon métier. En pareille circonstance, nul ne peut savoir ce qu'il dira; on court au-devant du péril, sans se demander comment on s'en tirera.'—LE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE, *Russie en 1839*, ii. 40, 41, 57. Lamartine has frequently said in society, in reference to his conduct when he persuaded the people to lay aside the red flag at Paris, on the revolution of 1848, "J'étais sublime ce jour-là." Such is the difference between the simplicity of the really magnanimous and the self-love of those in whom it is deformed by overweening and discreditable vanity. I have heard this anecdote of Lamartine from two ladies of high rank, both of whom heard him use the expression on different occasions in reference to his own conduct, which was really noble and courageous on that day.

* It is in regard to political offences of a

CHAPTER IX.

ROYALIST REACTION IN FRANCE.

FRANCE FROM THE COUP D'ETAT OF 5TH MARCH 1819, TO THE ACCESSION OF THE PURELY ROYALIST MINISTRY IN DECEMBER 1821.

1. THERE is no instance in the whole records of history of a country which so rapidly recovered from the lowest point of depression, as France did in the interval from the close of 1816 to the beginning of 1820. Every conceivable ill which could afflict a state seemed to have accumulated around it at the commencement of that period. Its capital was taken, its government overturned, its sovereign a dethroned captive, its army defeated and disbanded, and eleven hundred thousand armed men in possession of its territory. Contributions to an enormous and unheard-of extent had been imposed upon its inhabitants; the armed multitude lived at free quarters amongst them, and were supported by exactions coming from their industry; and above sixty millions sterling of indemnities had been levied on them for the allied powers or their subjects. Such was the bequest of the Revolution to France. The inclemency of nature had united with the rigour of man to waste the devoted land. The summer and autumn of 1816 had been beyond all example cold and stormy; the harvest had proved extremely deficient, and prices risen in many places to a famine level. It seemed impossible for human malignity to conceive a greater accumulation of disasters, or for human ability to devise any mode of rendering them bearable.

2. Nevertheless it proved otherwise, and the resurrection of France was as rapid as had been her fall into the abyss of misfortune. Three years only had elapsed, and all was changed.

Plenty had succeeded to want, confidence to distrust, prosperity to misery. The Allies had withdrawn, the territory was freed: the contributions were paid or provided for, the national faith had been preserved entire. All this had been purchased by a cession of territory so small that it was not worth speaking of. The public funds were high in comparison of what they had been; and though the loans necessary to furnish the Government with the funds to make good its engagements had been contracted at a very high rate of interest, yet the resources of the country had enabled its rulers to pay it with fidelity and exactness, and strengthened their credit with foreign states. The simple preservation of peace—a blessing so long unknown to France—had effected all these prodigies, and worked wonders in the restoration of the national industry. Agriculture, relieved from the wasting scourge of the conscription, had sensibly revived; the husbandman everywhere sowed in hope, reaped in safety; and the benignity of Providence, which awarded a favourable harvest in 1818 and 1819, filled the land with plenteousness. Great improvements had in many places been introduced into this staple branch of the national industry. The division of property, which always induces a great increase in the amount of labour applied to the cultivation, had not as yet been attended by its subsequent effect—an exhaustion of its productive powers; and the six millions of proprietors succeeded in extracting a considerable increase of sub-

sistence from the fields. New and valuable trees had been planted in the woods; and horticulture, to which a large part of the country near the great towns was devoted, had made rapid strides by the introduction of the improved style of English gardening. Population had largely advanced since the peace; but no want was experienced among the inhabitants. Commerce had everywhere revived, latterly it had come to flourish to an extraordinary degree. The animation on the roads in the interior, on the canals which conveyed merchandise, and in the seaport towns, proved how largely the means of consumption had increased among the inhabitants.

3. The capital, in an especial manner, had shared in the general prosperity, and gave unequivocal proof of its reality and extent. The concourse of strangers attracted by its celebrity, its monuments, its galleries, its theatres, and its other attractions, was immense; and their great expenditure consoled the Parisians for the national reverses which had paved the way for their arrival. The Russians and English, their most formidable and persevering enemies, were in an especial manner conspicuous in this lucrative immigration. Under the influence of such extraordinary stimulants, Paris exhibited an unwonted degree of affluence: the brilliant equipages and crowded streets bespoke the riches which were daily expended; while the piles of splendid edifices arising on all sides exceeded anything previously witnessed in the brightest days of its history, and added daily to the architectural beauties it presented.

4. Statistical facts of unquestionable correctness and convincing weight attested the reality and magnitude of this change. The exports, imports, and revenue of the country had all gone on increasing, and latterly in an accelerated ratio. The imports, which in 1815 (the last year of Napoleon's reign) had been only 199,467,660 francs, had risen, in 1817, to 332,000,000, and in 1821 they had advanced to 355,591,857 francs. The exports also had risen considerably; they had increased from 422,000,000 to 464,000,000 francs.* The amount of revenue levied during these years could not, by possibility, afford a true index to the real state of the country, from the enormous amount of the contributions to the allied powers; but in those items in which an increase was practicable, or which indicated the greater wellbeing of the people, the improvement was very conspicuous. So marked a resurrection of a country and advance of its social condition, in so short a period, had perhaps never been witnessed; and it is the more remarkable, from its occurring immediately after such unprecedented misfortunes, and from the mere effect of an alteration in the system and policy of Government.

5. Add to this, that France had now, for the first time in its entire history, obtained the full benefit of representative institutions. The electors of the Chamber of Deputies were few in number—indeed, not exceeding 80,000 for the whole country—but they represented the national feelings so thoroughly, that their representatives in parliament had not only got the entire command of the State, but they expressed

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS AND REVENUE OF FRANCE, FROM 1815 TO 1821.

Years.	Imports. Francs.	Exports. Francs.	Revenue, Ordinary. Francs.	Revenue, Extraordinary. Francs.	Total Revenue. Francs.
1815	199,467,661	422,147,776	729,154,571	147,163,661	876,318,232
1816	242,698,753	547,706,317	378,903,354	157,801,000	1,036,804,354
1817	332,374,593	464,049,387	899,813,624	370,498,896	1,270,312,550
1818	335,574,488	502,284,083	937,751,487	476,329,198	1,414,080,685
1819	294,548,286	460,232,224	895,386,818	41,271,966	936,658,784
1820	335,009,566	543,112,774	933,439,553	5,798,510	939,238,062
1821	355,591,857	450,788,843	928,515,558	7,436,491	935,653,049
1822	368,990,533	427,679,156	937,427,670	16,493,592	953,921,262

the national wishes as faithfully as eight millions could have done. If there was anything to be condemned on the part of Government, it was that it had yielded too rapidly and immediately to the wishes of the people, whatever they were at the moment. The Royalist reaction of 1815; the subsequent leaning to Liberal institutions; the *coup d'état* of September 5, 1816; the great creation of peers in March 1819, had all been done in conformity with the wishes, and in obedience to the fierce demands, of the majority at the time. Weak from the outset, in consequence of the calamitous circumstances under which it was first established, and deprived at length of all support from external force, the Government had no alternative throughout but to conform, in every material step, to the national will, and for good or for evil inaugurate the people at once in the power of self-government. To such a length had this been carried, that at the close of the period the king had come to an entire rupture with his Royalist supporters, and thrown himself without reserve into the arms of the Liberal and anti-monarchical party.

6. It might reasonably have been expected that these great concessions would have conciliated the Constitutional party, who were now not only in possession of the blessings of freedom, but the sweets of office, and that they would have done their utmost to support a Government which had conferred such advantages upon their country and themselves. Yet it was just the reverse. With every concession made to them, their demands rose higher, their exasperation became greater; the press was never so violent, the public effervescence so extreme, as when the Government was opposing the least resistance to the popular will; and at length the danger became so imminent, from the increasing demands of the Liberals, and the menacing aspect of the legislature, that the king, from sheer necessity, and much against his will, was driven into a change of system, and return to a monarchical administration.

7. The new Ministry, appointed

when the Liberals were in the ascendant, being not altogether confident in their stability, and having come to an open rupture with the Royalists, did everything in their power to increase their popularity, and conciliate the democratic party, upon whom they exclusively depended. Various measures of great utility, and attended by the very best consequences, were set on foot, which have been felt as beneficial even to these times. To them we owe the first idea of an exhibition of the works of national industry, which was fixed for the 25th August 1819, to be followed by a similar one every two years afterwards, and which was attended with such success that it gave rise, in its ultimate effects, to the magnificent Great Exhibition in London, in the year 1851. A Council-General of Agriculture was established, consisting of ten members, of whom the Minister of the Interior was President, which was to correspond with and direct affiliated societies all over the kingdom. In the choice of its members the most laudable impartiality was shown, and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the head of the Royalist nobility, was the first person on the list, followed by the Dukes of Choiseul and Liancourt, who were equally distinguished by their opposition to the present Government. A Council-General of Prisons was established, and the attention of the philanthropist directed to the unhappy convicts, a class of sufferers who had been alike neglected amidst the declamations of the Republic and the glories of the Empire. To aid them in their philanthropic labour, a society was formed, under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, which, under the title of the "Royal Society of Prisons," was soon actively engaged with projects for the improvement of prison discipline and moral and religious instruction of the inmates. Great solicitude was evinced for the advancement of primary instruction; and in no former period, either of the Republic or the Empire, had a greater number of improvements been effected in that important department of public instruction. Finally,

the attention of the Government was directed, in an especial manner, to the administration of justice, and the numerous abuses which prevailed in the delay generally incurred in bringing prisoners to trial; and a circular issued by M. de Serres, the Minister of Justice, deserves a place in history, from the admirable spirit which it breathes on a subject hitherto unaccountably neglected by all the parties who had been successively called to the helm of affairs.*

8. At the same time, nearly the whole persons banished for their accession to the conspiracy of the Hundred Days received permission to return to their country. Maret, Duke of Bassano, the principal author of that revolt, obtained it, and after his return the same indulgence could scarcely be refused to inferior delinquents. The king never refused forgiveness to any application from any of his Ministers; rarely to any respectable inferior application. By these means, in a few months nearly all the proscribed persons, excepting the actual regicides, had returned to their country, and these were so few in number, and for the most part so old and infirm, that their absence or presence, except as an example, and indicating the triumph

or defeat of a principle, was almost equally an object of indifference.

9. Notwithstanding this indulgent administration, and substantial benefits conferred on France by the Government of the Restoration, it was daily becoming more unpopular, and the general discontent had now reached such a height as seriously to menace its existence. Three elections remained to complete the last renewal of the Chamber, and the persons elected, M. Daunou, Saint-Aignan, and Benjamin Constant, were all leaders of the extreme democratic party. Nor was the hostility to the Ministers confined to electoral contests. In the Chamber itself the most violent and systematic resistance was made to every proposal of the Government; and every concession they made, so far from disarming the opposition, only rendered it more virulent and persevering. The press was never so violent and undisguised in its attacks on the administration; and to such a length did its hostility proceed, that before two months had elapsed from the *coup d'état* creating sixty new peers in the democratic interest, Ministers found it necessary to bring forward a lasting law regarding the press, to be a bridle on its excesses.

10. Although this law was a great concession to the popular party, and placed the liberty of the press upon a better basis than it had ever been since the Restoration gave freedom to France, it excited the most violent opposition in both Chambers and in the public press. It abolished the censorship—an immense step in the progress of real freedom—and declared that offences against the laws for restraining its excesses should be tried by juries. This was evidently laying the only true foundation for entire freedom on this subject; but the enactment which it also contained, that the proprietors of newspapers should find security to meet fines or claims of damages which might be awarded against them, gave rise to the most violent opposition, both in the legislature and the public journals. "The press is strangled!" was the universal cry; "give us back the censorship." Yet—markworthy

* "Des réclamations nombreuses ont signalé dans ces derniers temps divers abus dans l'Instruction des Procédures criminelles. Ces plaintes peuvent n'être pas exemptes d'exagération. Il paraît cependant que plusieurs ne sont que trop fondées. Elles ont porté sur la facilité, la légèreté même, avec laquelle sont faites les arrestations. 2. Sur une prolongation ou un application abusive de l'Interdiction aux prévenus de communiquer. 3. Enfin, sur la négligence apportée dans l'Instruction des procès. Je crois donc utile de retracer sur chacun de ces points les principes, à la stricte application desquels vous devez sans cesse rappeler les Procureurs du Roi, les Juges d'Instruction, et chacun des agents judiciaires qui vous sont subordonnés. . . . Attachez-vous à imprimer fortement cette vérité aux Magistrats Instructeurs que la *célérité dans les Informations* est pour eux un devoir impérieux, et qu'ils se chargent d'une grande responsabilité lorsque, sans une nécessité évidente, ils la prolongent au delà du temps suffisant pour faire régler la Compétence, et statuer sur la Préconisation en Connaissance de Cause." —*Circulaire aux Préfets*, 24th April 1819. *Circulaires aux Préfets*, ii. 271.

circumstance—the proposal passed into a law; the resistance was overcome; of the whole journals, not one perished from inability to find caution; but the violence and vehemence of the press became greater than ever. In truth, in an age of intelligence and strong political excitement, it is impossible to restrain the press; and the enactments of the legislature, be they what they may, are of little consequence, for they ere long become a dead letter. During the whole of the stormy discussion which took place on this subject, the Royalists took no part, confining themselves to the urging an amendment, declaring offences against religion punishable; which was agreed to. They desired freedom of discussion as the only means of achieving their return to power; but they were ashamed of the allies who aided them at the moment in the attempt. The project passed ultimately into a law by a majority of eighty-five, the numbers being a hundred and forty-three to fifty-eight; and thus the Restoration might justly boast of having obtained for France the inestimable blessing of a real liberty of the press, to which no approach ever had been made during either the Revolution or the Empire.

11. A still more vehement debate took place on a matter which was anxiously pressed on the king by the whole extreme Left of the Chamber, and all their supporters in the public press—viz., the general and unqualified return of the proscribed persons. From the state of maturity to which the project for the overthrow of the Bourbons had arrived, this was a matter of very great importance; for the exiles whom it was proposed to get back would be the very first to become its leaders. The Ministers resisted the attempt to force such a measure upon the king; they had some information as to the danger which impended over the monarchy, and thought justly, that if the sovereign was driven into such a general measure, it would take away all credit for acts of grace conferred upon individuals. M. de Serres, on this occasion, broke forth into an

eloquent declamation, the termination of which made a great noise, and contributed, in an essential manner, to alienate the democratic leaders from the crown, and reveal the secret hostility with which they were actuated against it.

12. “In the petitions which have been presented,” said M. de Serres, “it is particularly to be observed, that there is no question as to individuals exiled for a time under the law of 12th January 1816, but of *all* the proscribed individuals in a mass. They include not only the regicides, but the family of Buonaparte himself. When the deplorable day of the 20th March 1815 appeared, in the midst of the profound consternation of all good citizens, and the frantic joy of a few agitators; when, from the confines of Europe and Asia to the shores of the ocean, Europe ran to arms, and France was invaded by millions of foreign soldiers; when it was despoiled of its fortune, its monuments, and in danger of having its territory reft away, every one felt that the first duty of every good citizen was to defend the crown by severe measures against fresh aggressions. Then arose the question, whether the individuals who had concurred in the vote for the death of Louis XVI. should be removed from the French territory; and every one knows with what perseverance the royal clemency struggled against the proposition for their banishment. Many men, known by their boundless devotion to the royal cause, and to the principles of a constitutional monarchy, maintained that a universal and unqualified amnesty should be pronounced. But it was otherwise decided; and having been so, the decision was irrevocable. The extreme generosity of the king might engage individuals to abstain from voting; but when once the law was passed, it was evidently impossible, without doing violence to the strongest moral feelings, without inflicting a fatal wound on the royal authority in the eyes of France and Europe, to urge the king to restore to the country the assassins of his brother, his lawfully

crowned predecessor. It is necessary, therefore, to make a distinction between the individuals struck at by the law of January 1816. In the irrevocable category should be placed the family of Buonaparte and the regicide voters. The rest are only exiled for a time. To conclude in one word—the regicides *never*; as to those exiled for a time, entire confidence in the goodness of the king.”

13. The expression used by M. de Serres, *jamais* (never), made an immense sensation. It at once separated the Extreme Left from the Ministry, and, by the exasperation which it produced, revealed their secret designs. So great was the ferment that, in the report of his speech in the *Moniteur*, it was deemed necessary to add a qualifying expression, to the effect that, although the regicides could never claim a return, they might hope for it from the clemency of the king, in consideration of age and infirmities.* But this qualification produced no impression. The unqualified words had been spoken by the minister in his place in the Chamber, and were taken as a decisive indication of the intentions of Government. The exasperation of the extreme Liberals, accordingly, continued unabated, and was so strongly expressed in the contemporary journals in their interest, that both M. de Serres and M. Decazes began to hesitate in regard to the possibility of carrying on the government by the support of such allies. A schism, attended in the end with important effects, was beginning in the Cabinet, and to this period is to be referred the commencement of an alteration in the sentiments of the leading members of administration, which ultimately led to a change of government.

14. Open war being now declared between the Government and the Liberal press, and all restraints upon the latter being taken away by the removal of the censorship, there was no end to the violence with which Mini-

sters were assailed by the democratic party. All that they had done was forgotten; what it was feared they would do alone was considered. The *coup d'état*, which had changed the Electoral Law, and promised soon to give them the command of the Chambers—the creation of peers, which had already given them a majority in the upper chamber—were never once mentioned: the word “*jamais*” alone resounded in every ear. The most unbounded benefits conferred on their country and themselves were forgotten in the denial of an amnesty to a few hoary Jacobins, stained with every atrocity which could disgrace humanity. Three-fourths of the public press was leagued together against the Government, and poured forth its venom daily with a vigour and talent which bore down all opposition. The *Courrier*, which was supported by the Doctrinaire party, and adorned by the talents of M. Guizot, Royer-Collard, and Kerratry, proved in this strife no match for the *Constitutionnel*, which then first attained its immense circulation, and in which M. THIERS was beginning his eventful career. The Royalist journals, in which M. Chateaubriand and Hyde Neuville exerted their talents, were supported with greater genius and eloquence than the Liberal, and strongly confirmed the minority, which agreed with them in their opinion of the present downward progress of things; but their voices were those of a minority only of the entire population. The majority, upon the whole, was decidedly with the Liberals, and they were more vehement in their attacks on their own Government than they had been on the Royalist administration. A popular party which is suspected of an intention of stopping in the career of concession, soon becomes the object of more inveterate hostility than that which had always opposed it.

15. As these ulcerated feelings arose from disappointed ambition rather than patriotic feeling, they were in no degree abated by the general prosperity which prevailed, and which proved how much, as a whole, the Govern-

* “A l'égard des régicides jamais, sauf, comme je l'ai dit, les tolérances accordées par la clémence du roi à l'âge et aux infirmités.” —*Moniteur*, May 18, 1819; *Ann. Hist.* ii. 230.

ment of the Restoration had deserved the support and affections of the country. The budget of 1819 presented a striking and most gratifying contrast to those which had preceded it, and proved the immensity of the relief which the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the evacuation of the territory, had procured for the French nation.* The estimated expenses of the year were only 889,200,000 francs, being a reduction of nearly 300,000,000 francs from those of the preceding year, which had amounted to 1,154,000,000 francs. In the expense of the year, independent of the cessation of the payments to the Allies, there was a reduction of 15,000,000 francs. The Government had good reason to congratulate itself upon the exposition of its financial situation: nothing nearly so favourable had been presented since the Revolution; for here was a reduction of £12,000,000 a-year, effected, not by contributions exacted from other countries, or any reduction in the national armaments, but simply by successful diplomatic arrangements with foreign states, and the moderation on the part of their rulers which the policy of the French Government had inspired.

16. All eyes, in the autumn of this year, were fixed on the annual election for filling up the fifth of the Chamber, which by law was vacated and renewed every season. Already the evils of these annual elections had come to be severely felt; and the expression of the approach of the "Electoral Fever" had become as common as, in after days, that of the approach of the cholera was to be. Ministers felt strongly the importance of the ensuing election, and exerted themselves to the utmost to gain popularity be-

fore it came on. The king visited frequently the magnificent exhibition of the productions of native industry, which was held in the Louvre, and was prodigal of those flattering expressions of which he was so accomplished a master: not a manufacturer withdrew without believing that he had captivated the royal taste. Crosses of the Legion of Honour were profusely bestowed, but yet with discernment, and without regard to party; and the circulars to the prefects earnestly inculcated the utmost lenity in prosecution of offenders, and diligence in encouraging every object of social improvement. The prosecution of the assassins of Marshal Brune was authorised, if they could be discovered; the proscribed returned in crowds from Belgium; while, to conciliate the Royalists, the concordat with the court of Rome was modified; bulls were given to the new French bishops; and the sacred ceremonies frequently announced the installation of a new bishop in his diocese. A million of francs (£40,000) was devoted to the establishment of new parish priests; while, to evince their impartiality, three new Protestant ministers were endowed at the same time with the Catholic bishops; and the presidents of the electoral colleges were all chosen from the Centre of the Assembly, and taken from men of moderation and respectability.

17. It was all in vain; and the elections of 1819, which had an important effect on the destinies of the monarchy, afford another example of the truth exemplified by so many passages of contemporary history—that in periods of excitement, when the passions are violently roused, moderate men are assailed on both sides, and it is the

* The budget of 1819 stood thus:—

	Francs.
Interest of public debt,	232,000,000
Civil list and royal family,	34,000,000
Foreign Affairs,	8,000,000
Justice,	17,400,000
Interior,	102,700,000
War,	192,750,000
Marine,	45,200,000
Miscellaneous,	257,000,000

889,210,000, or £35,450,000

extremes on either who alone prove successful. All that the king and the ministers had done for the Liberal party—and it was not a little—went for nothing; or rather, they only encouraged them to rise in their demands, and return representatives who would extort what they wished from the Government. The Royalists in many places coalesced with them to throw out the ministerial candidates: their journals openly advised them to do so, inculcating the doctrine, “Better the Jacobins than the Ministerialists; for the Jacobins will bring matters to a crisis.” In truth, however, the crisis was nearer than they imagined, and it was brought on very much by their policy. Five-and-thirty extreme Liberals were returned, fifteen Ministerialists, and only four Royalists. Among those whom the Liberals returned were GENERAL FOY, the most distinguished popular orator of the Restoration, and two extreme Jacobins, whose appearance in the returned lists excited universal consternation—M. Lambrecht, and the ABBÉ GRÉGOIRE, the Jacobin and constitutional bishop of Blois, whose name was identified with several of the worst acts of the Convention.

18. The Abbé Grégoire, who had left the Church of Rome during the Revolution, and received in return from the civil authorities the bishopric of Blois, had not actually voted for the death of Louis XVI., having been absent on a mission at the time; but he had given several subsequent votes, which evinced his approval of that great legislative murder. His language had always been violent and immeasured against royalty and the Bourbons; and no one had spread brief sarcastic sayings against them more widely, or done more to injure their cause with the great body of the people, with whom stinging epithets or bold assertions often prevail more than sound argument or truth in the statement of facts. A mute senator under the Empire, he had possessed good sense enough to abstain from joining in the movement which followed the return of Napoleon from

Elba, which prevented his being included in the sentence of banishment pronounced against those concerned in that event, and paved the way for his return as a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He had never been wholly faithless to the cause of Christianity, though he had to that of the court of Rome, in whose service he had been; and there were many worse men in the Convention. But it was impossible to find one more personally obnoxious to the Bourbons, or whose return was considered a more decided triumph by the party which aimed at their overthrow.

19. GENERAL FOY, a far nobler and superior character, though not so much dreaded at the time, proved a much more formidable enemy in the end to the Government of the Restoration. Born at Havre in 1775, he had early served under Dumourier, Pichegru, and Dampierre in the legions of the Revolution. Subsequently he was wounded by the side of Desaix, in one of the campaigns in Germany; and he served under Massena in the campaign of Zurich in 1799. He early evinced, however, an independent spirit, and devoted his leisure hours, in the intervals of his campaigns, to the study of law and social questions. He refused to sign the servile addresses which were sent by the troops with whom he acted to Napoleon, fell, in consequence, under the imperial displeasure, and was sent to Spain to expiate his offence in the dreadful campaigns in that country. To this circumstance we owe his very interesting account of the early campaigns in that memorable war. He joined the Bourbons in 1814; but, without being implicated, like so many others, in the revolt of 1815, he hastened to the scene of danger when the independence of France was menaced; and none combated with more gallantry both at Quatre-Bras and Waterloo. In 1815 he returned to private life, on the disbanding of the army, and employed his leisure hours in writing the annals of his campaigns.

20. The only man in the Chamber who, on the Ministerial side, was cap-

able of balancing the power of General Foy on the Liberal, was M. DE SERRES. He was in every sense a very eminent man, and seemed to have inherited the spirit of Mirabeau without being stained by his vices, and enlightened by experience and subsequent events. He was fitted by nature, if any man was, to have brought about the marriage of the hereditary monarchy with the liberty of the Revolution, which that great man, in the close of his career, endeavoured to effect, but which his own violence at that period had contributed to render impossible. A Royalist by descent, born on 12th March 1776, of a noble family in Lorraine, he had, in the first instance, served with the other emigrants in the army of the Prince of Condé against the Revolution. But his inclination led him to peaceful studies rather than warlike pursuits, and he returned to France on occasion of Napoleon's amnesty in 1801, and began his studies for the bar. Such, however, at that period, from long residence abroad, was his ignorance of his own language, that he required to study it as a foreign tongue. He made his *début* at the provincial bar of Metz, and in a few years had distinguished himself so much that in 1811 Napoleon appointed him public prosecutor there, and soon after President of the Imperial Court at Hamburg. In that situation he remained till 1814, when, having declared his adhesion to the Bourbons on the fall of Napoleon, he was appointed President of the Royal Court at Colmar, a situation which he held when he was named deputy for that department in 1815. With that commenced his parliamentary and ministerial career.

21. His principles at first were Royalist from birth and early impressions, and he was of a religious disposition; but when his reason was fully developed, his opinions inclined to the Liberal side, and then he readily fell into the alliance of the Royalist Liberals, of whom M. Decazes was the head, and which Louis XVIII. adopted as the basis of his government. He was more remarkable for the power of

his eloquence, and the commanding flow of his oratory, than the consistency of his political conduct. His soul was ardent, his imagination rich, his words impassioned, his elocution clear and emphatic. He was thus the most powerful debater, the most brilliant orator on the ministerial side, and was put forward by them on all important occasions as their most valuable supporter. Such was the force of his language, and the generous liberality of his sentiments, that he not only never failed to command general attention, but often to elicit the warmest applause from both sides of the Chamber—an intoxicating but dangerous species of homage, to which the consistency of more than one very eminent man, on both sides of the Channel, has fallen a sacrifice. His previous life and known principles still obtained for him the applause of the Royalists, while the newborn liberality of his sentiments extorted the cheers of the Liberals on the left. Thus his parliamentary influence at the moment was extensive—more so, perhaps, than that of any other man; but it was not likely to be durable. Mere talent, how great soever, will not long secure the suffrages of any body of men, least of all of an assembly in which ambition is the ruling principle of action in the great majority. Both sides applaud him so long as both hope to gain him, but when his decision is once taken, the party which he has abandoned becomes his bitterest enemy. Wisdom of thought and consistency of conduct, though often exposed to obloquy at the time, are the only secure foundation for lasting fame, because they alone can lead to a course upon which time will stamp its approval.

22. The result of the elections, and in an especial manner the return of the Abbé Grégoire, acted like a clap of thunder on Louis XVIII. and M. Decazes, to whose Electoral Law it was obviously to be ascribed. It was no longer possible to shut their eyes to the danger. Every successive election, since the *coup d'état* of September 5, 1816, had proved more unfavourable

than the preceding ; and the last had turned out so disastrous, both in the general results and the character of the individuals returned, that not a doubt could remain that the next would give a decided majority in the Chamber to the declared enemies of the Bourbon family. Immense was the sensation which these untoward results produced at the Tuileries ; and the evidence of facts was now too clear and convincing for the king any longer to shut his eyes to the inferences deducible from them. On the evening of the day when intelligence had been received of the return of the Abbé Grégoire, the Count d'Artois thus addressed Louis : " Well, my brother, you see at last whither they are leading you." " I know it, my brother," replied the king, softening his voice, and in an under-tone, " I know it, and will provide against it." Confidence was by these words immediately re-established between the heir-apparent and the throne. A long and cordial conversation ensued between the two brothers, in the course of which it was agreed that an Electoral Law which had induced such a succession of defeats to the Government, and insults to the throne, evidently required to be altered. The very same evening M. Decazes received orders to prepare a new electoral bill. The minister saw that his master's mind was made up, and at once agreed to do so. M. de Serres, whose early prepossessions and imaginative turn of mind inclined him to the same side, and even to magnify the approaching dangers, readily fell into the same views, and M. Portal, the Minister of Marine, adopted them also. On the other hand, the President, General Dessolles, General Gouvion St-Cyr, War Minister, and Baron Louis, the Finance Minister, were decidedly in favour of the existing system ; so that the Cabinet was divided on the subject, as well as the country.

23. When a division had taken place in the Cabinet on so vital a subject as the Electoral Law, it was impossible that it could be adjusted without a change in the composition of the Ministry. The king and M. Decazes, aware of the danger of showing symptoms of

division in their own camp, in presence of an enterprising and insatiable enemy, made great efforts to avert the rupture, and laboured hard to convince the Liberal members of the administration that no change involving principle was contemplated, but only such a modification in details as circumstances had rendered necessary. But the ministers adverse to a change stood firm, and resolved to resign rather than enter into the proposed compromise. On the other hand, the king was fortified in his view of the case by the accession of M. Pasquier, who laid before him a very able memoir, in which the dangers of the present law were clearly pointed out, and its further maintenance was shown to be inconsistent with the existence of the monarchy. The Liberal journals, made aware of the danger of their chiefs, sounded the alarm in the loudest possible notes, and praised General Dessolles, General Gouvion St-Cyr, and Baron Louis to the skies, as the sole patriotic ministers, and the only ones who had the interest of the people and the support of the national liberties really at heart. But it was all in vain. The king's mind was made up : the danger was too obvious and pressing to be any longer disregarded ; and as no compromise was found to be practicable, the result was a great and important change in the Ministry. M. Decazes was sent for by the king, and declared President of the Council. He reserved for himself the situation of Minister of the Interior, for which his talents and habits peculiarly qualified him. M. Pasquier was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs ; General Latour-Maubourg, Minister at War ; and M. Roy, Finance Minister.

24. It was comparatively a matter of little difficulty to make a change in the Ministry, but it was not so easy to see how the alteration was to be supported in the Chamber, or rendered palatable to the public press, in both of which Liberal principles were in the ascendant. Everything depended on the Centre of the Assembly, and to secure its support the new Cabinet Ministers had been taken from its ranks ; and to gain time for the parties to

arrange themselves, the opening of the Chambers was adjourned to the 29th November. But meanwhile, both the journals and the pamphleteers on the Liberal side, now freed from the restraints of the censorship, commenced a war to the knife with the new Ministry. M. Decazes, so recently the object of general idolatry as long as he headed the movement, was, as usual in such cases, instantly assailed with the most virulent reproaches. Nor were publications wanting of a higher stamp, and which had greater weight with persons of thought and reflection. In particular, M. de Staël, son of the illustrious authoress, in a pamphlet of great ability, defended the contemplated change in the Electoral Law, pointed out the evils of the existing system, and proposed to remedy them, by the duplication of the Chamber of Deputies, elections by arrondissements and chief places, and a renewal of the entire Chamber every five years, instead of the annual renewal of a fifth. The *Doctrinaires*, including M. de Staël, M. Guizot, and M. de Broglie, tendered their powerful support to the new Cabinet, demanding only, as a guarantee for its sincerity, two portfolios, one for M. Royer-Collard, and one for M. de Broglie or M. de Barante.

25. The king's speech, at the opening of the Chamber on November 29, gave tokens of the apprehensions with which the royal mind was inspired, and of the change of policy which was in contemplation. "In the midst," said he, "of the general prosperity, and surrounded by so many circumstances calculated to inspire confidence, there are just grounds for apprehension which mingle with our hopes, and demand our most serious attention. A vague but real disquietude has seized every mind; pleased with the present, every one asks pledges for its duration: the nation enjoys, in a very imperfect way, the fruits of legal government and peace; it fears to see them reft from it by the violence of faction; it is terrified by the too undisguised expression of its designs. These fears and wishes point to the necessity of some additional guarantee for repose and

tranquillity. Impressed with these ideas, I have reverted to the subject which has so much occupied my thoughts, which I wish to realise, but which requires to be matured by experience and enforced by necessity before it is carried into execution. Founder of the Charter, to which are attached the whole interests of my people and my family, I feel that if there is any amelioration which these great interests require, and which should modify some regulating forms connected with the Charter, in order the better to secure its power and action, it rests with me to propose it. The moment has come when it is necessary to fortify the Chamber of Deputies, and withdraw it from the annual action of party, by securing it a longer endurance, and one more in conformity with the interests of public order and the exterior consideration of the State. It is to the devotion and energy of the two Chambers, and their cordial co-operation with my Government, that I look for the means of saving the public liberties from licence, confirming the monarchy, and giving to all the interests guaranteed by the Charter the entire security which we owe to it."

26. It was impossible that words could announce more explicitly a change of policy adopted by the king and the Government; but the result of the first division in the Chamber proved that the Extreme Left, reduced to itself, could not disturb its movements, and that, if the Centre supported Ministers, they would be able to carry through their measures. In the division for the president, M. Lafitte, who had all the extreme Liberal strength, had only sixty-five votes, while M. Ravez, who was supported by the Centre and Right, had a hundred and five, and M. de Villèle by the Right alone, seventy-five. This sufficiently proved where the majority was to be found; but that it could not be relied on to support any change in the Electoral Law was proved by the division on the address, on which Ministers were defeated by a majority of one, the numbers being a hundred and eight to a hundred and seven. The

new address, drawn up by the commission which the majority had nominated, bore, "Why weaken our hopes, and the calmness of our felicity, by unnecessary fears? The laws are every day meeting with an easy execution; nowhere is the public tranquillity disturbed; but it is no doubt true that a vague disquietude has taken possession of the public mind, and the factions, which attempt no concealment of their projects and their hopes, endeavour to corrupt public opinion, and they would plunge us into licentiousness, in order to destroy our liberties."

27. It was too true that the factions made no attempt to conceal their projects, and the impunity with which they were permitted to carry them on in face of day afforded the clearest proof of the weakness of the Government. The following account of the secret associations at this time in Paris, and of their designs, is given by a distinguished writer, who himself has since been, for a brief season, their principal leader. "At this period," says Lamartine, "the Opposition, obliged to avoid the light of day, took refuge in secret societies. The spirit of conspiracy insinuated itself into them, under the colour of Liberal opinions. Public associations were formed, to defend, by all legal means, the liberty of thought, of opinion, and of the press. MM. de Lafayette, d'Argenson, Lafitte, Benjamin Constant, Gevaudeau, Mechin, Gassicourt, de Broglie, and others, impressed the course of public action. M. de Lafayette, in his hôtel, held meetings of still more secret and determined committees. Every defensive arm gained by the existing institutions to public freedom, became, in their hands, an aggressive arm for the purposes of conspiracy. Secret correspondences were established between the persons proscribed at Brussels and the malcontents in Paris. They spoke openly of changing the dynasty. The King of the Netherlands, it was said, secretly favoured their projects, and hoped to elevate his house on the ruins of the Bourbons. Negotiations were attempted between the Prince of Orange, the proscribed per-

sons, and Lafayette. The threads of the conspiracy extended into Germany, Italy, Spain, Piedmont, and Naples. The spirit of freedom which had roused Europe against Napoleon, seeing itself menaced in France, everywhere prepared to defend itself. CARBONARISM was organised in Italy, revolutionary liberty at Cadiz, and a general union in the universities of Germany. One of the young members of that sect, the student Sand, assassinated, in cold blood, Kotzebue, who formerly enjoyed an extensive popularity, but who was supposed to be sold to Russia.

28. A full account of the important changes which these efforts made in Spain, Italy, and Germany, has already been given; but their influence was great and decided on the measures of Government at Paris. It was no longer a question, whether the Electoral Law should be modified—the only point was, to what extent. The Cabinet, in conjunction with M. de Broglie, M. Guizot, M. Villemain, and the Doctrinaires, drew up a bill, the heads of which were—1st, That the Chamber should be renewed entire every five or seven years, and not a fifth every year as at present; 2d, That the number of its members should be considerably augmented; 3d, That the colleges of arrondissement as they now stood should be broken into smaller divisions. The Doctrinaires agreed to support this bill with their whole weight from the Centre of the Chamber, and it was hoped it would pass. But great delay took place in adjusting the details, and the Liberals took advantage of the time thus gained to rouse the country against the Government. Petitions against the Ministers were got up in all quarters, and the violence of the press exceeded anything ever witnessed since the days of the Convention. In vain were prosecutions instituted against the delinquents: the juries, in the face of the clearest evidence, constantly acquitted the persons brought before the tribunals. Caulaincourt openly saluted Napoleon as Emperor in his writings, and Béranger lent to his cause the fascination of genius and the charms of poetry. The intelligence

daily received of the progress of the revolution in Spain, and the fermentation in Germany and Italy, added to the general excitement; and the Napoleonists, deeming the realisation of their hopes approaching, everywhere struck the chord which still vibrated so powerfully in the hearts of the French; and the mighty image of the Emperor, long banished from the lips, but treasured in the hearts of men, again seemed to arise in gloomy magnificence on the extreme verge of the distant ocean.

29. The project ultimately agreed on for the modification of the Electoral Law was one founded in wisdom, and which, by providing a remedy against the great danger of the existing system—the *uniform representation*, and consequent preponderance of one single class in society—promised to establish it in France on the only basis on which it can ever be beneficial or of long duration in an old and mixed community. It obtained the concurrence both of the Royalists and the Doctrinaires. It was agreed that the Chamber of Deputies was to be composed of 430 members, instead of 260, the present number—258 being returned by the colleges of *arrondissements*, and 172 by the colleges of departments. The colleges of *arrondissements* were to appoint the electors of the colleges of departments *among those who paid 1000 francs (£40) of annual taxes*; the half of all taxes, to make up the quota, was to be of land-tax; the elections were to be made by inscriptions on a bulletin; the 172 departmental deputies were to be elected immediately; the Chamber to go on without renewal in any part for seven years. The material thing in this proposed law was, that a *different class* of electors was introduced for the colleges of departments—viz., persons paying 1000 francs of annual taxes, instead of 300, which constituted the franchise at present.

30. The project no sooner got wind than the Liberals sounded the alarm. The violence of the press became insupportable. Assassination was openly recommended; Brutus and Cassius,

Sand and Carlisle, Riego and Quiroga the leaders of the Spanish revolution, were lauded to the skies as the first of patriots. In a pamphlet by Saint-Simon it was asserted that the murder of the King, of the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Duke de Berri, would be less to be deplored than that of the humblest mechanic, because persons could more easily be found to act the part of princes than of common workmen. But, dangerous as these publications were, all attempts to check them proved entirely nugatory; for neither weight of evidence nor magnitude of delinquency had the slightest effect in inducing the juries to convict. The contest ere long assumed the most virulent aspect; the Government and Royalists felt that they had no chance of saving the monarchy but by a change in the Electoral Law; and the Liberals and revolutionists were resolute to prevent, at all hazards, any change in the present law, which promised so soon to subvert it.

31. These open incitements to assassination were not long of leading to the desired result; and a deplorable event plunged the royal family and Royalists in grief, and caused such consternation in the general mind as for a time made the balance incline in favour of conservative principles. The DUKE DE BERRI, second son of the Count d'Artois, had now become the chief hope of the royal family, because it was from him alone that a continuance of the direct line of succession could be looked for. This circumstance had given an importance to his position, and an interest in his fate, which could not otherwise have belonged to it. He was more gifted in heart and disposition than in external advantages. His figure was short, his shoulders broad, his lips thick, his nose *retroussé*; everything in his appearance indicated a gay and sensual, rather than an intellectual and magnanimous disposition. But the sweetness of his smile, and the cordiality of his manner, revealed the native benevolence of his disposition, and speedily won every heart among those who approached him. He had, in an undiminished degree, the hereditary

courage of his race, and had sighed all his life for a share of the military fame which surrounded his country in a halo of glory, but from which his unfortunate position as a prince of the exiled family, and in arms against his compatriots, necessarily excluded him. He was not free from the foibles usual in princes in whom luxury has enhanced and idleness has afforded room for the gratification of the passions; but he caused them to be forgotten by the generous qualities with which they were accompanied. Constant in love, faithful in friendship, eager for renown, thirsting for arms, if he had not acquired military fame, it was not owing to any lack of ambition to prove himself the worthy descendant of Henry IV., but to the circumstances of his destiny, which had condemned him to inaction.

32. Being the youngest of the princes of the blood, he came to play a more important part on the Restoration. He was the bridge of communication between the pacific family of the Bourbons and the army; and being himself passionately attached to the career of arms, he took to the soldiers as his natural element. He anxiously cultivated the friendship of the marshals, the generals, the officers—even the private soldiers attracted a large share of his attention; and before his career was cut short by the hand of an assassin, he had already made great progress in their affections. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he was invested with the command of the army which was assembled round Paris; and when the retreat to Flanders was resolved on, he commanded the rearguard, and by his personal courage and good conduct succeeded in escorting his precious charge in safety to the frontier, without having shed the blood of a Frenchman. At Bethune he advanced alone against a regiment of cavalry, and by his intrepid bearing imposed upon them submission. On the return to Paris after Waterloo, he continued his military habits, and many happy expressions are recorded of his, which strongly moved the hearts of the soldiers. He had been very kindly received by the

inhabitants of Lisle, on the retreat to Ghent; and having been sent there after the second Restoration, the mutual transports were such, that on leaving them he said, "Henceforth it is between us for life and death." At the barracks in Paris, having one day fallen into conversation with a veteran of the Imperial army, he asked him why the soldiers loved Napoleon so much? "Because he always led us to victory," was the reply. "It was not very difficult to do so with men such as you," was the happy rejoinder of the prince, which proved that, besides the spirit, he had in some degree the felicity of expression of Henry IV.

33. On the 28th March 1816, a message from the king to both Chambers announced that the Duke de Berri was about to espouse CAROLINE MARY, eldest daughter of the heir to the crown of Naples—an event which was hailed with every demonstration of joy both by the legislature and the people of France. The Chambers spontaneously made him a gift of 1,500,000 francs (£60,000); but he declared he would only accept to consecrate it to the departments which had suffered most during the dreadful scarcity of that year—a promise which he religiously performed. The marriage proved an auspicious one. The young princess won every heart by the elegance of her person and the engaging liveliness of her manner; and she soon gave proof that the direct line of succession was not likely to fail while her husband lived. The two first children of the marriage, the eldest of whom was a prince, died in early infancy; but the third, Princess Mary, who afterwards became Duchess of Parma, still survived; and the princess had been three months *enceinte* when the hand of an assassin deprived her of her husband, and induced a total change in the prospects and destinies of France. Never were severed married persons more tenderly attached, or on whose mutual safety more important consequences to the world were dependent.

34. There lived at Paris at that time a man of the name of Louvel, whose biography is only of interest as indi-

eating by what steps, and the indulgence of what propensities, and what opinions, men are conducted to the most atrocious crimes. He had been born at Versailles, in 1787, of humble parents, who made their bread by selling small-wares to the retainers of the palace. The first rudiments of education, if education it could be called, were given him amidst the fêtes of the Convention, where regicides were celebrated as the first of patriots, and the operatic worship of the theophilanthropists, where universal liberation from restraint was preached as the obvious dictate and intention of nature. Solitary in his disposition, taciturn in his habits, he revolved these ideas in his mind without revealing them to any one, and they fermented so in his bosom that when Louis XVIII. landed at Calais, in 1814, he endeavoured to get to the pier to assassinate him the instant he set foot on the soil of France. For several years after, he was so haunted by the desire to become a regicide, or at least signalise himself by the murder of a prince, that he was forced to move from place to place, to give a temporary distraction to his mind; and he went repeatedly to St Germain, St Cloud, and Fontainebleau to seek an opportunity of doing so. He was long disappointed, and had hovered about the opera for many nights, when the Duke de Berri was there, in hopes of finding the means of striking his victim, when, on the 13th February 1820, chance threw the long-wished-for opportunity in his way.

35. On that day, being the last of the carnival, the Duke de Berri was at the opera with the princess; and Louvel lurked about the entrance, armed with a small sharp poniard, with which he had previously provided himself. He was at the door when the prince entered the house, and might have struck him as he handed the princess out of the carriage; but a lingering feeling of conscience withheld his hand at that time. But the fatal moment ere long arrived. During the interval of two of the pieces, the Duke and Duchess left their own box to pay a visit to that of the Duke and Duchess

of Orleans, who, with their whole family, destined to such eventful changes in future times, were in a box in the neighbourhood. On returning to her own box, the door of another one was suddenly opened, and struck the side of the Duchess de Berri, who, being apprehensive of the effects of any shock in her then delicate situation, expressed a wish to the prince to leave the house and return home. The prince at once agreed, and handed the Duchess into her carriage. "Adieu!" cried she, smiling to her husband, "we shall soon meet again." They parted, but it was to be reunited in another world. As the prince was returning from the carriage to the house, Louvel, who was standing in the shade of a projecting part of the wall, so still that he had escaped the notice both of the sentinels on duty and the footmen of the Duke, rushed suddenly forward, and seizing with his left arm the left shoulder of the prince, struck him violently with the right arm on the right side with the poniard. So instantaneous was the act that the assassin escaped in the dark; and the Duke, who only felt, as is often the case, a violent blow, and not the stab, put his hand to the spot struck. He then felt the hilt of the dagger, which was still sticking in his side; and being then made aware he had been stabbed, he exclaimed, "I am assassinated; I am dead; I have the poniard; that man has killed me!"

36. The princess was just driving from the door of the opera-house when the frightful words reached her ear. She immediately gave a piercing shriek, heard above all the din of the street, and loudly called out to her servants to stop and let her out. They did so, and the moment the door was opened, before the steps were let down, she sprang out of the carriage and clasped her husband in her arms, who was covered with blood, and just drawing the dagger from his side. "I am dead!" said he; "send for a priest. Come, dearest!—let me die in your arms." Meanwhile the assassin, in the first moments of terror and agitation, had made his escape, and he had already reached the arcade which

branches off from the Rue de Richelieu, under the spacious arches of the Bibliothèque du Roi, when a waiter in a coffeehouse, named Pauloise, hearing the alarm, seized, and was still wrestling with him, when three gendarmes came up, and having apprehended, brought him back to the door of the opera-house. He was there nearly torn in pieces by the crowd, which was inflamed with the most violent indignation; but the gendarmes succeeded with great difficulty in extricating him, being fearful that the secrets of an extended conspiracy would perish with him. Meanwhile the prince had been carried into a little apartment behind his box, and the medical men were arriving in haste. On being informed of the arrest of the assassin, he exclaimed, "Alas! how cruel is it to die by the hand of a Frenchman!" For a few minutes a ray of hope was felt by the medical attendants, and illuminated every visage in the apartment; but the dying man did not partake the illusion, and fearing to augment the sufferings of the princess by the blasting of vain expectations, he said, "No! I am not deceived: the poniard has entered to the hilt, I can assure you. Caroline, are you there?" "Yes," exclaimed the princess, subduing her sobs, "and will never quit you." His domestic surgeon, M. Bougon, was sucking the wound to restore the circulation, which was beginning to fail. "What are you doing?" exclaimed the prince: "for God-sake, stop: perhaps the poniard was poisoned."

37. The Bishop of Chartres, his father's confessor, at length arrived, and had a few minutes' private conversation with the dying man, from which he seemed to derive much consolation. He asked for his infant daughter, who was brought to him, still asleep. "Poor child!" exclaimed he, laying his hand on her head, "may you be less unfortunate than the rest of your family." The chief surgeon, Dupuytren, resolved to try, as a last resource, to open and enlarge the wound, to allow the blood, which had begun to impede respiration, to flow

externally. He bore the operation with firmness — his hand, already clammy with the sweat of death, still clasping that of the Duchess. After it was over, he said, "Spare me any further pain, since I must die." Then caressing the head of his beloved wife, whose beautiful locks had so often awakened his admiration, "Caroline," said he, "take care of yourself, for the sake of our infant, which you bear in your bosom." The Duke and Duchess of Orleans had been in the apartment from the time the prince was brought in, and the king, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the rest of the royal family, arrived while he was still alive. "Who is the man who has killed me?" said he: "I should wish to see him, in order to inquire into his motives: perhaps it is some one whom I have unconsciously offended." The Count d'Artois assured him that the assassin had no personal animosity against him. "Would that I may live long enough to ask his pardon from the king!" said the worthy descendant of Saint Louis. "Promise me, my father—promise me, my brother, to ask of the king the life of that man."

38. But the supreme hour soon approached: all the resources of art could not long avert the stroke of fate. The opening of the wound had only for a brief period relieved the accumulation of blood within the breast, and symptoms of suffocation approached. Then, on a few words interchanged between him and the Duchess, two illegitimate children which he had had in London, of a faithful companion in misfortune, and whom both had brought up at Paris with the utmost kindness, were brought into the room. As they knelt at his side, striving to stifle their sobs in his bloody garments, he said, embracing them with tenderness, "I know you sufficiently, Caroline, to be assured you will take care, after me, of these orphans." With the instinct of a noble mind, she took her own infant from Madame de Gontaut, who held it in her arms, and, taking the children of the stranger by the hand, said to them, "Kiss your sister." The prince confessed soon after to

the Bishop of Chartres, and received absolution. "My God," said he, at several responses, "pardon me, and pardon him who has taken my life." It was announced that several of the marshals had arrived, eager to testify their interest and affliction. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "I had hoped to have shed my blood more usefully in the midst of them for France." But still the pardon of his murderer chiefly engrossed his thoughts. When the trampling of the horses on the pavement announced the approach of the king, he testified the utmost joy; and when the monarch entered the apartment, his first words were, "My uncle, give me your hand, that I may kiss it for the last time;" and then added with earnestness, still holding the hand, "I entreat of you, in the name of my death, the life of that man." "You are not so ill as you suppose," answered Louis; "we will speak of it again." "Ah!" exclaimed the dying man, with a mournful accent, "you do not say Yes; say it, I beseech you, that I may die in peace." In vain they tried to turn his thoughts to other subjects. "Ah!" said he, with his last breath, "the life of that man would have softened my last moments! If, at least, I could depart with the belief that the blood of that man would not flow after my death." With these words he expired, and his soul winged its way to heaven, having left the prayer for mercy and forgiveness as its last bequest to earth.

39. No words can convey an idea of the impression which the death of the Duke de Berri produced in France. Coming at a time of increasing political excitement, when the minds of men were already shaken by a vague disquietude, and the apprehension of great and approaching but unknown change, it excited a universal consternation. The obviously political character of the blow struck magnified tenfold its force. Levelled at the heir of the monarchy, and the only prince from whom a continuance of the direct line of succession could be hoped, it seemed at one stroke to destroy the hopes of an heir to the throne, and to

leave the nation a prey to all the evils of an uncertain future and a disputed succession. Pity for the victim of political fanaticism, admiration for the magnanimity and lofty spirit of his death, mingled with apprehensions for themselves, and a mortal terror of the revolutionary convulsions which might be expected from a repetition of the blows of which this was the first. The public consternation manifested itself in the most unequivocal ways. All the theatres—and that, in Paris, was a decisive symptom—were closed. The balls of the carnival were interrupted; and it was decreed by the Government, with the general consent of the people, that the opera-house should be removed from the spot where the execrable crime had been committed, and an expiatory monument erected on its site. But these changes did not adequately express the public feelings. They exhaled in transports of indignation against the rashness of the ministries whose measures had brought matters to such a point, and the incapacity of the police, which had permitted the crime to be committed; and it was loudly proclaimed, that an entire change of government and measures had become indispensable, if the monarchy was to be saved from perdition.

40. "The hand," said Chateaubriand, "which delivered the blow is not the most guilty. Those who have really assassinated the Duke de Berri are those who, for four years, have laboured to establish democratic laws in the monarchy; those who have banished religion from our laws; those who have recalled the murderers of Louis XVI.; those who have heard, with indifference, impunity for regicides discussed at the tribune; those who have allowed the journals to preach up the sovereignty of the people, insurrection, and murder, without making any use of the laws intended for their repression; those who have favoured every false doctrine; those who have rewarded treason and punished fidelity; those who have filled up all employments with the enemies of the Bourbons and the creatures of

Buonaparte; those who, pressed by the public indignation, have promised to repeal a fatal law, and have done nothing during three months, apparently to give the Revolutionists time to sharpen their poniards. These are the true murderers of the Duke de Berri. It is no longer time to dissemble; the revolution we have so often predicted has even now commenced, and it has already produced irreparable evils. Who can restore life to the Duke de Berri, or give us back the hopes which love and glory had wound up with his august person? Surprise is expressed that a poniard should have been raised; but the real subject of wonder is, that a thousand poniards have not been levelled at the breasts of our princes. During four years we have overwhelmed with rewards those who preach up an agrarian law, a republic, and assassination; we have excited those who have nothing against those who have something; him who is born in a humble class against him to whom misfortune has left nothing but a name: we have permitted public opinion to be disquieted by phantoms, and represented a part of the nation as set on re-establishing rights for ever abolished, institutions for ever overturned. If we are not plunged in the horrors of external or civil war, it is not the fault of the administration which has just expired."

41. When language so violent as this was used in the midst of the crisis, by so distinguished a writer as the Viscount Chateaubriand, it may be supposed that inferior authors were still more impassioned in their strictures. The clamour became so violent that no ministry could stand against it. An untoward incident, which occurred while the Duke de Berri yet lived, tended to augment the public feeling on the subject. Entering the room in which Louvel was detained, M. Decazes was seized with a sudden suspicion that the dagger might have been poisoned; and thinking, if so, an antidote might be applied, and possibly the life of the prince saved, he had whispered in his ear, "Miserable man! a confession remains for you to make,

which may save the life of your victim, and lessen your crime before God. Tell the truth sincerely to me, and me alone—was the dagger poisoned?" "It was not," replied the assassin coldly, with the accent of truth. The words spoken on either side were not heard; but the fact of M. Decazes having whispered something to Louvel, during his first interrogatory, became known, and was seized upon and magnified by all the eagerness of faction. It was immediately bruited abroad that the minister had enjoined silence to the assassin, and thence it was concluded he had been his accomplice. So readily was this atrocious calumny received in the excited state of the public mind, and so eagerly was it seized upon by the vehemence of faction, that next day M. Clausel de Coussergues, a Royalist of the Extreme Right, a respectable man, but of an impassioned temperament and credulous disposition, said in the Chamber of Deputies, "There is no law which prescribes the mode of impeaching ministers; but justice requires it should be done in public sitting, and in the face of France. I propose to the Chamber to institute a prosecution against M. Decazes, Minister of the Interior, as accomplice in the assassination." The Chamber revolted against such an accusation, and only twenty-five voices supported it. General Foy said, "If such an event is deplorable for all, it is in an especial manner so for the friends of freedom, since there can be no doubt that their adversaries will take advantage of this execrable crime to wrest from the nation the liberties which the king has bestowed upon it, and which he is so anxious to maintain."

42. From the moment when the Duke de Berri breathed his last, the king foresaw the immense advantage it would give to the ultra-Royalists, and the efforts they would make to force him to abandon the system of government and public servants to whom he was so much attached. "My child," said he to M. Decazes next day, "the *ultras* are preparing against us a terrible war; they will make the most of my grief. It is not your system that they will

attack—it is mine ; it is not at you their blows are levelled—it is at me.” “Should your Majesty,” answered M. Decazes, “deem my retiring for the good of your service, I am ready to resign, though grieved to think my retreat will lead to such fatal consequences.” “I insist upon your remaining,” replied the monarch ; “they shall not separate you from me.” Then, after weeping in common over the deplorable event which had altered the destinies of France, and let loose the parties who tore its entrails with such fury against each other, they agreed on the measures to be adopted in consequence ; and these were, that the Chamber of Peers should be summoned as a supreme court to try the assassin of the Duke de Berri ; and that laws, restrictive of the licence of the press, and giving the Government extraordinary powers of arrest, and modifying the Electoral Law, should be introduced into the lower Chamber.

43. But how determined soever the king might be to support his favourite minister and system of government, the tide of public feeling soon became so strong that it was impossible to resist it. The terrible words of M. de Chateaubriand regarding M. Decazes in the *Conservateur*, “His feet have slipped in blood,” vibrated in every heart. The accusation against him, though quashed in the Chamber of Deputies, and repudiated by every unprejudiced mind, still remained in painful uncertainty in general opinion. People did not believe him guilty, but he had been openly accused, and no proof of his innocence had been adduced. The agitation of the public mind was indescribable, and soon assumed such a magnitude as portended great changes, and is always found, for good or for evil, to be irresistible. The terrible nature of the catastrophe—its irreparable consequences on the future of the monarchy—the chances of future and unknown dangers which it had induced, were obvious to every apprehension. Every one trembled for his fortune, his life ; a few for the public liberties. The Liberals became subdued and downcast, the Royalists vehe-

ment and exulting. Matters were at last brought to a crisis by a conversation which ensued between the king and the principal members of the royal family. The Count d'Artois demanded the dismissal of the Prime Minister, and a change in the system of government. “We are hastening to a revolution, sire,” said the Duchess d'Angoulême ; “but there is still time to arrest it. M. Decazes has injured the Royalists too deeply for any accommodation to take place between them : let him cease to be a member of your Cabinet, and all will hasten to tender to you their services.” “I do not suppose,” replied the king, “that you propose to force my will : it belongs to me alone to determine the policy of my government.” “It is impossible for me,” rejoined the Count d'Artois, “to remain at the Tuileries when M. Decazes, openly accused of the murder of my son, sits at the council : I beseech you to allow me to retire to Compiègne.” The Duchess d'Angoulême united her instances to those of the Count d'Artois ; and at length the king, dreading a total rupture of the royal family, said, “You are determined on it ; well, we shall see you shall be satisfied.”

44. When M. Decazes heard of the result of this conference, he saw it was no longer possible to maintain his position, and he accordingly sent in his resignation. The king, deeply affected, felt himself constrained to receive it. “My child,” said he, “it is not against you, but against me that the stroke is directed. The Pavillon Marsan would deprive me of all power. I will not have M. de Talleyrand : the Duke de Richelien alone shall replace you. Go and convince him of the necessity of his agreeing to the sacrifice which I demand of him. As for you, I shall show these gentlemen that you have in noways lost my confidence.” The Duke de Richelien accordingly was commissioned to form a ministry, but he evinced the utmost repugnance at undertaking the task, and it was only at the earnest solicitation of the king, and as a matter of patriotic duty, that he at length agreed. M. Siméon was made

Minister of the Interior, and M. Portalis under-secretary to the Minister of Justice. No other changes were made in the Cabinet; and M. Decazes was appointed ambassador at London, with magnificent allowances. He was so far from losing his influence, however, by his departure, that the king corresponded with him almost daily after he was settled in London. The Duke de Richelieu made the absolute and unconditional support of the Royalists a condition of his taking office, and this the Count d'Artois engaged to secure; and as a pledge of the cordiality of the alliance, M. Capelle, his private secretary, was appointed principal secretary to the Minister of the Interior. The Ministry, therefore, was considerably modified by the introduction of Royalist members, though it still retained, as a whole, its Liberal character. But a still more important change took place at this period in the private disposition of the king, owing to a change of favourites, which materially influenced his policy during the remainder of his reign.

45. Although the age and infirmities of the king prevented him from becoming the slave of the passions which had disgraced so many of his race, and his disposition had always made him more inclined to the pleasures of the table than to those of love, yet he was by no means insensible to female charms, and extremely fond of the conversation of elegant and well-informed women. He piqued himself, though neither young nor handsome, upon his power of rendering himself agreeable to them in the way which he alone desired, which was within the limits of Platonic attachment. He had a remarkable facility in expressing himself, both verbally and in writing, in elegant and complimentary language towards them: he spent several hours every day in this refined species of trifling, and prided himself as much on the turn of his flattery in notes to ladies, as on the charter which was to give liberty to France and peace to Europe. Aware of this disposition on the part of the sovereign, the Royalists, in whose saloons such a person

was most likely to be found, had for long been on the look-out for some lady attached to their principles, who might win the confidence of Louis, and insensibly insinuate her ideas on politics in the midst of the complimentary trifling or unreserved confidence of the boudoir. Such a person was found in a young and beautiful woman then in Paris, who united a graceful exterior to great powers of conversation, and an entire command of diplomatic tact and address; and to her influence the future policy of his reign is in a great degree to be traced.

46. Madame, the Countess DU CAYLA, was the daughter of M. Talon, who held a respectable position in the ancient magistracy of France, and had taken an active part, in concert with Mirabeau and the Count de la Marche, in the intrigues which preceded the Revolution. He was said to be possessed of some valuable papers, implicating Louis XVIII., then Count of Provence, in the affair for which the Marquis de Favras suffered death in 1789, and these had descended after his decease to his daughter. She had been brought up in the school of diplomacy under Madame Campan, and was intimate both with the Empress Josephine, and Hortense Queen of Holland, since Duchess of St Leu. Married early in life to an old man of fortune, whose temper had been soon found to be incompatible with her own, and having separated from him, without reproach, after the French fashion, she was living without scandal in the family of the Prince of Condé, with whose natural daughter, the Countess de Rully, she was intimate, when the Royalist leaders cast their eyes upon her as a person likely to confirm their ascendancy in the royal councils.

47. The Viscount de la Rochefoucauld was the person intrusted with the management of this delicate affair, and he did so with great tact and address. He first impressed upon the young and charming countess that she would confer inestimable services on the cause of religion and her country if she would take advantage of the gift

of pleasing which Providence had bestowed upon her, and reclaim the sovereign to the system of government which would alone secure the interests of his religion, his people, or his family.* The mind of Madame Du Cayla, as her published letters demonstrate, at once pious and tender, and endowed with a reach of thought equal to either Madame de Sévigné or the Princess des Ursins, readily embraced the duty thus assigned to her by the political party to which she was attached. "It was necessary," said she afterwards, playfully, "to have an Esther for that Ahasuerus." The next point was to throw her in the king's way, and this was easily brought about by the unfortunate circumstances in which she was placed. Her husband, with whom she had come to open rupture, at once

* "Louis a besoin d'aimer ceux à qui il permet de le conseiller, son cœur est pour moitié dans la politique. Madame de Balbi, M. Duvarny, M. de Blacas autrefois, M. Decazes aujourd'hui, sont les preuves encore vivantes de cette disposition de sa nature. Il faut lui plaire pour avoir le droit de l'influencer. Des femmes illustres par leur crédit, utile ou funeste, sur le cœur et sur l'esprit de nos rois, ont tour à tour perdu ou sauvé la royauté en France et en Espagne. C'est d'une femme seule aujourd'hui que peut venir le salut de la religion et de la monarchie. La nature, la naissance, l'éducation, le malheur même, semblent vous avoir désignée pour ce rôle. Voulez-vous être le salut des princes, l'amie du roi, l'*Esther* des royalistes, la Maintenon ferme et irréprochable d'une cour qui se perd et qu'une femme peut réconcilier et sauver? Demandez au roi une audience sous prétexte d'implorer sa protection dont vous avez besoin pour vous et pour vos enfants. Montrez-lui comme par hasard ces trésors de grâce, de bon sens, et d'esprit que la nature vous a prodigués, non pour l'ombre et la retraite, mais pour l'entretien d'un roi appréciez-vous passionné des dons de l'âme; charmez-le par une première conversation; retournez quand il vous rappellera; et quand votre empire inaperçu sera fondé dans un attachement par les habitudes, employez peu à peu cet empire à déraciner de son conseil le favori dont il est fasciné, et à réconcilier le roi avec son frère, avec les princes, et à lui faire adopter de concert, dans la personne de M. de Villèle, et de ses amis, un ministère à la fois royaliste et constitutionnel qui remette le trône à plomb sur la base monarchique, et qui prévienne les prochaines catastrophes dont la train est menacée."—*Paroles de M. de la Rochefoucauld à Madame la Comtesse Du Cayla.* LAMARTINE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, vi. 290, 292.

claimed her fortune, and insisted upon obtaining delivery of her children; and the disconsolate mother solicited an interview with Louis, to throw herself at his feet, and solicit his interest and support in the difficult circumstances in which she was placed. The king granted it, and the result was entirely successful. Dazzled by her beauty, captivated by her grace, impressed by her talents, melted by her tears, the king promised to aid her to the utmost of his power, and invited her to a second interview. So great was the ascendancy which her genius and charms of manner soon gave her, that she became necessary to the monarch, who spent several hours every day in her society, without any of the scandal arising which in ordinary cases follows such interviews. Great was the effect of this secret influence on the future destinies of France, especially after the removal of M. Decazes to London had removed the chief counterpoise on the other side.

48. Thus fell, never again to rise, M. Decazes; for though he was appointed ambassador to London, and retained the confidence of the king, yet he never again formed part of the Ministry, and his career as a public man was at an end. It is impossible to deny that he was possessed of considerable abilities. No man raises himself from a humble station to the rule of empire, without being possessed of some talents, which, if they are not of the first order, are at least of the most marketable description. It is generally characters of that description which are most successful in maintaining themselves long at the head of affairs. Genius anticipates the march of events, and is often shipwrecked because the world is behind its views; heroism recoils from the concessions requisite for success, and fails to conquer, because it disdains to stoop. It is pliant ability which discerns the precise mode of elevation, and adopts the principles requisite for immediate success. M. Decazes had this pliant ability in the very highest degree. Discerning in character, he at once scanned the king's

disposition, and perceived the foibles which required to be attended to in order to gain his confidence. Able in the conduct of affairs, he made himself serviceable in his employment, and attracted his notice by the valuable information which he communicated, both in his own department and that of others. Energetic and ready in the tribune, he defended the ministerial measures with vigour and success against the numerous attacks with which they were assailed.

49. He acquired the surprising ascendancy which he gained over the mind of the king mainly by studying his disposition, and proposing measures in the Cabinet which were in a manner the reflection of those which he perceived were already contemplated in the royal breast; but the temporary success which they met with proved that both had correctly discerned, if not the ultimate consequences of their measures, at least the immediate signs of the times. The Royalists justly reproach him with having established, by the royal authority, an electoral system of the most democratic character, and thrown himself into the arms of the Liberals, who made use of the advantage thus gained to undermine the monarchy. But, in justice to him, it must be recollected that the working of representative governments was then very little understood, and the practical results of changes, now obvious to all, were then only discerned by a few; that his situation was one surrounded with difficulties, and in which any false step might lead to perdition; and that if the course he pursued was one which entailed ultimate dangers of the most serious kind on the monarchy, it was, perhaps, the only one which enabled it to shun the immediate perils with which it was threatened. In common with the king, his leading idea was reconciliation; his principle, concession; his policy, to disarm opposition by anticipating its demands. This view was a benevolent and amiable one, but unfortunately more suited to the Utopia of Sir Thomas More than the storm-beaten monarchy of the Bourbons; and experience has proved that such a

policy, in presence of an ambitious and unscrupulous enemy, only postpones the danger to aggravate it.

50. The Assembly, by the fall of M. Decazes, and the infusion of Royalist members into the Cabinet, was divided differently from what it had hitherto been. The intermediate third party was extinguished by the fall of M. Decazes. The Royalists and Liberals now formed two great parties which divided the whole Assembly between them—the Centre all adhered to the Right or Left. This circumstance rendered the situation of the Ministry more perilous in the outset, but more secure in the end; it was more difficult for them to gain a majority in the first instance, but, once gained, it was more likely to adhere permanently to them. It is a great evil, both for Government and Opposition, in all constitutional governments, to have a third party between them, the votes of which may cast the balance either way; for it imposes upon both the necessity of often departing from their principles, and avoiding immediate defeat by permanently degrading themselves in the eyes of the country. The Doctrinaires all retired with their chief, M. Decazes, but they voted on important questions with the new Ministry; and the abilities of M. Guizot, M. de Staël, M. de Barante, and M. de Saint-Aulaire, who formed the strength of that party, were too well known not to make their adhesion a matter of eager solicitation, and no slight manœuvring, on both sides of the Assembly.

51. Two painful scenes took place before the measures of the new Ministers were brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies—the funeral of the Duke de Berri, and the trial and execution of his assassin. The body of the prince was laid in state for several days in the Louvre, and afterwards carried with every possible magnificence to the ancestral but now untenanted vaults of Saint-Denis. The king, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême, attended the mournful ceremony, which was celebrated with every circumstance of external splendour which could impress the imagina-

tion, and every reality of woe which could melt the heart.

"When a prince to the fate of a peasant has yielded,

The tapestry waves dark in the dim-lighted hall ;

With scutcheons of silver the coffin is shielded,

And pages stand mute by the canopied pall ;

Through the courts at deep midnight the torches are gleaming,

In the proudly-arched chapel the banners are beaming,

Far adown the long aisles sacred music is streaming,

Lamenting a chief of the people should fall."

Such was the emotion of the Duchess d'Angoulême at witnessing such a scene in such a place, that she sank senseless on the pavement. One only ray of hope remained to the royal family, arising from the situation of the Duchess de Berri, which gave hopes that an heir might yet be preserved for the monarchy, and the hopes of the assassin blasted. That fanatical wretch was brought to trial, and condemned on the clearest evidence, fortified by his own confession. He admitted the enormity of his crime, but still insisted that on public grounds it was justifiable.* His answers, when interrogated, evinced the deplorable atheism in which the dreams of the Revolution ended. "I was sometimes a Catholic," said he, "sometimes a theophilanthropist." "Do you not fear the Divine justice?" asked the Prevost de Montmorency. "God is a mere name," replied the assassin. He was executed on the 7th June, and evinced on the scaffold the same strange indifference which had characterised his demeanour ever since the murder.

52. The first steps of the new Ministers were directed to the prosecution of the measures prepared by the former ones, arming Government with extraordinary powers of arrest, and restraining the licentiousness of the press.

* "C'était une action horrible, c'est vrai," disait Louvel, "quand on tue un autre homme : cela ne peut passer pour vertu, c'est un crime. Je n'y aurais jamais été entraîné sans l'intérêt que je prenais à la nation suivant moi : je croyais bien faire suivant mon idée."—*Moniteur*, June 4, 1820; *Procès de Louvel*, 37.

Much difficulty was at first experienced in arranging terms of accommodation with the Royalists on the right, so as to secure a majority in the Chambers, but at length the terms were agreed on ; and these were, that the powers of arrest were to be conferred on Government for a limited period, that the press was to be restrained, and that a new electoral law was to be introduced, restoring the double step in elections. Nothing could equal the vehemence with which these laws were assailed by the Opposition, when they were introduced. That on the law of arrest was the first that came under discussion. "It belongs to the wisdom of the Chambers," said General Foy and Benjamin Constant, "to defend a throne which misfortune has rendered more august and more dear to fidelity. Let us beware lest, in introducing a law more odious than useful, we substitute for the present public grief other grounds of discontent which may cause the first to be forgotten. The prince whom we mourn pardoned with his dying breath his infamous assassin. Let us take care that the example of that sublime death is not lost for the nation, the royal family, and the public morality ; that posterity may not reproach us with having sacrificed the public liberties on a hecatomb at the funeral of a Bourbon.

53. "The abyss of a counter-revolution is about to open : a system is announced which will attack successively all our rights, all the guarantees which the nation sighed for in vain in 1789, and hailed with such gratitude in 1814. The regime of 1788 is to be revived by the three laws which are proposed at the same time, the first reviving *lettres de cachet*, the second establishing the slavery of the press, the third fettering the organs of freedom whom it sends to the Chamber. Experience has demonstrated in every age, and more especially in the disastrous epoch of the Revolution, that if a government once yields to a party, that party will not fail soon to subjugate it. The present time affords a proof of it. The barrier, feeble and tottering as it was, which the Ministry opposed to the counter-

revolution, shakes, and is about to be thrown down. Perhaps the Ministry does not at this moment foresee it; but all the laws which you are called on now to pass, will be turned to the profit of the counter-revolution, and that principle is to be applied to the proposed law, compared to that of 1817. That which in 1817 was, from the pressure of circumstances, merely irregular, will in 1820 be terrible; that which in 1817 was only vicious in principle, will in 1820 become terrible in its application."

54. On the other hand, it was answered by the Duke de Richelieu and the Duke de Fitz-james, on the part of the Government: "Is it possible that any one can be so blind to existing circumstances, and the dangers which menace the State and the royal family? Does any one persist in asserting that the assassination of the 13th February is an isolated act? Have the persons who assert this been shut up in their houses for the last six months? What! are those ferocious songs, repeated night after night with such perseverance that the indulgent police have at length come to pretend that they do not hear them, nothing — those songs which commenced on the very night of the assassination, and which they had the effrontery to repeat under the windows of the Duchess de Berri herself? What! those placards, those menaces, those anonymous letters — not to us, who are accustomed to, and disregard them, but to her for whom they know we are disposed to sacrifice a thousand times our lives; — those execrable threats against a bereaved father, whose grief would have melted tigers, but has only increased the thirst for blood in our revolutionary tigers. What! those medals, struck with the name of Marie Louise and her son — their images sent everywhere through the kingdom, and now paraded even in the capital; those clubs, in which they count us on our benches, and have a poniard ready for each of our breasts; the coincidence of what passes in the nations around us with what we witness in our interior — the assassination by Sand, the attempted assassination by Thistlewood,

repetitions abroad of what was going on in our interior — homicide and regicide converted into virtues, and recommended as deeds worthy of eternal glory. What! Spain become the prey of a military faction, and of acts of treason which have dishonoured the name of a soldier. Are these not proofs of a conspiracy extending over all western Europe, which is advancing with rapid strides towards its maturity?" So obvious were these dangers, that, notwithstanding a vehement outcry in both houses, the proposed law was passed by considerable majorities, the numbers in the Chamber of Deputies being 134 to 113; in the Peers, 121 to 86!

55. The law re-establishing the censorship of the press excited a still more violent storm in the Chambers. As a prelude to it, the most extraordinary ferment took place in the public journals, which nearly unanimously assailed the proposed measure with a degree of vehemence unexampled even in those days of rival governments and desperate party contests. On the one hand, it was said by M. Manuel, M. Lafayette, and Camille-Jourdan: "The censorship is essentially partial; it has always been so, and it is impossible it should be otherwise, for it is absolute government in practice. You have already suspended individual liberty, and you are now about to add to the rigour of arbitrary detention by the censure, for you render it impossible for the Ministers to be made aware of their error. You ask for examples of the abuse of the censorship; they are innumerable: the most arbitrary spirit prevailed when it was last established, for they erased even the speeches of your own colleagues, when they were in defence against attacks. To what do you aspire with these ill-timed attempts at repression? To extinguish the volcano? Do you not know that the flame is extending beneath your feet, and that, if you do not give it an adequate means of escape, it will occasion an explosion which will destroy you all? While the liberty of Europe is advancing with the steps of a giant, and when France wishes, and ought to be, at the head of that great

development of the dignity and faculties of man, a government, to whom, indeed, hypocrisy can no longer be objected, is endeavouring to drag you into a backward course, and to widen more and more the breach which already yawns in the nation. Whither are we tending? You accumulate *lettres de cachet* and censors! I am no panegyrist of the English government, but I do not believe that any minister could be found so bold as to propose, in that country, at the same time, the censorship of the press, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

56. "To prevent is not to repress, say the partisans of the censorship. Never was a more deplorable illusion. To subject the journals to such fetters is to strike at the liberty of the press in its very heart. The liberty of the periodical press is the life-blood of freedom. Vigilant advanced guards, ever-wakeful sentinels, their sheets are to representative governments what language is to man. They serve as the medium of communication between distant places, whose interests are the same; they leave no opinion without defence, no abuse in the shade, no injustice without an avenger. The Government is not less aided by its efforts. The Ministry know beforehand what it has to hope or to fear; the people, who are their friends, and who their enemies; and to them we owe that early communication of intelligence, and that rapid expression of wishes, which is an advantage which nothing else can supply. Attack openly the liberty of the press, or respect that of the public journals; but recollect that the Charter has not separated them, and that it has withdrawn both alike from every species of censorship. This is not a question of principle; it is a question of life or death. We have arrived at that point, that if our personal freedom, the liberty of the press, and the liberty of elections, are taken away, the Charter has become a mockery, the constitutional monarchy is at an end. Nothing remains for us but anarchy or despotism. Power will rest with the strongest; and if so, woe to the feeble majority in this Chamber

which now directs it. Nothing can long remain strong which is not national. Do not denationalise the throne: if you do so, your majority will soon be broken to pieces."

57. On the other hand, it was contended by Baron Pasquier and Count Siméon: "It is books, and not pamphlets, which have enlightened the world. Cast your eyes on the condition to which the unrestricted liberty of the journals has brought society, and everywhere you will see the passions roused to the highest degree, hatreds envenomed, the poniards of vengeance sharpened—and the horrible catastrophe which we all deplore is a direct consequence of it. Consider the character of that crime: one special character distinguishes it, and that is fanaticism. But what sort of fanaticism? Every age has had its own, and our is not less clearly defined than that which, two hundred years ago, sharpened the dagger of Ravallac. It is not now the pulpit, it is the journals which encourage fanaticism; it is no longer religious, but political. Where are the organs of that fanaticism which threatens to tear society in pieces to be found? By whom is it cherished, flattered, exalted? Who can deny that it is the journals and periodical publications that do this? Men eminent for their talents, respectable for their virtues, influential from their position, have not disdained to descend into this arena, and to employ their great abilities to move the people. Others, borrowing every mask, have learned and employed every art to turn to their advantage the most shameful projects, the most infamous objects which the heart of man can harbour. Such is the government of journals; powerful to destroy, they are powerless to save. They have destroyed the Constitution of 1791, which gave them liberty; they destroyed that Convention which made the world tremble.

58. "We are told that the liberty of the press is the soul of representative governments. Doubtless it is so; but it is not less true that the licentiousness of the press is its most mortal enemy. I do not hesitate to assert

there is no political system sufficiently strong to bear the attacks which it has now come to organise amongst us. Possibly the time may come, when, as in England, it may be practicable to establish fully the liberty of the press amongst us; but unquestionably that time has not yet arrived. The event we all deplore, the universal *débâcle* of violence which has succeeded it, is a sufficient proof of this. In the mean time, Government, without the aid of extraordinary powers, cannot command a remedy for these evils; it has not, and should not have, any influence over the tribunals; the dependence of magistrates would degrade, unsuccessful prosecutions weaken it; verdicts of juries, so powerful on public opinion, might destroy it. In a word, it is necessary to supply the deficiency of *repressive*, by augmenting the strength of *preventive* checks; and this can only be done by the censorship. It is in vain to object to such a power, that it may be converted into the arm of a party. Doubtless it might be so; but that party is the party of France—of the Bourbons—of the charter of freedom. That party must be allowed to triumph, for it is that of regular government. The time has arrived when we must say to the people, ‘The danger with which you are menaced does not come from your governors; it comes from yourselves—from the factions, in whose eyes nothing is fixed, nothing sacred, and which, abandoned to their senseless furies, would not scruple to trample every law under their feet. It is from them that we must wrest their arms, under pain of perishing in case of failure, for they aim at nothing short of universal ruin.’ ”

59. The Doctrinaires, who felt that their influence was mainly dependent on strength of intellect, and dreaded any restriction upon its expression, almost all voted against the Government on this occasion in the Chamber of Deputies; and in the Peers, M. de Chateaubriand, whose ‘ardent genius revolted at the idea of restraint, was also ranged against them. The Right Centre, however, with that exception, nearly unanimously adhered; and the

result showed how nearly the parties were balanced, now that the Chamber was divided into two only. In the Peers the numbers were 106 to 104; in the lower house, 136 to 110. It is remarkable that, on so vital a point for public freedom, the majority was so much greater in the Commons than it was in the Peers. On the day after the final division in the Chamber of Deputies, a commission was appointed by the Minister of the Interior to examine all periodical journals before their publication, and the censorship came into full operation.

60. Experience has confirmed the assertion here made, that no government has ever been established in France, since the Revolution, which has been able to stand for any length of time against the unrestricted assaults of the public press. Whether it is from the vehemence and proneness to change in the French character, or from the absence of that regulating mass of fixed interests, which, in England, like the fly-wheel in the machine, steadies its movements, and restrains the actions of the moving power, the fact is certain. No dynasty or administration has ever existed for any length of time, which had not contrived somehow or other to restrain the violence of the periodical press. There is more here than a peculiarity of national temperament, to which, on this side of the Channel, we are so apt to ascribe it. It points to a great truth, of general application and lasting importance to mankind—that is, that the public press is only to be relied on as the bulwark either of freedom or good government, where classes exist in society, and interests in the State, which render the support of truth a matter of immediate profit to many on *both sides* engaged in the great work of enlightening or directing the public mind. Individuals of a noble and lofty character will, indeed, often be found who will sacrifice interest to the assertion of truth, but they are few in number; and though they may direct the thinking few, they cannot be expected, in the first instance at least, to have much influence on the

unthinking many. The ability of those engaged in the public press is in general very great; but it is like the ability of the bar—it is employed to support the views which suit the interests of its clients, and more occupied with objects of present interest than with those of ultimate importance. Those who live by the people must please the people. There is no security so complete alike for stable government and public freedom as a free press, when great interests on *both sides* exist in society, and the national talent is equally divided in pleading their cause respectively. But where, either from the violence of previous convulsions, or any other cause, only *one* prevailing interest is left in society, the greater part, ere long the whole or nearly so, of the public press at once ranges itself on its side: the other is never heard; or, if heard, never attended to. The chains are thrown over the minds of men, and a free press becomes, as in republican America, the organ of the mandates of a tyrant majority; or, as in imperial France, the instrument of a military despotism.

61. Government soon found that the decree directed against the periodical press had neither extinguished the freedom of thought nor taken away the arms of faction. The journals, being fettered by the censorship, took refuge in pamphlets, which were not subjected to it, and Paris soon was overrun with *brochures* which assailed Government with the utmost fury, and, on the plea that it had departed from the constitutional regime, indulged in the most uncontrolled violence of language. Not the Ministry merely, the dynasty was openly attacked; and then, for the first time, there appeared decisive evidence of the great conspiracy which had been organised in France against the Bourbons. As long as the electoral system was established on such a footing as gave them a near prospect of dispossessing the Crown by legislative means, this conspiracy was kept in abeyance; but now that a quasi-Royalist Ministry was in power, and there was a chance of a change in the Electoral Law which might defeat

their projects, they became entirely undisguised in their measures, and openly menaced the throne. In these arduous circumstances the conduct of Government was firm, and yet temperate. Prosecutions were instituted against the press, which, in some instances, were successful, and in some degree tended to check its licentiousness. The army, moreover, was firm, and could be relied on for the discharge of its duty; which was the more fortunate and meritorious on its part, that a great portion of its officers were veterans of Napoleon's army, and that the greatest efforts had been made by the Liberal party to seduce both them and those on half-pay into the treasonable designs which were in contemplation. Aware of the approach of danger, the Minister of War drew the Royal Guard nearer to Paris, and arranged its station so that in six hours two-thirds of its force might be concentrated at any point in the capital which might be menaced.

62. An untoward circumstance occurred at this juncture, which, although trivial in ordinary times, now considerably augmented the difficulties of Government. A magistrate at Nîmes, M. Madier, a respectable but injudicious and credulous man, presented a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, in which he stated that, some days after the death of the Duke de Berri, two circulars had been sent to Nîmes, not from the Minister of the Interior, but from the Royalist committee, denouncing M. Decazes, and directing the Royalists to organise themselves as for ulterior events.* It was evident from the tenor of these

* "Ne soyez ni surpris ni effrayés quoique l'attentat du 13 Février n'ait pas amené sur-le-champ la chute du Favori; agissez comme s'il était déjà renvoyé. Nous l'arracherons de ce poste si on ne consent pas à l'en bannir: en attendant, organisez-vous; les avis, les ordres, l'argent ne vous manqueront pas." Another—"Nous vous demandons il y a peu de jours une attitude imposante, nous vous recommandons aujourd'hui le calme, nous venons de remporter un avantage décisif en faisant chasser Decazes: de grands services peuvent vous être rendus par le nouveau ministère: il faut bien vous garder de lui montrer des sentiments hostiles."—CAPEFIGURE, v. 11.

circulars, which without doubt had emanated from the Royalist committee at Paris, that they related only to electioneering preparations, in the event of a dissolution of the Chambers taking place in consequence of the change of Ministry; and that when the retreat of M. Decazes was secured, nothing more was intended to be done. But this petition and the revelation of the Royalist circulars served as an admirable handle to the Liberal party, who pointed to it as a proof of a secret government, which counteracted all the measures of the responsible one, and was preparing the entire ruin of the public liberties. Vehement debates followed on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, in the course of which the "factious personage" near the throne, from whom they all emanated, was openly denounced, and a motion was even brought forward for an address to the Crown to dismiss the new Ministers. The proposal was negatived, but the object was gained; the public mind was agitated, and the people were prepared to embrace the idea that the continuance of the Ministry was inconsistent with the preservation of the public liberties.

63. It was in this distracted state of the public mind that Ministers were charged with the arduous duty of bringing forward their new law of election—the most dangerous and exciting topic which it was possible for them to broach, but which was made an indispensable condition of the Royalist alliance with the Centre in support of the Government. No small difficulty was experienced, however, in effecting a compromise on the subject, and adjusting a project in which the coalescing parties might agree; but at length, by the indefatigable efforts of M. Siméon, M. Pasquier, and M. Mounier, the terms were agreed to on both sides, and were as follows: Two classes of colleges of electors—one of the departments, the other of the arrondissements. The electoral college of each department was to consist of a fifth part of the whole electors paying the highest taxes; the electoral colleges of the arrondissements were to consist of the

whole remainder of the electors having their domicile within their limits. The electoral colleges of the arrondissements named by a simple majority as many candidates as the department was entitled to elect; and the college of the department chose from among them the deputies to send to the Chamber. This project was imperfect in its details, and drawn up in haste; but it tended to remove the grand evil of the existing system—the election of the whole Chamber by one uniform class of electors; and as such it was promised the support of the Doctrinaires and a large part of the Centre of the Assembly.

64. The discussion was brilliant and animated in both Chambers, and called forth the very highest abilities on either side. On the side of the Opposition it was contended by M. Royer-Collard, M. Lafayette, and General Foy: "The Charter has consecrated the Revolution by subjecting it to compromise; it is it which has given us all our liberties—the liberty of conscience, which is expressly guaranteed by it; and equality, which is guaranteed by representative institutions. The Chamber of Deputies is the guarantee of the Charter. That is a proposition which no one will be so bold as to dispute. Take away the Elective Chamber, and power resides alone in the Executive and the Chamber of Peers; the nation becomes retrograde—it becomes a domain, and is possessed as such. Take away the guarantees promised by the Charter, and you turn that instrument against itself; or, what is even worse, you render it an object of derision, alike against the sovereign who granted and the people who received it. If the Government had persisted in its intention of revising the Charter, it would have experienced less opposition than in this attempt, which is, pretending to uphold the Charter, to undermine its most important provisions. It is not because the Charter has given this one the title of Baron, another that of Bishop, that it is the idol of the nation; it is because it has secured liberty of conscience and personal freedom that it has become so, and that we have sworn

fidelity to it. Now we are virtually absolved from our oaths—the aristocracy is secretly undermining both the nation and the throne. Can you doubt it, when you recollect the contempt and derision it has cast on that glorious standard with which such recollections are associated—that standard, which, we do not hesitate to repeat, is that of public freedom?

65. “In vain may the proposed law be passed, and even for a time carried into execution; the public feeling will extinguish it, wear it out, destroy it by resistance; it never will become the law of France. Representative government will not be wrested from you; it is stronger than the will of its adversaries. By a *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor* you may transport men; you cannot transport opinions. Our old parliaments were not so robust as a representative assembly—they did not speak in the name of France, but they sometimes defended the public liberties, and the eloquent and courageous remonstrances which they laid at the foot of the throne resounded through the nation. The ministry of Louis XV. wished to overthrow them: he was conquered. The parliaments, for a moment subdued, raised themselves again amidst the public acclamations; and the ephemeral puppets with whom they had filled their benches disappeared for ever. Thus will vanish the Chamber of Privilege.

66. “You strive in vain against an irresistible torrent. You are under the iron hand of necessity. So long as equality is the law of society, equal representation is imposed upon it in all its energy and purity. Ask from it no concessions; it is not for it to make them. The representative government is itself a guarantee. As such it is called on to demand concessions, not to make them. Be not surprised, therefore, that it is partial to the new order of things—it exists only to insure the triumph of the Charter. Would you obtain its support?—Embrace its cause. Separate right from privilege. Affection is the true bond of societies. Study what attracts a nation, what it repu-

* In 1797, when the Directory was overturned.

diates, what it hopes, what it fears; in a word, show yourself a part of it, and you will be popular. During eight centuries this has been the secret of the English aristocracy. Legitimacy is the idea the most profound, and withal the most fruitful, which has penetrated modern society. It renders evident to all in a visible and immortal image the idea of right, that noble appanage of the human race; of right, without which there would be nothing on earth, but a life without dignity, and a death without hope. Legitimacy belongs to us more than any other nation, for no other nation possesses it in such purity as ourselves, or can point to so illustrious a line of great and good princes.

67. “Rivers do not flow back to their sources: accomplished facts are not restored to nonentity. A bloody revolution had changed the face of our earth: on the ruins of the ancient society, overturned with violence, a new society had raised itself, governed by new maxims and new men. Like all conquerors, I say it in its presence that society was barbarous: it had neither received, in its origin nor in its progress, the true principle of civilisation—right. Legitimacy, which alone had preserved the ark of our salvation, could alone restore it to us: it has restored it. With the royal race, right has reappeared; every day has been marked by its progress in opinions, manners, and laws. In a few years we have recovered the social doctrines which we had lost. Right has succeeded to power. Legitimacy on the throne has become the guarantee of the general ascendant of law. As it is the ruling principle in society, good faith is its august character; it is profaned if it is lowered to astuteness or devoured by fraud. The proposed law sinks the legitimate monarchy to the level of the government of the Revolution, by resting it on fraud. The project of the proposed law is the most fatal which has ever come out of the councils of kings since those, of fatal memory, which overturned the family of the Stuarts. It is the divorce of the nation from its sovereign.”

68. On the other hand, it was contended, on the part of the Government, by M. de Serres, M. Siméon, and M. Villèle: "We are reminded of two periods—the days of our Revolution and the present time. History will judge the first, and it will judge also the men who were engaged in it. But I cannot dissemble what the strange speech of M. Lafayette obliges me to declare, that he put himself at the head of the men who attacked the monarchy, and in the end overturned it. I am convinced that generous and elevated sentiments animated him; but, inspired by these feelings, is it surprising to him that men attached by principle and duty to that monarchy should have defended it before it fell? He should be just enough not to impute to the victims of those times all the evils of a Revolution which has pressed so heavily on themselves. Have those times left in the mind of the honourable member some mournful recollections, many useful lessons? He should have known—many a time he must have felt, with death in his heart and blushes on his face—not only that, after having once roused the masses, their leaders have no longer the power to restrain them, but that they are forced to follow, and even to lead them.

69. "But let us leave these old events, and think of our present condition, and the questions which are now before us. What chiefly weighs with me is the declaration made by General Lafayette, that he has entered these walls to make oath to the *constitution* (he has not said *the king* and the constitution), and that that oath was reciprocal; that the acts of the legislature—your acts—have violated the constitution, and that he is absolved from his oath! He declares this in the name of himself and his friends: he declares it in the face of the nation! He adds to this declaration an *éloge*, as affected as it is ill-timed, of colours which cannot now be regarded as any other colours but those of rebellion. The scandal which I denounce, so far from being repented of, has been renewed a second time in the tribune. What, I ask, can be the mo-

tive for such conduct? If insensate persons, excited by such language criminally imprudent, proceed to acts of sedition, on whose head should fall the blood shed in rebellion, or in extinguishing it by the hands of the law? And when a man, who himself has precipitated the excesses of the people, and has seen their fury turned against himself—when that man, respectable in many respects, uses language of which his own experience should have taught him the danger, are not his words to be regarded as more blamable than if they came from an ordinary man? The honourable member, who should be so well aware of the danger of revolutionary movements, now pretends to be ignorant of them. With the same breath he pronounces a glowing eulogium on the cause of rebellion; and declares, in his own name and that of his colleagues, that he considers himself absolved from his oath of fidelity to the Charter: he proclaims the sovereignty of the people, which is, in other words, the right of insurrection. Is not such an appeal an incitement to rebellion? And does not that point to your duty in combating an opposition animated by such principles?

70. "The Electoral Law of 1817 has lost, since it was carried into execution, the most important of its defenders. It has been the cause of the present crisis in society. The same ministers who formerly proposed, who subsequently have been compelled to defend it, convinced by experience, animated by a sense of duty, now come forward to propose its modification. The very Chamber of Peers which voted its adoption has risen up against it. Sixty peers were created to vanquish the resistance to it in that Chamber: a hundred would be required to insure its continuance. It is no wonder it is so, for the law of 1817 failed in the chief object of representative institutions. It excluded the masses alike of property and numbers. What renders it in an especial manner dangerous is, that the limited homogeneous class to which it has confined the franchise becomes every year, by the annual elections, more grasping, more selfish, more ex-

clusive. So evident has this danger become, that if the present change is not carried, the friends of liberty will be compelled themselves to bring forward a modification of the law in the interest of freedom.

71. "France will never bear for any time a homogeneous representation, as the proposer of the existing law at one time supposed it would; unmistakable proofs of the general revolt against such a system arise on all sides. Besides, in the present state of things, the existence of a revolutionary faction amongst us—of a faction irreligious, immoral, the enemy of restraint, the friend of usurpation—has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt. It speaks in the journals, it sits in the directing committees: this conviction is forced upon all the Ministers, not merely by their reason, but their official information. I predict to the honourable members who are now the allies of that faction, that they will in the end sink under its attacks, and that they will disappear from the Chamber the moment they venture to resist it. Public opinion has already repudiated both the faction and the Electoral Law which supports it. Horror-struck at the spectacle of a regicide returned to the Chamber, real public opinion has become alarmed alike at the principle of that law and its consequences.

72. "It has become indispensable to alter the mode of election, since we see faction straining to support it, from a conviction that it throws the greatest influence into the lowest class of proprietors—to the very class which has the least interest in the soil. The law proposed, by restoring to the larger proprietors a portion of that influence of which the existing law has deprived them, gives a share in the choice of deputies to those who are most interested in upholding it. The law will never be complete and safe till the electoral power is made to rest on the entire class of proprietors, and is intrusted by them to a smaller body, chosen from among those who pay the greatest amount of assessments; and whose list, accessible to all, and from

its very nature shifting and changeable, can never constitute a privileged class, since those who fall within it to-day may be excluded from it to-morrow. In the political system pursued since the Restoration is to be found the seat of the evil which is devouring France. Under the existing law a constant system of attack against the existing dynasty is carried on. Lofty ambitions arrested in their course, great hopes blasted, fanaticism ever rampant, have coalesced together: the conspiracy was at first directed to changing general opinion—it has now altered its object; it has sapped the foundations of the throne—it will soon overturn it. At Lyons, as at Grenoble, cast down but not destroyed, it ever rises again more audacious than ever, and menaces its conquerors. Intrenched in the law of elections as its last citadel, it threatens its conquerors. It is determined to conquer or die. It is no longer a matter of opinion which it agitates, 'to be or not to be, that is the question.' The uniform suffrage has placed the monarchy at the mercy of a pure democracy."

73. So sensible were the Liberal chiefs of the weight of these arguments, and of the large proportion of enlightened opinion which adhered to them, that they did not venture to meet them by direct negative, but endeavoured to elude their force by an amendment. It was proposed by Camille-Jourdan, and was to this effect, "That each department shall be divided into as many electoral arrondissements as there are deputies to elect for the Chamber; that each of these arrondissements shall have an electoral college, which shall be composed of the persons liable to taxes, having their political domicile in the arrondissement, and paying three hundred francs of direct contribution; that every electoral college shall nominate its deputy directly." Though this was represented by him as a compromise, it in reality was not so; for, by perpetuating the uniform suffrage and direct representation, it continued political power exclusively in the hands of the most democratic portion of the

community, the small proprietors. It received, accordingly, the immediate and enthusiastic support of the whole Liberal party; the democratic press was unanimous in its praise; and so nearly were parties balanced in the Chamber, that the amendment was carried *against* Government by a majority of *one*, the numbers being a hundred and twenty-eight to a hundred and twenty-seven. The balance was cast by M. de Chauvelin, who, though grievously ill, was carried into the Chamber, and decided the question by his vote. He was conveyed home in triumph by a vociferous mob, and became for a brief period the object of popular idolatry. The revolutionists were in transports, and everywhere anticipated the immediate realisation of their hopes, by the defeat of the Government on so vital a question.

74. In this extremity, Ministers made secret overtures to the chiefs of the Doctrinaires, whose numbers, though small, were yet sufficient to cast the balance either way in the equally divided assembly. This overture proved entirely successful. A fresh amendment was proposed by M. Boin and M. Courvoisier on their part, and supported by the whole strength of the Government, the Right, and their adherents in the Centre. It was to this effect, that the Chamber of Deputies was to consist "of two hundred and fifty-eight members chosen by the arrondissements; and a hundred and seventy-two by the departments; the latter being chosen, not by the *whole electors*, but by a *fourth of their number, composed of those who paid the highest amount of taxes.*" This was an immense change to the advantage of the aristocracy; for not only did it add a hundred and seventy members to this Chamber, but it added them of persons chosen by a fourth of the electors for each department paying the highest assessment: in other words, by the richest proprietors. Nevertheless, so gratified were the Doctrinaires by getting quit of the much-dreaded double mode of election, or so sensible had they in secret become of its dangerous tendency, that they agreed to

the compromise; and M. de Boin's amendment was carried by a majority of *five*, the numbers being a hundred and thirty to a hundred and twenty-five. Only five members were absent from the entire Chamber—an extraordinary circumstance, proving the unparalleled interest the question had excited. This victory was decisive; the waverers came round after it was gained; and the final division on the question showed a majority of ninety-five for Government.

75. It soon appeared that this vehement strife in the Chamber was connected with still more important designs out of doors—that it was linked with the revolutions in progress in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; and that it was not without an ulterior object that Lafayette had invoked the tricolor flag, and thrown down the gauntlet, as it were, to the monarchy. No sooner was the news of the decisive vote in favour of the principle of the new law known in the capital than the most violent agitation commenced. M. Manuel and M. Benjamin Constant published an inflammatory address to the young men at the university and colleges; and the sinister omen of crowds collecting in the streets indicated the secret orders and menacing preparations of the central democratic committee. Seditious cries were heard; and so threatening did affairs soon appear, that the military were obliged to disperse them by force; and in the tumult a young student of law, named Lallemand, was shot, and died soon after. This unhappy event augmented the general excitement; the mobs assembled in still greater force, and the Government took serious precautions. The posts were everywhere doubled; the guards were drawn into Paris; large bodies of infantry and cavalry were stationed on the bridges in the Place Carrousel, and around the Chamber of Deputies; and proclamations were placarded in all directions, forbidding all assemblages of persons even to the number of three.

76. This proclamation was met by a counter one from the democratic committee, which was affixed to the gates

of all the colleges and schools, calling on the young men to meet and avenge their comrade who had been slain. They did so accordingly; and, marching two and two, so as to avoid the literal infringement of the order of the police, formed a column of above five thousand persons, armed with large sticks and sword-canes, which debouched upon the Place Louis XV., directly in front of the palace of the legislative body. The gates of the Tuileries and gardens were immediately closed, and the huge mass was driven, by repeated charges of cavalry, who behaved with the most exemplary forbearance, out of the Place. They immediately marched along the Boulevards towards the Faubourg St Antoine, where the immense masses of workmen, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, were already prepared to receive them; and, returning from thence with numbers now swelled, by the idle and excited from every coffeehouse, to between thirty and forty thousand men, moved towards the Place de Grève and Hôtel de Ville. The head of the column, however, was met on the way by a strong body of the gendarmerie-à-cheval, which charged and dispersed it, upon which the whole body took to flight. Thirty or forty were made prisoners, and immediately lodged in custody.

77. It may be readily imagined what use was made of these untoward events by the unscrupulous and impassioned leaders of the Liberal party in the Chamber of Deputies. The loudest and most vehement complaints were made against all concerned in the repression of the riots,—the Ministers, for having ordered the measures which led to their suppression; the military, gendarmerie, and police, for having executed them. Although the conduct of all the three had been prudent, forbearing, and exemplary in the highest degree, yet they were all overwhelmed by the most unmeasured obloquy. Not a whisper was breathed against the leaders or followers of the seditious assemblages, which had not only for days together kept the metropolis in alarm, but seriously menaced the mon-

archy. Still less was it observed by these impassioned declaimers, that a revolt of so serious a kind had been stifled with the loss of a single life. "Blood," exclaimed M. Lafitte, "has never ceased, during eight days, to flow in Paris; a hundred thousand of its peaceable citizens have been charged, sabred, and trampled under the hoofs of horses yesterday by the cuirassiers. The indignation of the capital is at its height; the agitation of the people is hourly increasing; tremble for the morrow." "Here is the blade of a sabre broken by a cut," exclaimed M. de Corcelles, holding up the fragment with a theatrical air. "Blood flows, and you refuse to hear us; it is infamous." The Ministers ably and energetically defended their measures; and the violence of the two parties became so great that the president, in despair, covered himself, and broke up the meeting.

78. These violent appeals, however, did not obtain the desired result, and their failure contributed more than any other circumstance to produce that adhesion of the Doctrinaires to the proposed electoral law, as modified by M. Boin, which led to its being passed into a law. A suppressed insurrection never fails, for the time at least, to strengthen the hands of government. In the present instance, the influence of that repression was enhanced, not only by the patience and temper of the armed force employed, and moderation of the Government in the subsequent prosecutions, but by another circumstance of decisive importance—the *military had faithfully adhered to their duty*. The utmost efforts had been made to seduce them, and failed of success. All the hopes of the insurgents were rested on their defection, and their steadiness made them despair of the cause. The leaders of the revolt saw that their attempt had been premature, that the military had not been sufficiently worked upon, and that the insurrection must be adjourned. They let it die away accordingly at the moment, reserving their efforts for a future period. Although the crowds continued to infest the streets for

several days, and great efforts were made at the funeral of Lallemand—who was buried with much solemnity, in presence of some thousand spectators, on the 9th—yet the danger was evidently past. The capital gradually became tranquil; the large majority of 95 in the Chamber of Deputies, on the last reading of the bill, passed almost without notice; and it was passed by a majority of 95 in the Peers—the numbers being 141 to 56. The Government behaved with exemplary moderation, it may even be said with timidity, in repressing this revolt. It was known that money had circulated freely among the insurgents, and it was known from whom it came. But it was deemed more prudent, now that the insurrection had been surmounted, not to agitate the public mind by the trial of its leaders, and no further prosecutions were attempted. It will appear in the sequel what return they made for this lenity when the crisis of 1830 arrived.

79. This was the great struggle of the year, because it was a direct effort to supplant the Bourbon dynasty on the one hand, and establish it more

firmly in the legislature on the other. Everything depended on the troops: if they had wavered when the insurgents marched on the Hôtel de Ville, on 6th June, it was all over, and 1820 would have been 1830. The remaining objects of the session, which involved the comparatively trifling matters of the public welfare or social happiness, excited scarcely any attention. The budget was voted with scarce any opposition. The gross revenue of the year was 8,741,087,000 francs; the net income, deducting the expense of collection, 739,712,000 francs, which showed a cost of above £5,000,000 in collecting an income of £30,000,000, or nearly 17 per cent—a very large proportion, but which is explained by the circumstance of the direct taxes, forming above a third of the whole, being exigible from above five millions of separate little proprietors. The expenditure was estimated at 511,371,000 francs, exclusive of the interest of the debt. Every branch of the public revenue exhibited symptoms of improvement, and the most unprecedented prosperity pervaded the country.* It is a singular circumstance, but highly

* The Budget of 1820 and 1821 stood thus:—

RECEIPTS.

	1820.—Francs net.	1821.—Francs net.
Direct taxes,	311,773,780 .	325,035,159 .
Indirect ditto,	140,000,000 .	191,666,300 .
Registrations,	147,000,000 .	158,986,500 .
Woods,	14,000,000 .	17,047,400 .
Customs and salt,	86,000,000 .	111,113,000 .
Postes,	12,097,000 .	23,790,710 .
Lottery,	9,000,000 .	14,000,000 .
Retained from salaries,	5,600,000 .	5,600,000 .
Miscellaneous,	14,712,970 .	15,433,970 .
Total net,	739,712,750 .	740,566,105 .
Expense of collection,	134,375,130 .	136,871,285 .
Total gross,	874,087,880 .	877,437,880 .

EXPENDITURE.

	1820.—Francs net.	1821.—Francs net.
Interest of public debt,	188,341,000 .	189,052,764 .
Sinking fund,	40,000,000 .	40,000,000 .
King and Royal Family,	34,000,000 .	34,000,000 .
Justice,	17,460,000 .	17,959,500 .
Foreign Affairs,	7,850,000 .	7,855,000 .
Interior,	102,840,000 .	109,060,800 .
War,	184,750,000 .	179,736,600 .
Marine,	45,200,000 .	52,970,000 .
Finances and miscellaneous,	115,880,000 .	119,572,000 .
	739,712,750 .	747,206,664 .

From a statement laid before the Chamber by the Minister of Finances, it appeared that

characteristic of the real motives which actuated the Liberal opposition at this period, that this era of unexampled social wellbeing was precisely the one which they selected for most violently agitating the public mind for an overthrow of the monarchy and change of the dynasty, by whom alone those blessings had been introduced.

80. Convinced, from the unsuccessful issue of this attempt, that they had no chance of success in their endeavours to overthrow the Government, unless they could enlist the military on their side, the Liberal leaders, after the prorogation of the Chamber, bent their whole efforts to that object. It is now known who they were; subsequent success has made them boast of their attempts; they are no longer afraid to admit their treason. "M. Lafayette," says Lamartine, "declared to his friends that open force could now alone overturn the Government, which had declared war against the equality of classes." Emissaries despatched from this centre set out to sound the departments and the troops. The parliamentary opposition of M. Lafitte and Casimir Périer unconsciously aided the conspirators, who were grouped around Lafayette, d'Argenson, Manuel, Corcelles, Roy, and Merilhou. That

conspiracy found innumerable accomplices, without the need of affiliating them, in the half-pay officers, the remains of Napoleon's army, in the small number of Republicans, in the Buonapartists—as numerous as the discontented—in the holders of the domains of the emigrants, who were every day more apprehensive of the loss of their heritages, and of the influence of those who were now protected by the Government.

81. Numerous as this band of conspirators was, it was not on them alone that their leaders totally, or even chiefly, rested. The great object was to seduce the military actually in arms; for long experience had taught the French that it is by them that all social convulsions in their country are, in the last resort, determined. They were not long in finding a few desperadoes who were willing to execute their designs. A captain in the Legion de la Meurthe, in garrison at Paris, named Nantil, a half-pay colonel, named Sauzet, and a colonel of the disbanded Imperial Guard, named Maziare, agreed to act as leaders. Their plan was to surprise the fortress of Vincennes, to corrupt the regiments in Paris, to rouse the faubourgs and the schools, and with the united forces march on the Tuileries.

the produce of the sinking fund, which, in 1816, was 20,000,000, and in 1817 was increased to 40,000,000, had been highly gratifying. It was as follows:—

	Sums applied (francs).	Annuities bought up (francs).
1816,	20,439,724	1,782,765
1817,	43,084,946	3,322,114
1818,	51,832,333	3,675,642
1819,	67,094,682	4,854,776

And from a statement laid before the Chamber by the celebrated economist M. Ganihl, it appeared that *before* the Revolution the public burdens stood thus:—

	Francs.
Total taxes,	585,000,000
Of which the direct taxes were—	
On realised property,	250,000,000 or 8 1—40 per cent.
Industry and commerce,	30,000,000 or 1 1—20 ..
Consumers,	304,000,000 or 10 1—2 ..

After the Revolution in 1820 they stood thus:—

	Francs.	Francs.
Total revenue and taxes,		875,941,663
Of which raised by taxes,	800,712,600	
Of which the land paid,	288,000,000, or 9 francs 16 cents.	
Taxed capital money,	154,000,000, or 9 .. 16 ..	
Industry and commerce,	56,000,000, or 1 .. 16 ..	
Consumers,	302,116,300, or 6 .. 16 ..	

So that the taxes on land, industry, and fixed capital, had increased a *third*, and those on consumption had remained the same, though their amount per head diminished, from the increase of population in the intervening period, from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 souls.—*Ann. Hist.*, iii. 175, 198, 200; and iv. 601, 603.

A great number of the half-pay generals of the Empire—in particular, Generals Pajol, Bacheluz, Merten, Maransin, Lafitte, and superior officers in retirement—were engaged in the conspiracy, the object of which was to dethrone the Bourbons. On that they were all agreed; but on ulterior measures there was great difference of opinion. Lafayette desired to proclaim a republic or a constitutional monarchy, whose interests were identical with those of the Revolution, and who might be “fettered by the bonds of a representative democracy.” The great majority wished to proclaim Napoleon II., hoping to restore with him the days of glory, of promotion, and plunder. Lafayette indulged a sanguine hope that, as Napoleon’s son was in the hands of the Austrians, who would not allow him to accept the proffered crown, it would become a matter of necessity to bestow on him the dictatorship, of which he had enjoyed a foretaste in 1790, and of which he had dreamed in 1815. The day of rising was fixed for 19th August: Nantil was to raise his legion, and head the attack; Lafayette went to his château of Lagrange to rouse his department, and aid in the assault on Vincennes; M. d’Argenson set off for Alsace to array in arms its numerous republicans; and M. de Corcelles was charged with organising the revolt in the great and populous city of Lyons.

82. An accidental circumstance prevented this deeply-laid design from being carried into effect. On the day before it was to have taken place, an explosion of powder, from fortuitous causes, took place in the castle of Vincennes, and this led to the military and police being assembled in considerable numbers in that important fortress. Their presence led the conspirators to suppose that their designs were discovered, which was really not the case, for they were not fully brought to light till long afterwards. Information had, however, been given to Government, by some of the officers upon whom unsuccessful attempts had been made, of a plot to overturn the Government, and the whole Ministers, in consequence, were summoned to the

Duke de Richelieu’s on the morning of the 19th. From the information there laid before them, it was resolved to remove the Legion de la Meurthe, which was most disaffected, from Paris to the frontiers, and the suspected officers were arrested in their barracks early in the forenoon by officers of the police. M. de Latour Maubourg, the War Minister, was himself present when this was done. No resistance was attempted; the common soldiers were astonished, not irritated; it was their officers, not themselves, who were privy to the conspiracy. Before night, the Legion de la Meurthe marched out for Landrecies in a state of tumult and indiscipline, which recalled the description given by Tacitus of the Roman legions in the mutiny which Germanicus repressed. Several of their officers were arrested on the march. Nantil, and the principal leaders of the conspiracy, however, made their escape.

83. Government acted with the utmost lenity in the prosecutions consequent on this abortive revolt. Lists of the persons implicated in it had been furnished to the Ministry, and they comprised most of the leaders of the Liberal party in Paris. M. Lafayette and M. Manuel were at its head. Ministers, however, recoiled from the idea of openly coming to a rupture of an irreconcilable kind with the chiefs of a party strong in the Chambers, strong in popular support, strong, as had recently appeared, in the affections of a part at least of the army. It was doubtful how far—however clear the moral evidence might be—the complete measure of legal proof could be obtained against the real but half-veiled leaders of the conspiracy. It was deemed more expedient, therefore, to proceed only against the inferior agents, and even against them in the most lenient manner. They were sent for trial to the Chamber of Peers, by whom a few, after a long interval, were convicted, and sentenced to secondary punishments, and several acquitted. But ten years afterwards, the real leaders were revealed in those who received the rewards of treason, at a time when none dared call it by its right name.

84. While conspiracies so serious and widespread were in progress to overthrow the dynasty of the Bourbons, Providence appeared in an extraordinary manner to have interposed in their behalf; and an event occurred which, beyond any which had yet taken place, elevated the hopes of their partisans throughout the country. The Duchess de Berri, notwithstanding the dreadful shock received from the murder of her husband, went successfully through the whole period of her pregnancy, and on the night of the 20th September was safely delivered of a son, who was christened Henry Duke of Bordeaux. As by the Salic Law males only can succeed to the throne of France, and the infant which the duchess bore was the last hope of continuing the direct line of succession, the utmost pains were taken to secure decisive evidence of the child really being of the royal line. The moment the duchess was seized with her pains, she desired that Marshal the Duke of Albufera (Suchet) should be sent for, and she had the courage and presence of mind, after the delivery was over, to insist that the umbilical cord should not be cut till the marshal with his own eyes had been satisfied with the reality of the birth and the sex of the infant. Several of the Guard, besides the usual attendants on the princess, were also eyewitnesses to the birth. The old king hastened to the apartment on the first alarm, and when the infant was presented to him, said, "Here is a fine Duke de Bordeaux: he is born for us all;" and taking a few drops of the wine of Pau, which according to old tradition had anointed the lips of Henry IV. before he had received his mother's milk, did the same to his infant descendant. Then taking a glass, he filled it, and drank to the health of the duchess. "Sire!" she replied, "I wish I knew the song of Jean d'Albret, that everything should be done here as at the birth of Henry IV."

85. No words can convey an idea of the transports into which the Royalists were thrown over all France by this auspicious event; and even those

of the opposite parties could not resist feeling the influence of the general enthusiasm. There was something in the birth of the infant—the last remnant of a long line of kings, and who had been born in so interesting and almost miraculous a manner after his father's death—which spoke to every heart. The general enthusiasm exceeded even that felt at the birth of the King of Rome, ten years before—for Napoleon might have had many other sons—but no one, save this infant, could transmit in the direct line the blood of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. to future generations. It had been stated that twelve cannon-shots should announce the birth of a daughter, twenty-four of a son. When the guns began to fire, all Paris was roused, and in speechless anxiety watched the successive discharges; but when the thirteenth report announced that an heir to the monarchy had been born, the transports were universal. The telegraph speedily conveyed it to every part of France, and the thirteenth gun in all the fortresses and harbours announced the joyful intelligence to the people. One would have supposed, from the universal joy, that France had but one heart—one soul—so strongly had the romantic and interesting circumstances of the birth wrought upon the public mind. Congratulatory addresses from every part of the country poured in to the king and the duchess, and the grace of her manner and felicity of her answers added to the general enchantment. A protest, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, was published in the London papers, though disavowed by that prince; but he asked the important question solemnly of the Duke of Albufera—"M. le Maréchal," said he, "you are a man of honour; you were a witness of the accouchement of the Duchess de Berri. Is she really the mother of a boy?" "As certainly as your royal highness is father of the Duke de Chartres," replied the marshal. "That is enough, M. le Maréchal," rejoined the Duke; and he immediately went with the duchess to congratulate the happy mother, and salute the infant

who might one day be their king. At the same time, the Duchess de Berri gave proof that she was animated with the sublime spirit of forgiveness shown on his deathbed by her husband, by requesting and obtaining the pardon of two men, named Gravin and Bonton, sentenced to death for an attempt on her life, or that of her child, which she did in terms so touching, that they deserve a place even in general history.* Her conduct at this period was so generous and noble, that the Emperor Alexander expressed his admiration of it in a touching epistle addressed with his own hand to the princess.

86. The birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, which afforded so fair a prospect of continuing the direct line of succession, confirming the dynasty of the Bourbons, and establishing the peace of Europe, was too important an event not to awake the general sympathy and interest of the European powers. Congratulations were received from all quarters : that from the Emperor Alexander was peculiarly warm and cordial. The *corps diplomatique* of Paris expressed a striking sentiment on this occasion in the words, " Providence has awarded the greatest possible blessing to the paternal tenderness of your Majesty. The child of grief, of regrets, of tears, is also the *child of Europe*—he is at once the guarantee and the pledge of the repose and peace which should follow so many agitations."

* "Sire ! comme je ne puis voir le Roi aujourd'hui, je lui écris pour lui demander la grâce de deux malheureux qui ont été condamnés à mort pour tentative contre ma personne. Je serais au désespoir qu'il pût y avoir des Français qui mourussent pour moi : l'ange que je pleure demandait en mourant la grâce de son meurtrier, il sera l'arbitre de ma vie ; me permettez-vous, mon oncle, de l'imiter, et de supplier votre Majesté d'accorder la grâce de la vie à ces deux infortunés ? L'auguste exemple du Roi nous a habitués à la clémence ; daignera-t-il permettre que les premiers instants de l'existence de mon Henri, de mon cher fils, du vôtre, du fils de la France, soient marqués par un pardon ? Excusez, mon cher oncle, la liberté que j'ose prendre de vous ouvrir mon cœur ; dans toutes les occasions votre indulgente bonté m'y a encouragée. Je supplie le Roi d'excuser ma hardiesse, et de croire au respect profond avec lequel je suis," &c.—*Caroline Duchesse de Berri au Roi de France*, 28 Sept. 1820.

This expression revealed the feeling of the European powers : it was, that the elder branch of the Bourbons was the sole pledge for the peace of Europe, and that the newborn infant was the bond which was to unite its rulers. The Emperor Alexander wrote to Louis—"The birth of the Duke of Bordeaux is an event which I consider as most fortunate for the peace of Europe, and which affords just consolation to your family. I pray your Majesty to believe that I adopt the title of the 'child of Europe,' which the diplomatic body has already bestowed upon him." Promotions, honours, and gratifications were bestowed in the most liberal manner in France : the crown debtors were nearly all liberated from prison ; most of the political offenders pardoned ; immense sums bestowed in charity ; and a great creation of the order of the *Cordon Bleu* attested at once the gratitude and liberality of the sovereign.

87. But though these circumstances augured favourably for the stability of the dynasty, and the consequent peace of Europe, symptoms were not wanting of a divergence of opinion, which portended divisions that might prove fatal in future times. It was with the Doctrinaires that the rupture first took place. This party, which afterwards, from the talents of some of its members, became so celebrated, had already become important, from its position between the two great parties which divided the State, and its power, by inclining to either side, to give a preponderance to either. The conduct of the leaders of this party during the session, if not decidedly hostile to the Ministry, had been equivocal ; and the increasing leaning of Ministers to the Royalist side, since the great reaction consequent on the death of the Duke de Berri, had rendered the position which they still held under the Administration precarious and painful. At the same time Government could not dispense with the support of the Royalists, for it was by their aid alone that the majorities, slender as they were, in the Chamber of Deputies, had been obtained. The Doctrinaires had

become sensible of the great error into which they had fallen in supporting the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816, which changed the Electoral Law; and it was by the secession of a part of their members from the Liberal ranks that the amendment of M. Boin, which again changed it, had been carried. But on other points they were decidedly opposed to the Government as now constituted; and the divergence before the close of the session had become so evident, that neither the security of the one party, nor the character of the other, would admit of their longer remaining united. The Duke de Richelieu, accordingly, at the instigation of M. Lainé, who had been much hurt by a speech of M. Royer-Collard on the budget, took his resolution, in which he was unanimously supported by the Cabinet; and the *Moniteur*, in announcing, after the close of the session, the names of the Council of State, omitted those of Royer-Collard, Guizot, Barante, Camille-Jourdan, and Mirbel. Four prefects, who were known to belong to the same party, were dismissed from office. At the same time, the Duke de Richelieu had several conferences with M. de Villèle and M. Corbière, on the conditions of a cordial union with the Royalist party.

88. Although the great abilities of the persons thus dismissed from the Government deprived them of very powerful support, especially in debate, yet in truth the severance was unavoidable, for there was an irreconcilable difference between them. It arose from principle, and an entirely different view of the most desirable structure of society, or of what was practicable under existing circumstances. The Doctrinaires were conservative in their views, but they were so on the principles of the Revolution. They adored the equality which was at once the object of its ambition, and the victory it had achieved. They thought it was possible, on the basis of absolute equality, to construct the fabric of constitutional monarchy and regulated freedom. They wished a hierarchy, but it was one, not of rank, or

territories, or fortune, but of talent; and, being conscious of great abilities in themselves, they indulged the secret hope that under such a system they would rise to the power and eminence which they were conscious their capacity deserved. They had the natural jealousy which intellectual always feels of political power, and felt the utmost repugnance at the restoration of those distinctions in society which tended to re-establish the ancient supremacy of rank or fortune. In a word, they were the philosophers of the Revolution; and philosophers, when they are not the sycophants, are always the rivals of nobles.

89. The Royalists, on the other hand, were set upon an entirely different set of objects. They were as well aware as the Doctrinaires that the old regime could not be re-established, that feudalism was for ever abolished, and that general liberty was at once the birthright and greatest blessing of man. But they thought it could only be secured by the continuance of the monarchy, and that constitutional government was impossible without the reconstruction of a territorial nobility and ecclesiastical hierarchy, who might be at once a support of the throne and a check upon its power. Absolute equality, according to them, was the best possible foundation for Eastern despotism, but the worst for European freedom; you might as well construct a palace out of the waves of the ocean, as a constitutional monarchy out of the absolute equality of classes. Infidelity had been the principle of the Revolution in matters of belief; the only foundation for the monarchy was to be found in the restoration of the influence of the ancient faith. The centralisation of all power in the capital by the system of the Revolution, and the destruction of all power in the provinces by the division of property, threatened, in their view, the total destruction of public freedom, and would leave France no other destiny but that of an armed democracy or an irresistible despotism. The sequel of this history will show which of these sets of opinions was the

better founded; in the mean time, it is obvious that they were wholly irreconcilable with each other, and that no harmonious cabinet could by possibility be constructed out of the leaders of such opposite parties.*

90. The great military conspiracy, which was to have broken out on 19th

* M. de Chateaubriand, in an article in the *Conservateur*, on 30th Nov. 1819, has well explained the views and intentions of the Royalists at this period; and subsequent events have rendered his words prophetic: "Voilà donc les Royalistes au pouvoir, fermement résolus à maintenir la Charte; tout leur édifice sera posé sur ce fondement; mais, au lieu de bâtir une démocratie, ils élèveront une monarchie. Ainsi leur premier devoir, comme leur premier soin, serait de changer la loi des élections. Ils feraient en même temps retrancher de la loi de recrutement le titre VI,† et rendraient ainsi à la couronne, une des plus importantes prérogatives. Ils rétabliraient dans la loi sur la liberté de la presse le mot "Religion," qu'à leur honte éternelle, de prétendus hommes d'Etat en ont banni. Ministres! vous fondez une législation, et elle produira des mœurs conformes à vos règles.

"Après la modification des lois capitales, les Royalistes proposeraient les lois les plus monarchiques, sur l'organisation des communes et sur la Garde Nationale. Ils affaibliraient le système de centralisation; ils rendraient une puissance salulaire aux conseils généraux. Créant, partout, des agrégations d'intérêts, ils les substitueraient à ces individualités trop favorables à l'établissement de la tyrannie. En un mot, ils recomposeraient l'aristocratie, troisième pouvoir qui manque à nos institutions, et dont l'absence produit le frottement dangereux que l'on remarque aujourd'hui entre la puissance royale et la puissance populaire. C'est dans cette vue, que les Royalistes solliciteraient les substitutions en faveur de la Pairie. Ils chercheraient à arrêter, par tous les moyens légaux, la division des propriétés, division qui, dans trente ans, en réalisant la roi agraire, nous fera tomber en démocratie forcée.

"Une autre mesure importante serait encore prise par l'administration Royaliste. Cette administration demanderait aux Chambres, tant dans l'intérêt des acquéreurs que dans celui des anciens propriétaires, une juste indemnité pour les familles qui ont perdu leurs biens dans le cours de la Révolution. Les deux espèces de propriétés qui existent parmi nous, et qui créent, pour ainsi dire, deux peuples sur le moment, sont la grande plaie de la France. Pour la guérir, les Royalistes n'auraient que le mérite de faire revivre la proposition de M. le Maréchal Macdonald, 'On apprend tout dans les camps Français: la justice comme la gloire.'"—*Conservateur*, 30 Nov. 1819; and *Œuvres de M. CHATEAUBRIAND*, xx. 270, 271.

† That regulating the promotion of officers irrespective of the crown.—*Ante*, ch. vi. sect. 42.

August, had its ramifications in the provinces, and in several places the disturbances which ensued required to be coerced by open force. At Brest, M. Ballart, the deputy, was openly insulted by the populace, and the national guard evinced such symptoms of disaffection that it required to be dissolved. At Saumur, M. Benjamin Constant was threatened by the scholars of the military school for cavalry. Everything indicated the approach of the most fearful of all contests—a contest of classes. The exasperation of parties, as usual in cases where they are nearly balanced, was extreme; the Royalists were excited by the prospect of ere long attaining power, the Liberals exasperated at the thoughts of losing it. The ruling principle with the Duke de Richelieu, and which had directed the distribution of the honours of the *Cordon Bleu*, had been to form a new hierarchy, drawn from all classes, around the throne, and thus to interest in its support alike the Liberals, Imperialists, and Royalists. This maxim had been acted upon with great discrimination and success; but now the violent exasperation of parties, and the ascertained conspiracies in the army, rendered it advisable to adopt still more vigorous measures of conciliation, and those resolved on were the following.

91. A new organisation was given to the household of the king, which embraced a considerable extension. It was divided into six departments, the heads of four of which were great officers of the Crown, and the other two great officers of the household.* The king regulated these departments entirely himself, and never would permit any interference on the part of his Cabinet Ministers. He said, and not without reason, that as he left them the disposal of all the offices of state, they might leave him the patronage

* Viz: "De la grande Aumônerie, du grand Maître, du grand Chambellan, du grand Ecuier, du grand Veneur, du grand Maître des Cérémonies. Le grand Veneur et le grand Maître des Cérémonies étaient grands officiers de la maison; les autres, grands officiers de la couronne."—*Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 114.

of his own household. In filling up the situations, however, he carried out to its full extent the system of fusion, on which he was so much bent. M. de Lauriston was put at the head of the household, in reward of his military services, and recent activity in suppressing the disturbances in Brest. His devotion to the royal family, good sense, and discernment, justified the choice. But so far did the king go in his desire to conciliate all parties, that he appointed General Rapp, a brave and distinguished, but rough and homespun veteran of Napoleon's, Grand Master of the Wardrobe. The old soldier, however, soon showed, that if he had been bred in camps, he could take on, late in life, if not the polish, at least the address of courts; for, on occasion of the death of Napoleon, which soon after ensued, having been gently chid by the king for the extreme grief which he manifested, he replied: "Ah! Sire, I owe him everything—even the happiness of serving your Majesty."

92. A more important change was adopted soon after, which tended, more than anything else, to the prolonged existence of the dynasty of the Restoration. This was an entirely new organisation of the army. The object of the former division of the troops into departmental legions had been, to destroy the disaffected spirit of the Imperial army, by breaking up the regiments from whose *esprit de corps* its continuance was chiefly to be apprehended; and the measure had in a great degree been attended with success. But the military conspiracy of August 19, and the certain information obtained that a considerable part of the army had been privy to it, proved that the new regulations, recently introduced, regarding promotion in the army, which determined it by certain fixed rules, irrespective of the choice of the sovereign, was fraught with danger, and might, at some future period, prove fatal to the monarchy. M. Latour-Maubourg, accordingly, felt the necessity of a change of system; and he presented a report to the king, stating a variety of considera-

tions, which, however just, were not the real ones,* which determined the alteration he proposed—a return to the old system. According to his recommendation, a new ordonnance was issued, which re-established the army, very much on the footing on which it had stood prior to the great change introducing departmental legions in 1815. The infantry was divided into eighty regiments, of which sixty were of the line, and twenty light infantry. Each regiment consisted of three battalions, and each battalion of eight companies; each company of three officers and eighty sub-officers and soldiers. Thus each regiment, including field-officers, consisted of two thousand and ten men, and the whole foot-soldiers of a hundred and sixty-one thousand men. Fourteen *états-majors*, six legions, and between two thousand and three thousand officers, were put on half-pay. No change was made on the guards or cavalry, the spirit of which was known to be sufficiently good. The ordonnance experienced no resistance in any quarter; very much in consequence of its gratifying the soldiers, by ordering the resumption of the old blue uniform, associated with so many recollections—a change which induced them to hope, at no distant period, for the restoration of the tricolor cockade.

93. A change not less important, both in its effects and as indicating the altered disposition of the Govern-

* "Que l'appel sous les drapeaux des jeunes soldats donnait lieu, dans le système des légions, à des dépenses considérables, par la nécessité de les diriger sur les légions de leur département, qui en était souvent placé à une grande distance; or en diminuant la distance à parcourir, on obtenait avec une réduction dans les dépenses, l'avantage de compter moins de déserteurs. Dans certaines légions le nombre des sujets capables est si grand, que l'avancement qui leur est dévolu, n'offre pas assez de chances pour les retenir au service, tandis que dans d'autres légions on est totalement dépourvu de bons sous-officiers; et puis, à la guerre, ou dans le cas d'une expédition lointaine un événement malheureux pèserait tout entier sur la population militaire de quelques départements, et rendrait impossible, pour longtemps, la réorganisation de leur corps."—*Rapport de M. de Gouvion St-Cyr. CAPEFIGUE, Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 115, 116.

ment, was made by the Minister of the Interior in the important matter of public instruction. An ordonnance of the king re-established the "Secretaries General" of schools, which had been abolished in 1816. These officers were erected into a royal commission, of which M. Corbière soon became the head; and their duty was to exercise a superintendence over the system of education pursued, and the works read, in all the schools of the kingdom. As they virtually came in place of the old university of Napoleon, and discharged its functions, so they were divided into its departments, and resumed its costume. The object of this measure, as that of Napoleon had formerly been, was to bring public opinion into harmony with the existing dynasty and system of government by moulding the minds of the rising generation. An academy of medicine was soon after created by the king, and several stringent regulations passed, the object of which was to restrain the turbulent and refractory spirit which, in the late tumults, had manifested itself in Paris in the students of law and physic.

94. All these matters, however, though most momentous in their ultimate effects, yielded in importance to the elections, upon the result of which the fate of the Ministry, in a great measure, depended, and which were this year of the greater importance, that they would indicate, for the first time, the working of the new Electoral Law upon the composition of the Legislature. At a Cabinet Council assembled to consider this question, M. Pasquier stated, that the circumstances appeared to be so grave that a circular should be written by the king to the electors, explaining his views, and the course which he was desirous they should adopt on the occasion. Louis caught up the idea; and, to render the royal intervention still more apparent, he proposed that M. Pasquier should draw up the address, that he should correct it, copy it over with his own hand, and sign it, and that *lithographic copies of the royal autograph should be sent to every elector in the kingdom.* This was accordingly done, and a hun-

dred thousand copies thrown off and circulated for that purpose.* This is a very curious circumstance, strongly indicative of how little the first elements of constitutional government were understood in France. They were destitute of what must ever be the basis of the fabric—the power of *self-direction*. Both the Royalists and the Liberals were aware of this, and neither wished to alter it. They regarded the people as a vast army, which would best discharge its duties when it obeyed with docility the voice of its chiefs; they had no conception of the chiefs obeying the voice of the army. Sad and irremediable effect of the destruction of all intermediate ranks and influence by the Revolution, which left only the executive standing erect, in awful strength, amidst the level surface of the people. Of the two, however, the Royalists were the most likely, if they had been permitted to do so, to prepare the people for the exercise of constitutional rights; because they desired to restore the nobility, hierarchy, and provincial incorporations, by whom a public opinion and rural influence, capable of coun-

* "Une liberté forte et légitime, fondée sur des lois émanées de son amour pour les Français, et de son espérance des temps, était assurée à ses peuples: 'Ecartez des fonctions de député,' ajoutait-il, 'les fauteurs de troubles, les artisans de discordes, les propagateurs d'injustes défiances contre mon gouvernement. Il dépend de vous d'assurer le repos, la gloire et le bonheur de notre commune patrie; vous en avez la volonté, manifestez-la par vos choix. La France touche au moment de recevoir le prix de tous ses sacrifices, de voir ses impôts diminués, les charges publiques allégées; et ce n'est pas quand tout fleurit et tout prospère, qu'il faut mettre dans les mains des factieux, et livrer à leurs desseins pervers, les arts, l'industrie, la paix des familles, et une félicité que tous les peuples de la terre envient. Vos députés choisissez parmi les citoyens, amis sincères et zélés de la Charte, dévoués au trône et à la patrie, affermiront avec moi l'ordre sans lequel nulle société ne peut exister; et j'affermirai avec eux ces libertés que deux fois je vous ai rendues, et qui ont toujours eu pour asile le trône de mes aïeux.'"—*Louis XVIII. aux Electeurs*, October 25, 1820; *Annales Historiques*, iii. 231; and CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 119, 121. The idea of Louis XIV., "L'état, c'est moi," is very apparent in this proclamation of his descendant, notwithstanding all the lessons of the Revolution.

terbalancing the executive, might be formed. But it is more than doubtful whether the attempt could have been successful; because, in their insane passion for equality, the nation would not permit the foundation even of the edifice to be laid.

95. At length the elections came, and were more favourable to the Royalists than their most sanguine hopes could have anticipated. They demonstrated not only the magnitude of the change made on the constituency by the late alteration in the Electoral Law, but the reaction which had taken place in the public mind from the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, and improved prospects of the Bourbon dynasty. Not merely were the whole new members elected for the departments chosen for the first time by the fourth of the whole who paid the highest amount of taxes—one hundred and seventy-two in number—with a few exceptions, on the Royalist side, but even those for the *arrondissements*, of whom a fifth, according to the existing law, were changed, proved, for the first time since the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816, on the whole favourable to their views. Out of forty-six to be chosen to fill up the fifth, twenty-nine were Royalists, and only seventeen Liberal. On the whole, the Royalists had now, for the first time since 1815, obtained a decided preponderance in the popular branch of the legislature. Passionately desirous of victory in civil equally as military contests, the majority of the French in any conflict invariably, irrespective of principle, range themselves on the side of success. The principle, so strong in England, of *dogged resistance to victorious power*, is almost unknown among them. Louis XVIII. was terrified at the success of the friends of the monarchy. “We shall be overwhelmed, M. de Richelieu,” said he: “can you possibly restrain such a majority?” “We have the word of Monsieur,” replied the Minister; and at all events, it was indispensable above all to save the monarchy.

96. This great change in the composition of the popular deputies proved

decisively how much the long-continued ascendancy of the Liberals had been owing to the fatal effects of a constituency founded on one *uniform qualification*, which the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816 had introduced. The Royalists and their adherents in the Centre were now fully two-thirds of the Assembly; and this majority was formidable, not only from its number, but from its ardent and uncompromising character. Now was seen how little crime advances any cause: deeply did the Liberals mourn the murder of the Duke de Berri. Among the new deputies were upwards of sixty of the old Chamber of 1815, whom the change in the law had since excluded from the Chamber, and who had nursed in solitude their opinions, had become confirmed in their prejudices. M. de Peyronnet, who had been king's advocate at Bourges, was returned, but he was cautious and reserved at first, and far from presaging the eminence which as Minister he afterwards attained. M. Dudon, who had commenced his official career rather unfortunately, soon rose to eminence, chiefly from the great facility of speaking which he possessed, and the energy with which he defended any cause which he espoused. General Donnadieu, who had become known by the prompt suppression of the insurrection at Grenoble, and the exaggeration and violence with which it was followed, acquired distinction also, from the intrepidity of his thoughts and the fearlessness of his language. He was able and energetic in his ideas, but impetuous and declamatory in his language—a peculiarity very common with military men, when they become orators or authors, and one which sensibly impedes their influence. An ultra-Royalist, he included the whole Ministry in his long-cherished hatred of M. Decazes, and did not advert to the rapid modification towards Royalist principles which it was undergoing. The Liberals beheld with satisfaction those feuds among their adversaries, and loudly applauded General Donnadieu in his diatribes against the administration of the Duke de Richelieu.

97. The first public proof of the leaning of the Ministry towards the Royalists—which, in truth, had become unavoidable from the composition of the Chambers—was given by the appointment of M. de Chateaubriand to the embassy at Berlin, which he accepted, at the special request of the Duke de Richelieu. It was arranged between the Royalist chiefs and the Premier that M. de Villèle and M. de Corbière should, at the same time, be taken into the administration; but there was some difficulty in finding, at the moment, places for men of their acknowledged talents and weight in the legislature. It was got over by the moderation of M. de Villèle, who, set on higher objects of ambition, stooped to conquer. “Do something for Corbière: a place in the King’s Council is enough for me.” It was arranged accordingly that M. Lainé should, in the mean time, cede the portfolio of Public Instruction to M. de Corbière, and that M. de Villèle should be admitted without office into the Cabinet; but the appointment did not appear in the *Moniteur* till after the session commenced. The only condition which M. de Villèle made on entering the Cabinet was, that a new Municipal Law should be introduced by the Government, which was done accordingly.

98. The Chambers met on the 20th December, and the speech of the king, which was delivered in the hall of the Louvre bearing the name of Henry IV., on account of the health of his majesty not permitting him to go to the Palace of the Legislative Body, earnestly counselled moderation and unanimity. “Everything announced,” said he, “that the modifications introduced into our electoral system will produce the desired results. Whatever adds to the influence and consideration of the legislature, adds to the authority and dignity of my crown. By strengthening the relations necessary between the monarch and the Chambers, we shall succeed in forming such a system of government as a great monarchy such as France will require in all time to come. It is to accomplish these de-

signs that I would see the days prolonged which Providence may accord to me; and, to insure this great object, desire that you may reckon on my firm and invariable will, and I on your loyal and constant support.” The address was, as usual, an echo of the speech; but it terminated with expressions which revealed the ruling feelings of the majority, and furnish the key to nearly the whole subsequent career of the Royalist administration in France. “To fortify the authority of religion, and purify morals by a system of education at once Christian and monarchical; to give to the armed force that organisation which may secure tranquillity within and peace without; to improve all our institutions which rest on the Charter, and are intended to protect our liberties—such are the well-known intentions of your Majesty, and such also are our duties. We will pursue these ameliorations with the moderation which is the accompaniment of strength; we will obtain them by patience, which is the act of awaiting in patience the fruits of the beneficial changes already introduced. May Heaven, measuring the years of your Majesty by the wishes and prayers of your people, cause to dawn on France those happy and serene days which are presaged by the birth of a new heir to the throne.” “You have expressed,” said the monarch in reply, “my intentions, and your answer is a pledge that you will second them. I repeat it: if I wish to prolong my days, it is to consolidate the institutions I have given to my people. But whatever may be the intentions of Providence, let us never forget our constitutional maxim, ‘The king never dies in France.’”

99. Although these expressions and allusions seemed to presage an important and perhaps eventful session, yet it proved otherwise, and the session passed over with fewer legislative measures of importance than any which had occurred since the Restoration. The reason was that the Royalist majority was so decided that the strife of party was over, while, at the same time, as they were still in a minority in the Cabinet, they could not bring

forward those measures on which their leaders were set, with a view to modify the general frame and influence of Government. The initiation of laws still belonged to the king's Ministers: the Opposition could only introduce their ideas by amendments, which, however, often assumed the importance of original propositions. An important bill in its practical effects, though not so much so in appearance, was introduced and carried, to determine the boundaries of electoral districts. It was intended to increase the Royalist influence, and did so most effectually. Great difficulty was experienced in arranging the details of the municipal law which had been promised to M. de Villèle, but at length M. Mounier succeeded in drawing one which met the views of both parties. But being founded on a compromise, it was really acceptable to neither; and it experienced so much resistance in the Chamber that after a prolonged discussion it was at length withdrawn. The king said on this occasion: "I had abandoned the rights of the crown; the Chambers would not permit it: I have learned a lesson."

100. The strength of the Royalists in the Chamber made Ministers feel the necessity of bringing forward some measure in support of the Church, upon which they were so anxiously set. They did so accordingly, and the law they proposed gave the king power to establish twelve new bishoprics, and to raise considerably the salaries of the clergy in those situations where it might be deemed necessary. The report of the commission, to whom the matter was referred, bore "that religion, resting between the two concordats of 1801 and 1817, without any solid basis, was reduced with its ministers to the most deplorable state, to which the legislature is not sufficiently alive. The absolute absence of religion in the country districts is an evil to which no other is comparable. Civilization is the perfection of the laws—very different from politeness, which is the perfection of the arts—and is nothing but Christianity applied to the legislation of societies." The law met

with very violent opposition from the Liberal party in the Chamber, but it passed by a majority of more than two to one—the numbers being 219 to 105: a result which sufficiently indicated the vast change which the recent alterations in the Electoral Law had made in the popular branch of the legislature.

101. The return of peace, and opening of its harbours to the commerce of all nations, had produced, though in a lesser degree, the same effect in France as in Great Britain. Importation had increased to a degree which excited alarm; and the grain districts loudly demanded some restrictions upon foreign importation, as a protection to native industry. In the course of the discussion, M. de Villèle stated that the annual consumption of France was 160,000,000 hectolitres of grain; that the crop of 1819 had exceeded that amount by a tenth; notwithstanding which 1,400,000 hectolitres, or about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the annual consumption, had been imported; while the exportation had only been 538,000 hectolitres; leaving a balance of 862,000 hectolitres introduced when not required. The import duty paid on these 862,000 hectolitres was 2,573,000 francs. The importation came chiefly from Odessa, America, and Egypt. The regulations proposed and adopted in consequence were chiefly of a local character, throwing restrictions on the importation of foreign grain, by limiting the number of places where it might be received. But the increased importation, even under the considerable protecting duty which existed in France, is a valuable illustration of the eternal law, that the old and rich state is always undersold in the productions of subsistence by the poor one, as much as it undersells the latter in the production of manufactures.*

* The price of wheat at Odessa was, on an average, this year—which was there one of scarcity—12 francs; freight to Marseilles, 2 francs 50 cents, and the import duty 5 francs 50 cents; in all 20 francs (16s.) the hectolitre, or 48s. the quarter. The usual price at Odessa was 4 francs the hectolitre, which corresponds to about 12 francs (10s.) the quarter. Exportation was permitted in France by the law of 14th December 1814, only when the price in the frontier departments was 23

102. A law which excited much more attention, though not of so much real importance, was brought forward by Government for an indemnity to the Imperial donataries. These were the marshals, generals, and others whom, as explained in a former work, Napoleon had endowed, often richly, out of the revenues of Italy, Germany, and other countries over which his power extended, during the spring-tide of his fortunes, but who, by the reflux of his dominion to the limits of Old France, had been entirely bereaved of their possessions, and were reduced to great straits in consequence. The distresses of these persons had been such, that they obtained a slight relief from the Treasury by the finance law of 1818, but now it was proposed to give them a durable indemnity. As many of these persons were of the highest rank, and their names associated with the most glorious epochs of the Empire, the proposal excited a very great sensation, and was loudly applauded by the Imperial party, who were to profit by it. The intention of Government was to make this grant to the time-honoured relics of the Imperial regime a precedent for the great indemnity which they meditated to the emigrants and others who had been dispossessed of their estates by the Revolution; for after the Liberals had unanimously supported grants from the public funds for the relief of their chiefs who had lost their possessions by the calamities of war, it was not easy to see on what principle they could oppose a similar grant to the sufferers under the confiscations of the Revolution. The Royalists, however, did not see this, or they had no faith in the existing Ministry carrying out this design, as Marshal Macdonald, who introduced the project in 1814, had intended, and it met accordingly with the most im-

francs for the best wheat, 21 francs for the second, and 19 francs for the third, which showed that the average cost of production was above the highest of these sums. The import duty was 5 francs 50 cents the hectolitre; but even at this high import duty the influx of foreign grain from America, Odessa, and the Nile, had caused a ruinous fall of prices in all the southern provinces.—*L'Annuaire Historique*, iv. 75.

passioned resistance from the Right of the Assembly. No words can describe the indignation of the Royalists when they heard the names of the chief persons to be benefited by the new law, embracing the principal leaders of the Napoleonist party, and those most deeply implicated in the conspiracy of 1815.* "It is," said M. Duplessis, "a reward for conspirators." The indemnity proposed was an inscription on the Grand Livre—in other words, the gift of so much stock in the Five per Cents, bearing date 22d Sept. 1821, in certain fixed proportions. The bill underwent many amendments in committee; but at length, after great hesitation, indicative of weakness on the part of Ministers, it passed, as originally proposed, by a majority of 203 to 125.

103. The question of the censorship of the press still remained, which afforded as regular a subject for the encounter of parties in France as that of Catholic Emancipation did in England. Although the Ministry was now of so mixed a character that it might reasonably have been supposed that both sets of journalists, having each something to hope from the Government, would support it, yet it proved otherwise; and there is no period in the whole annals of the Restoration when the press was more violent, or parties were more exasperated against each other. Perhaps this was unavoidable: the effect of the change in the Electoral Law was now evident, and a party in possession of power is never so exasperated as when it sees the reins gradually but perceptibly slipping from its hands. The Minister of the Interior accordingly, Count Siméon, brought forward a project for continuing the censorship, alleging, in justification of the proposal, that it had, during the past year, been so gently exercised, that no fair discussion had ever been interfered

* They were, MM. Jean-Bon Saint-André, Jean de Bry, Quinette, General Hullin, Labédoyère, Marshal Ney, Count d'Estar, General Lefèvre-Desnouettes, General Gilly, General Mouton-Duvernet, General Clausel, Count de Laborde, General Exelmans, the Duke de Bassano, General Lamarque, Baron Méchin. —CAPEFIGUE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, vii. 149.

with, but intemperate abuse alone excluded. The commission, however, to which the matter was referred, reported against the project; and Government, in the Chamber itself, were defeated on an amendment proposed by M. Courtarvel, on the part of the Liberals, that the restriction should continue only three months after the commencement of the session of 1821. Thus modified, however, the proposal passed into a law in the Deputies by a majority of 214 to 112; in the Peers, by 83 to 45.

104. This debate was chiefly memorable for the first open declaration of opinion on the part of Ministers, which revealed an irreconcilable division of opinion and approaching rupture in the Cabinet. "If the censorship," said M. Pasquier, "has been useful, it has been chiefly in what relates to foreign affairs, and certainly it has rendered great services, in that respect, not only to France, but to Europe. We are accused of having enmities and partialities; yes, I admit I have a repugnance to those men, to whatever party they belong, who wish to trouble, or, without intending it, do trouble, the tranquillity of our country—who disunite minds when they should be united. I have a repugnance to the men who, too often exhuming from the tomb the revolutionary maxims, would gladly make them the means of destroying the felicity we enjoy, perverting the rising generation, and bringing upon their heads the evils which have so long desolated us. I have a repugnance to the men who, by odious recriminations, generally unjust, always impolitic, furnish arms and auxiliaries to those whom I have designated. As I distrust every usurpation, I have a repugnance to a small body of men who would claim exclusively for themselves the title of Royalists—who would wish to monopolise for themselves the sentiments which belong to the French nation; and who would every day contract a circle which it is for the interest of all should be expanded. Still more have I a repugnance to the same men, when they evince too clearly the design of making of a thing so sacred as royalty,

and the power which emanates from it, the instrument of their passions, their interests, or their ambition. I have a repugnance to these men, but chiefly because I feel assured that if they obtained all that they desire, they would make use of the power they have acquired for no other end but to gratify private interests, and that we should thus see them reproduce, by the successive triumph of their petty ambition, that system of government which, in the years preceding the Revolution, had done such mischief to France."

105. When sentiments such as these were expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in language so unmeasured in regard to a body of men who formed part of the Ministry, who had a majority in both Chambers, and whose support was essential to their existence, it was evident that the dissolution of the Government was at hand. The difficulties of Ministers and the irritation of parties increased rapidly after the session of the legislature terminated. The Count d'Artois and the Royalists were dissatisfied that, when they had a majority in the Chambers, they had not one in the Ministry, and that M. Polignac and M. Peyronnet had not seats in the Cabinet. They condemned also, in no measured terms, the conduct of the Government, which, after having obtained, by the revelations made in the course of the trial of the conspirators of August 19th, decisive evidence of the accession of the Liberal leaders, especially Lafayette and Manuel, to the design of overthrowing the Government, let them escape untouched, and chastised even the inferior delinquents only with subordinate penalties.* "M. de Richelieu

* "Dans le procès des troubles du mois de Juin le pouvoir ministériel avait reculé devant un système de pénalité trop forte, trop afflictive. De tous ces débats était résultée la certitude qu'il existait un comité actif, dirigeant, dont les chefs et les projets étaient connus. Comment dès lors les Royalistes pouvaient-ils s'expliquer cette insouciance et cette faiblesse qui s'arrêtaient devant certains noms propres? La Correspondance de M. de Lafayette avec Gohier de la Sarthe révélait les desseins et les plans révolutionnaires: pourquoi ne pas la déposer comme pièce principale d'un acte d'accusation?"—CAPEFIGUE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, vii. 164.

is an honest man, but weak; M. de Serres, uncertain; M. de Pasquier, a Buonapartist in disguise; M. Portal, worst of all, a Protestant; M. Roy, a representative of the Hundred Days; M. Siméon, the minister of the *Emperor Jerome*; M. Mounier, secretary to the usurper." Such was the language of the Royalists, and the Liberals and Doctrinaires were not behind them in vehemence. In particular, M. Guizot published a pamphlet entitled, 'On the Restoration of the Present Ministry,' which made a great noise, chiefly by the graphic picture it presented of their difficulties and divisions. The bland temper and moderate disposition of the Duke de Richelieu was sorely tried by these accumulated attacks on every side; and, on his return from the embassy in London, he complained to M. Decazes on the subject. "I wonder you are surprised," said he: "they betrayed me, they will betray you; it is their part to do so: it is impossible to act with them."

106. At length matters came to such a pass that M. de Villèle and M. Corbière, finding they could no longer preserve terms with the Royalists on the one hand, and the semi-liberal Ministry on the other, resigned their situations shortly before the parliamentary session came to a close. Chateaubriand retired with them, greatly regretted, from the embassy at Berlin. Negotiations upon this were opened with Monsieur and the Royalist chiefs, who wished to retain the Duke de Richelieu as premier, but demanded the Ministry of the Interior for M. de Villèle, the creation of a Ministry of Public Instruction for M. Corbière, the embassy at London for M. de Chateaubriand, and another embassy for M. de Vitrolles. The Cabinet offered the Ministry of the Marine to M. de Villèle, but held firm for retaining M. Mounier in the Ministry of the Interior, by far the most important for political influence of any in the Government. The negotiations broke off on this vital point, and Ministers, without the support of the Right, ventured to face the next session. In their expectations, however, of being able to go on without

their support, they soon found themselves mistaken. The elections of 1821 considerably augmented the Royalist majority, already so great, and on the first division in the Chamber the latter were victorious by an immense majority. The speech of the Crown was studiously guarded, so as if possible to avoid a division; but in the answer of the Chamber to the king, a passage was inserted at which both the monarch and the Duke de Richelieu took mortal offence, as seeming to imply a doubt of their patriotism and honour.* The king returned a severe answer to the address,† and it was for a time thought the triumph of the minister was complete; but this hope proved fallacious. The Duke de Richelieu found his situation so painful, with a decided majority hostile to him in the Chamber, that, after some conference with the Count d'Artois, in which it was found impossible to come to an understanding, he resolved on resigning with all his colleagues, which was accordingly done on the 13th December.

107. According to established usage, the Duke de Richelieu advised the king whom to send for, to form the new Ministry, and he of course recommended M. de Villèle. There was no difficulty in forming a Government; the near approach of the crisis had been so long foreseen, that the Royalists had their arrangements all complete. M. de Villèle was President of the Council and Minister of Finance; M. de Peyronnet, Secretary of State and Minister of Justice; Viscount Montmor-

* "Nous nous félicitons, Sire, de vos relations constamment amicales avec les puissances étrangères; dans la juste confiance qu'une paix si précieuse n'est point achetée par des sacrifices incompatibles avec l'honneur de la nation et avec la dignité de la Couronne."—*Moniteur*, Nov. 30, 1821. *Ann. Hist.*, iv. 228.

† "Dans l'exil et la persécution, j'ai soutenu mes droits, l'honneur de ma race et celui du nom français: sur le trône, entouré de mon peuple, je m'indigne à la seule pensée que je puisse jamais sacrifier l'honneur français et la dignité de ma couronne. J'aime à croire que la plupart de ceux qui ont voté cette adresse n'en ont pas pesé toutes les expressions—s'ils avaient eu le temps de les apprécier, ils n'eussent pas souffert une supposition que, comme Roi, je ne dois pas caractériser."—*Moniteur*, Nov. 20, 1820. CAPEFIGUE, vii. 237.

ency, Minister for Foreign Affairs ; M. Corbière, Minister of the Interior ; Marshal Victor, of War ; the Marquis Clermont-Tonnerre, of the Marine. In addition to this, the ex-ministers, M. de Serres, General Latour-Maubourg, Count Siméon, Baron Portal, and M. Roy, were appointed members, as usual on such occasions, of the Privy Council ; and, in addition, Latour-Maubourg was appointed Governor of the Invalides. The Ministerial revolution was complete ; the Royalists were in entire possession of the government, and the change in all subordinate, as well as the principal offices, was thorough and universal. The king would probably never have consented to so entire a revolution, had he possessed the bodily or mental vigour which he enjoyed in the earlier parts of his reign. But this was very far from being the case. His health, which had been long declining, had now become so feeble that his life was almost despaired of ; and he had fallen into that state of dependence on those around him, which such a state of debility generally produces. To a monarch who was not able to rise from his chair, who was wheeled about the room, and required to be tended almost with the care of an infant, the influence of Monsieur, the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the Countess du Cayla, was irresistible. Louis, in fact, had almost resigned the reins of government to his brother. He regarded his reign as having terminated with the retirement of the Duke de Richelieu. "At last," said he, "M. de Villèle triumphs : I know little of the men who are entering my Council along with him : I believe, however, that they have good sense enough not to follow blindly all the follies of the Right. For the rest, I consider myself annihilated from this moment ; I undergo the usual fate of constitutional monarchs : hitherto, at least, I have defended my crown ; if my brother casts it to the winds, it is his affair."

108. The fall of M. de Richelieu's administration, and the accession of a purely Royalist government, was so great a change in France, that it was

equivalent to a revolution. Nothing appears so extraordinary as that such an event should have taken place, in consequence of a parliamentary majority, so soon after the period when the tide of Liberal opinions set in so strongly in the nation that two successive *coups d'état* had been deemed necessary by the Government, in September 1816 and March 1819, to mould the two branches of the legislature in conformity with it. But many similar examples of rapid change of opinion, and the setting in of entirely opposite flood-tides of opinion, are to be found both in the previous and subsequent annals of that country ; and they are not without a parallel both in the ancient and recent history of this. Whoever studies the changes of public opinion in the reign of Charles II., which within a few years led to the frightful judicial massacres of the Papists, and the inhuman severities of the Rye-House Plot — or recollects that the same nation which brought in Sir Robert Peel by a majority of 91 in 1841, in the House of Commons, to support Protection, ten years afterwards obliged Lord Derby to abandon it — will see that, though the variations of opinion in Great Britain are not quite so rapid as in France, they are not less remarkable, nor less decisive in their results.

109. No doubt, the great change in the Electoral Law of France, carried through with so much difficulty by the Duke de Richelieu's administration, contributed largely to this result. The new principle introduced by that law, of giving the departmental electors representatives of their own in the Chamber, and of having them chosen, not by the electors generally, but by a fourth of their number who paid the highest amount of taxes, was a great change, not merely in its numerical results, upon the composition of the Chamber, but in the principle of representation itself. It was a return from the principle of the Revolution, which was that of a mere representation of *numbers*, by making the voters all of one class, to the general ancient representative system of Europe, which was

that of *different classes*. It was an abandonment of the principle of *uniform* representation, the most pernicious which can possibly be engrafted on the constitutional system, because it tends at once to introduce class government, and that of the very worst, because the most irresponsible kind. Some one class inevitably, under such a system, acquires the majority in the elections and in the legislature; and the moment it does so, and feels its strength, it commences and carries through a series of measures calculated for its own benefit, without the slightest regard to the effect they may have upon the interest of other classes, or the general prosperity of the State. The only way to check this is to introduce into the legislature the representatives of other classes, *elected under a different suffrage*, and thus prevent the selfishness of one class from becoming paramount, by permitting the selfishness of another class to combat it.

110. But although the introduction of the hundred and seventy-two departmental members, elected by "*les plus imposés*," was a most important step, and one in the right direction, yet another step was wanting to give the French nation a proper representation. This was a representation of numbers. To base the *whole* legislature upon them is doubtless to introduce class government of the worst kind; but it is also a great mistake, which in the end may be attended with fatal consequences, to exclude them from the representation altogether. The interests of labour are not only not identical with those of monied wealth, but they are often adverse to it: the sequel of this history will place this beyond a doubt, with respect to the British Islands. The condition of the great body of the working classes may not only be no ways benefited, but essentially injured, by a representation resting entirely on property, especially of a commercial kind; because measures injurious to their welfare may be passed into law by the class which alone is represented. As the representative system of the Restoration in

France, even when amended by the act of 1820, contained no provision whatever for the representation of the working classes, by allowing no vote except to those paying at least 300 francs yearly of direct taxes, it was wanting in a most important element both of utility and general confidence. It will appear in the sequel how large a share this defect had in inducing the great catastrophe which, ten years afterwards, proved fatal to the dynasty of the Restoration.

111. Connected with this great defect in the French representative system was another circumstance, attended in the end with consequences not less disastrous. This was, that, while labour was unrepresented, religion was too much represented. This was the natural, and, in truth, unavoidable result of the irreligious spirit of the Revolution: the reaction was as violent as the action; its opponents conceived, with reason, that it could be combated only with the weapons and with the fervour of the ancient faith. The class of considerable proprietors, in whom a decided majority of the Chamber of Deputies was now vested, was attached to this party from principle, tradition, and interest. But although it is impossible to over-estimate the salutary influence of religion on human society, it unhappily does not equally follow that the ascendancy of its professors in the legislature is equally beneficial. Experience has too often proved that the *Parti-Prêtre* is perhaps the most dangerous that can be intrusted with the administration of temporal affairs. The reason is, that those who direct are not brought into contact with men in the actual business of life, and they deem it their duty to be regulated, not by expedience, or even practicability, but solely by conscience. This disposition may make courageous martyrs, but it produces very bad legislators; it is often noble in adversity, but always perilous in prosperity. Power is the touchstone which the Romish Church has never been able to withstand, as suffering is the ordeal from which it has never failed to emerge, surrounded by

a halo of glory. The danger of this party holding, as they now did, the reins of power, supported by a large majority in both Chambers, was much increased by the circumstance that, though the peasants in the country were, for the most part, under the influence of the ancient faith, it was held in abhorrence by the majority of the working classes in the great towns, who were, at the same time, without any legal channel whereby to make their feelings influential in the legislature, but in possession of ample resources to disturb the established government.

112. Although the change in the Electoral Law was the immediate cause of the majority which the Royalists now got in the Chamber, yet the real and ultimate cause is to be looked for in circumstances of wider extension and more lasting effects. It was the violence and crimes of the Liberal party over Europe which produced the general reaction against them. It was the overthrow of government in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, and the absurd and ruinous institutions established in their stead, which alarmed every thinking man in France: the assassination of the Duke de Berri, the projected assassination of the Cabinet Ministers in London, the attempted insurrection in the streets of Paris, opened the eyes of all to the means by which the hoped-for change was to be effected. The alteration in the Electoral Law in France was itself an effect of this change in the public mind; for it took place in a Chamber heretofore decidedly Liberal. A similar modification had taken place in the views of the constituency, for the Royalists were now, for the first time for five years, in a majority in the arrondissements with regard to which no change had been made. It is Louvel, Thistlewood, and Riego, who stand forth as the real authors of this great reaction in Europe, and of the long stop to the progress of freedom which resulted from it: a memorable instance of the eternal truth, that no cause is in the end advanced by means at which the general mind revolts, and that none

are such sufferers from the effects of crime as those for whose interest it was committed.

113. While France was thus undergoing the political throes and changes consequent on its great Revolution, and the forcible change of the dynasty which governed it, and at the very moment when the infant prince was baptised, who, it was hoped, would continue the ancient race of the Bourbon princes, that wonderful man breathed his last upon the rock of St Helena who had so long chained the destinies of the world to his chariot-wheels. Since his transference, by the unanimous determination of the Allied sovereigns, to that distant and melancholy place of exile, he had alternately exhibited the grandeur of a lofty, the weaknesses of a little, and the genius of a highly-gifted mind. He said at Fontainebleau, when he took leave of his faithful guards, that what "they had done together he would write;" and he had fulfilled the promise, in part at least, with consummate ability. It is difficult to say whether his fame does not now rest nearly as much on his sayings and thoughts recorded at St Helena, as on all the mighty deeds which he achieved in Europe. Yet even here, and when his vast genius alternately revealed the secrets of the past, and pierced the depths of the future, the littlenesses of a dwarf appeared in striking contrast to the strength of a giant. He was irritable, jealous, and spiteful, not less than able, discriminating, and profound; his serenity was disturbed by his being addressed with the title of General, or attended, at a distance, by an English orderly in the course of his rides; and exaggeration, falsehood, and envy appeared in his thoughts and writings, not less than genius, capacity, and depth. His character, as revealed by misfortune, that touchstone of the human heart, affords the most striking proof of the truth of Dr Johnson's observation, that no man ever yet raised himself from a private station to the government of mankind, in whom great and commanding qualities were not blended with littlenesses

which would appear inconceivable in ordinary men.

114. Without doubt, it must ever be a matter of deep regret to every generous mind, and to none so much so as to the inhabitants of Great Britain, that it was necessary to impose any restraint at all on the latter years of so great a man. How much more grateful would it have been to every honourable mind, to every feeling heart, to have acted to him as Xerxes did, in the first instance at least, to Themistocles, and in the spirit to which he himself appealed when he said, that he placed himself on the hearth of the "greatest, the most powerful, and the most persevering of his enemies." But there was this essential difference between the two cases—Themistocles, when he took refuge in the dominions of the great king, had not given his word and broken it. Napoleon had been treated with signal lenity and generosity when, after having devastated Europe by his ambition, he was allowed the splendid retirement of Elba; and the only return he made for it was to invade France, overturn Louis XVIII., and cause his kingdom to be overrun by a million of armed men. He had signed the treaty of Fontainebleau, and the first thing he did was to break it.* When chained to the rock of St Helena, he was still an object of dread to the European powers; his name was more powerful than an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men; he was too great to be forgotten, too little to be trusted. Every imaginable precaution was necessary to

* The author is well aware of the ground alleged by the partisans of Napoleon for this infraction—viz., that the payments stipulated by the treaty had not been made by the French Government to him. But supposing that there was some foundation for this complaint, it could afford no justification for so desperate and outrageous an act as invading France, without the slightest warning or declaration of war, and overturning the Government. The excessive pecuniary difficulties under which France at that period laboured, owing to the calamities in which he himself had involved and left her, were the cause of this backwardness in making some of the payments; and the last man in the world who had any title to complain of them was the person whose insatiable ambition had caused them all.

prevent the escape of a man who had shown that he regarded the faith of treaties only till it was his interest to break them; and of whom it had been truly said by exalted genius, that "his cocked hat and greatcoat, placed on a stick on the coast of Brittany, would cause Europe to run to arms from one end to another."

115. Great was the sensation excited in Europe, and especially England, by the publication of the St Helena Memoirs, and the loud and impassioned complaints made of the alleged harsh treatment of the exiled Emperor by the English authorities. They were re-echoed in Parliament by Lord Holland and the leaders of the Opposition, and even the most moderately disposed men were led to doubt the necessity of the rigid precautions which were adopted, and to regret that more generous feelings had not been shown to a fallen enemy. Time, however, has now exercised its wonted influence over these mournful topics: it has demonstrated that the conduct of the English Government towards their illustrious captive was not only, in the circumstances, unavoidable, but highly liberal and considerate; and so clearly is this demonstrated, that it is now admitted by the ablest and most impassioned of the French historians of the period.* England bore the whole brunt

* "Après la crise de 1815, lorsque l'Europe, encore une fois menacée par Napoléon, crut nécessaire de prendre une mesure de précaution que empêchât une seconde tourmente, Sainte-Hélène fut choisie comme prison d'état. Les puissances durent arrêter un système de surveillance à l'égard du prisonnier, car elles craignaient par-dessus tout le retour de Napoléon. L'Angleterre pourvut largement à ses besoins; la table seule de Napoléon coûtait à la Trésorerie 12,000 livres sterling. Il y a quelque chose qui dépasse mes idées, quand j'examine le grandiose du caractère de Napoléon, et sa vie immense d'administration et de batailles; c'est cet esprit qui s'arrête tant à Sainte-Hélène aux petites difficultés d'étiquette. Napoléon boude si l'on s'assied en sa présence, et se l'on ne le traite pas de Majesté, et d'Empereur; il se drape perpétuellement: il ne voit pas que la grandeur est en lui et non dans la pourpre et de vains titres. Austerlitz, à conseil d'état, Napoléon est un monument de granit et de bronze: à Sainte-Hélène, c'est encore un colosse, mais paré d'un costume de cour."—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 209

of the storm, because she was in the front rank, and held the Emperor in her custody; but she did not act singly in the matter—she was only the executor of the general resolutions of the Allies. These were, to treat Napoleon with all the respect and consideration due to his rank, but under such precautions as should render his escape a matter of impossibility. The conduct of his partisans, to which he was no stranger, added to the necessary rigour of these precautions; for several plots were formed for his escape, and only failed of success by the vigilance of the military and naval authorities on the island. Yet, even in the presence of these difficulties, the indulgence with which he was treated was such as now to excite the surprise of the most impassioned historians of the Revolution. The account shall be given in the words of the ablest and most eloquent of their number.

116. "The sum of 300,000 francs (£12,000) a-year," says Lamartine, "often added to by additional grants, was consecrated by the English Government to the cost of the table of the little court of the exiled Emperor. Bertrand the marshal of the palace, his wife and son; M. and Madame de Montholon, General Gourgaud and Dr O'Meara; the valet-de-chambre Marchand, Cypriani maître-d'hôtel, Prérion chief of office, Saint-Denys, Noverras, his usher Santini, Rousseau keeper of the plate, and a train of valets, cooks, and footmen, formed the establishment. A library, ten or twelve saddle-horses, gardens, woods, rural labours, constant and free communication at all times between the exiles, correspondence under certain regulations with Europe, receptions and audiences given to travellers who arrived in the island, and were desirous to obtain an audience of the Emperor—such were the daily amusements of Longwood. Piquets of soldiers under the command of an officer watched the circuit of the building and its environs; a camp was established at a certain distance, but out of sight of the house, so as not to offend the inmates. Napo-

leon and his officers were at liberty to go out on foot or on horseback from daybreak to nightfall, and to go over the whole extent of the island, accompanied only by an officer at a distance, so as to prevent all attempt at escape. Such was the respectful captivity which the complaints of Napoleon and his companions in exile styled the dungeon and martyrdom of St Helena." To this it may be added, that the entire establishment at St Helena was kept up by the English Government on so splendid a scale that it cost them £400,000 a-year; that champagne and burgundy were the daily beverage—the best French cookery the fare of the whole party; that the comfort and luxuries they daily enjoyed were equal to those of any duke in England; and that, as the house at Longwood had been inconvenient, the English Government had provided, at a cost of £40,000, a house neatly constructed of wood in London, which arrived in the island two days after the Emperor's death. Such were the alleged barbarities of England towards a man who had so long striven to effect her destruction, who had chastised the hostility of Hofer by death in the fosse of Mantua, of Cardinal Pacca by confinement amidst Alpine snows in the citadel of Fenestrelles, and the supposed enmity of the Duke d'Enghien by massacre in the ditch of Vincennes.*

117. But all this was as nothing as long as Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate. In the first instance, indeed, the bland and courteous manners of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was in-

* The allowance in the fortnight of wine to the establishment at Longwood was as follows:—

	Bottles.
Vin ordinaire, . . .	84
Constantia, . . .	7
Champagne, . . .	14
Vin de Grave, . . .	21
Teneriffe, . . .	84
Claret, . . .	140
	<hr/>
	350

And besides, forty-two bottles of porter. A tolerable allowance for ten grown persons, besides servants.—See *Parliamentary Debates*, xxxv. 1159. The total cost of the table was £12,000 a-year.—*Ibid.*, 1158.

trusted with the chief command, softened the restraints of captivity, and made the weary hours pass in comparative comfort; but he was unfortunately succeeded by Sir Hudson Lowe, whose manners were far less conciliating. A gallant veteran, who had accompanied the army of Silesia, in the quality of English commissioner, through its whole campaign in France, he was overwhelmed with the sense of the responsibility under which he laboured, in being intrusted with the custody of so dangerous a captive; and he possessed none of the graces of manner which so often, in persons in authority, add to the charms of concession, and take off the bitterness of restraint. The obloquy cast on Sir Colin Campbell, in consequence of having been accidentally absent from Elba when the Emperor made his escape, was constantly before his eyes. He does not appear to have exceeded, in important matters, his instructions; and certainly the constant plots which were in agitation for Napoleon's escape, called for and justified every imaginable precaution. But he was often unreasonably *exigeant* on trifles of no real moment to the security of the Emperor's detention; and his manner was so unprepossessing, that, even when he conferred an indulgence, it was seldom felt as such. Napoleon, on his part, was not a whit behind the governor of the island in irritability or unreasonable demands. He seemed anxious to provoke outrages, and his ideas were fixed on the effect the account of them would produce in Europe. He was in correspondence with the leading members of the English Opposition, who made generous and strenuous efforts to soften his captivity; and he never lost the hope that, by the effect these representations would make on the British people, and on the world, his place of confinement might be altered; and, by being restored to Europe, he might succeed in playing over again the game of the Hundred Days. All his thoughts were fixed on this object, and it was to lay a foundation for these complaints that he affected to take offence at every trifle, and voluntarily

aggravated the inconveniences of his own position. Montholon said truly to Sir Hudson Lowe, "If you had been an angel from heaven, you would not have pleased us." *

118. The truth is, none of the parties implicated in the treatment of Napoleon at St Helena have emerged unscathed out of the ordeal through which they have passed since his death; and the publication of the papers of Sir Hudson Lowe, by Mr Forsyth, has placed this beyond a doubt. The British Government was the first to blame: its conduct in the main, and in all essential articles, was indulgent and considerate; unfortunately, in matters of lesser real moment, but still more important to a person of Napoleon's irritable disposition, their instructions were unnecessarily rigid. Admitting that, after his stealthy evasion from Elba, it was indispensable that he should be seen daily by some of the British officers, and attended by one beyond certain prescribed limits, where was the necessity of refusing him the title of Emperor, or ordering everything to be withheld which was addressed to him by that title? A book inscribed "*Imperatori Napoleon*" might have been delivered to him without his detention being rendered insecure. A copy of Cox's *Marlborough*, presented by him to a British regiment which he esteemed, might have been permitted to reach its destination, without risk of disaffection in the British army. It is hard to say whether most littleness was evinced by the English Government refusing such slight gratifications to

* "En lisant attentivement les correspondances et les notes étrangères à tout prétexte, entre les familiers de Napoléon et de Hudson Lowe, on est confondu des outrages, des provocations, des invectives, dont le captif et ses amis insultent à tout propos le gouverneur. Napoléon en ce moment cherchait à émonvoir par des cris de douleur la pitié du parlement anglais et à fournir un grief aux orateurs de l'opposition contre le ministère, afin d'obtenir son rapprochement de l'Europe. Le désir de provoquer des outrages par des outrages, et de présenter en suite ces outrages comme des crimes au Continent, transpire dans toutes ces notes. Il est évident que le gouverneur, souvent irrité, quelquefois inquisiteur, toujours inhabile, se sentait lui-même victime de la responsabilité."—LAMARTINE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, vi. 416, 417.

the fallen hero, or by himself in feeling so much annoyed at the withholding the empty titles bespeaking his former greatness. It is deeply to be regretted, for the honour of human nature, which is the patrimony of all mankind, that he did not bear his reverses with more equanimity, and prove that the conqueror of continental Europe could achieve the yet more glorious triumph of subduing himself.

119. For a year before his death he became more tractable. The approach of the supreme hour, as is often the case, softened the asperities of previous existence. He persisted in not going out to ride, in consequence of his quarrel with the governor of the island, who insisted on his being attended by an officer beyond the prescribed limits; but he amused himself with gardening, in which he took great interest, and not unfrequently, like Diocletian, consoled himself for the want of the excitements of royalty by labouring with his own hands in the cultivation of the earth. The cessation of riding exercise, however, to one who had been so much accustomed to it, proved very prejudicial. This, to a person of his active habits, coupled with the disappointment consequent on the failure of the revolutions in Europe and the plans formed for his escape, aggravated the hereditary malady in the stomach, under which he laboured, and in spring 1821 caused his physicians to apprehend danger to his life.

120. The receipt of this intelligence induced the English Government to send directions for his receiving every possible relief and accommodation, and even, if necessary, for his removal from the island. But these humane intentions were announced too late to be carried into effect. In the beginning of May he became rapidly worse; and on the evening of the 5th, at five minutes before six, he breathed his last. A violent storm of wind and rain at the same time arose, which tore up the trees in the island by their roots,—it was amidst the war of the elements that his soul departed. The howling of the wind seemed to recall

to the dying conqueror the roar of battle, and his last words were—"Mon Dieu—La Nation française—Tête d'armée." He declared in his testament, "I die in the Apostolic and Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, above fifty years ago." When he breathed his last, his sword was beside him, on the left side of the couch; but the cross, the symbol of peace, rested on his breast. The child of the Revolution, the Incarnation of War, died in the Christian faith, with the emblem of the Gospel on his bosom! His will, which had been made in the April preceding, was found to contain a great multitude of bequests, but two in an especial manner worthy of notice. The first was a request that his body "might finally repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people he had loved so well;" the second, a legacy of 10,000 francs to the assassin Cantillon, who, as already noticed,* had attempted the life of the Duke of Wellington, but had been acquitted by the jury, from the evidence being deemed insufficient. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, having been born on the 5th February 1768.

121. Napoleon had himself fixed upon the place in the island of St Helena where he wished, in the first instance at least, to be interred. It was in a small hollow, called Slanes Valley, high up on the mountain which forms the island, where a fountain, shaded by weeping willows, meanders through verdant banks. The *tchampas* flourished in the moist soil. "It is a plant," says the Sanscrit Chronicle, "which, notwithstanding its beauty and perfume, is not in request, because it grows on the tombs." The body, as directed by the Emperor, lay in state in a "*chapelle ardente*," according to the form of the Roman Catholic Church, in the three-cornered hat, military surtout, leather under-dress, long boots and spurs, as when he appeared on the field of battle, and it was laid in the coffin in the same garb. The funeral took place on the 9th May. It was attended by all the military and naval forces, and all the

* Ante, chap. vi. § 73.

authorities in the island, as well as his weeping household. Three squadrons of dragoons headed the procession. The hearse was drawn by four horses. The 66th and 20th regiments, and fifteen pieces of artillery, formed part of the array, marching, with arms reversed, to the sound of mournful music, and all the touching circumstance of a soldier's funeral. When they approached the place of sepulture, and the hearse could go no farther, the coffin was borne by his own attendants, escorted by twenty-four grenadiers of the two English regiments who had the honour of conveying the immortal conqueror to his last resting-place. Minute-guns, during the whole ceremony, were fired by all the batteries in the island. The place of sepulture was consecrated by an English clergyman,* according to the English form, though he was buried with the Catholic rites. Volleys of musketry and discharges of artillery paid the last honours of a nation to their noble antagonist. A simple stone of great size was placed over his remains, and the solitary willows wept over the tomb of him for whom the earth itself had once hardly seemed a fitting mausoleum.

122. The death of Napoleon made a prodigious sensation in Europe, and caused a greater change of opinion, especially in England, than any event which had occurred since that of Louis XVI. There was something in the circumstances of the decease of so great a man, alone, unbefriended, on a solitary rock in the midst of the ocean, and in the contrast which such a reverse presented to his former grandeur and prosperity, which fascinated and subdued the minds of men. All ranks were affected, all imaginations kindled, all sympathies awakened, by it. In England, in particular, where the antipathy to him had been most violent, and the resistance most persevering, the reaction was the most general. The great qualities of their awful antagonist, long concealed by enmity, misrepresented by hatred, misunderstood by passion, broke upon them in their full

lustre, when death had rendered him no longer an object of terror. The admiration for him in many exceeded what had been felt in France itself. The prophecy of the Emperor proved true, that the first vindication of his memory would come from those who in life had been his most determined enemies. Time, however, has moderated these transports: it has dispelled the illusions of imagination, calmed the effervescence of generosity, as much as it has dissipated the prejudices and softened the rancour of hostility. It has taken nothing from the great qualities of the Emperor; on the contrary, it has brought them out in still more colossal proportions than was at first imagined. But it has revealed, at the same time, the inherent weaknesses and faults of his nature, and shown that "the most mighty breath of life," in the words of genius, "that ever had animated the human clay, was not without the frailties which are the common inheritance of the children of Adam."

123. With Napoleon terminated, for the present at least, the generation of ruling men—of those who impress their signet on the age, not receive its impression from it. "He sleeps," says Chateaubriand, "like a hermit at the extremity of a solitary valley at the end of a desert path. He did not die under the eye of France; he disappeared on the distant horizon of the torrid zone. The grandeur of the silence which shrouds his remains, equals the immensity of the din which once environed them. The nations are absent, their crowds have retired." The terrible spirit of innovation which has overspread the earth, and to which Napoleon had opposed the barrier of his genius, and which he for a time arrested, has resumed its course. His institutions failed, but he was the last of the great existences. The shadow of Napoleon rises on the frontier of the old destroyed world, and the most distant posterity will gaze on that gigantic spectre over the gulf into which entire ages have fallen, until the appointed day of social resurrection.

* The Rev. Mr Vernon.

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE PASSING OF THE CURRENCY ACT OF 1819 TO THE DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY IN 1822.

1. THE contest between parties in France was directed to different ends, and was of an entirely different character, from that in Great Britain. At Paris the object was to overthrow a dynasty, in London it was chiefly to gain a subsistence. Mental enthusiasm inspired the first, material interests prompted the last. The contest in the one country was political, in the other it was social. All the discontented in France, however much disunited upon ulterior objects, were agreed in their hatred of the Bourbons, and their desire to dispossess them. The multitude of ambitions which had been thwarted, of interests injured, of glories tarnished, of prospects blasted, by the disasters in which the war had terminated, and the visions which it had overthrown, rendered this party very numerous and fearfully energetic. In England, although there were, doubtless, not a few, especially in the manufacturing towns, who desired a change of government, and dreamt of a British or Hibernian Republic, the great majority of the discontented were set upon very different objects. The contest of dynasties was over: no one thought of supplanting the house of Hanover by that of Stuart. Few, comparatively, wished a change in the form of government: there were some hundred thousands of ardent republicans in the great towns; but those in the country who were satisfied, and desired to live on under the rule of King, Lords, and Commons, were millions to these. But all wished, and most reasonably and properly, to live comfortably under their direction; and when any social evils assumed an alarming aspect, or distress prevailed

to an unusual degree among them, they became discontented, and lent a ready ear to any demagogue who promised them, as many never failed to do, by the popularising of the national institutions, a relief from all the evils under which the country laboured.

2. From this difference in the prevailing disposition and objects of the people in the two countries, there resulted a most important distinction in the causes which, on the opposite sides of the Channel, inflamed the public mind, or endangered the stability of existing institutions. In France, the objects of the opposition in the Chambers, the discontented in the country, being the subversion of the Government and a change of dynasty, whatever tended to make the people more anxious for that change, and ready to support it, rendered civil war and revolution more imminent. Hence general prosperity and social welfare, ordinarily so powerful in allaying discontent, were there the most powerful causes in creating it; because they put the people, as it might be said, into fighting trim, and inspired them, like a well-fed and rested army, with the ardour requisite for success in hazardous enterprises. In England, on the other hand, as the contest of dynasties was over, and the decided republicans who aimed at an entire change of institutions were comparatively few in number, nothing could enlist the great body of the people, even in the manufacturing towns, on the side of sedition, but the experience of suffering. So strong, however, is the desire for individual comfort, and the wish to better their condition, in the Anglo-Saxon race, that general distress seldom fails to

excite general disaffection, at least in the great cities; and whatever tends to induce it, in the end threatens the public tranquillity. Thus, in France, at that period at least, general prosperity augmented the danger of revolution; in England it averted it.

3. A cause, however, had now come into operation, which, more than any other recorded in its modern annals, produced long-continued and periodically returning distress among the British people; and at length, from the sheer force of suffering, broke the bonds of loyalty and patriotism, and induced a revolution attended with lasting and irremediable consequences on the future prospects of the empire. It need not be said what that cause was; a great alteration in the monetary laws, ever affecting the life-blood of a commercial state, is alone adequate to the explanation of so great an effect. The author is well aware that this is a subject exceedingly distasteful to the great bulk of readers: he knows perfectly that the vast majority of them turn over the pages the moment they see the subject of the currency commenced. He is not to be deterred, however, by that consideration from entering upon it. All attempts to unfold the real history of the British empire, during the thirty years which followed the peace, will be nugatory, and the views they exhibit fallacious, if this, the mainspring which put all the movements at work, is not steadily kept in view. History loses its chief utility, departs from its noblest object, when, to avoid risk to popularity, it deviates from the duty of facilitating improvement: the nation has little shown itself prepared for self-government, when, in the search of amusement, it forgets inquiry. Enough of exciting and interesting topics remain for this History, and for this volume, to induce even the most inconsiderate readers to submit for half an hour to the elucidation of a subject on which, more than on any other, their own fortunes and those of their children depend. It may the more readily be submitted to at this time, as this is the turning-point of the two systems, and the subject now explained

need not be again reverted to in the whole remainder of the work.

4. The great father of political economy has well explained the principles of this subject, and was himself more than any other man alive to their importance. "Gold and silver," says Adam Smith, "like every other commodity, vary in their value, are sometimes cheaper, sometimes dearer, sometimes of easier, and sometimes of more difficult purchase. The quantity of labour which any particular quantity of these can purchase or command, or the quantity of other goods it will exchange for, depends always upon the fertility or barrenness of the mines which happen to be known about the time when such exchanges are made. The discovery of the abundant mines of America reduced, in the sixteenth century, the value of gold and silver in Europe to *about a third of what it had formerly been*. As it cost less labour to bring those metals from the mine to the market, so when they were brought there, they could purchase or command less labour; and this revolution in their value, though perhaps the greatest, is by no means the only one of which history gives some account. But as a measure of quantity, such as the natural foot, fathom, or handful, which is continually varying in its own quantity, can never be an accurate measure of the value of other commodities; so a commodity which is itself continually varying in its own value, can never be an accurate measure of the value of other commodities."

5. If debts, taxes, and other encumbrances, could be made at once to rise or fall in their amount, according to the fluctuation of the medium in which they are to be discharged, any changes which might occur in the exchangeable value of that medium itself would be a matter of little practical importance. But the experience of all ages has demonstrated that this is impossible. The transactions of men, when they become at all extensive or complicated, absolutely require some fixed known standard by which they are to be measured, and their discharge regulated, without anything

else than a reference to that standard itself. It never could be tolerated that every debtor, after having paid his debt in the current coin of the realm, should be involved in a dispute with his creditor as to what the present value of that current coin was. Hence the necessity of a fixed standard; but hence also the immense effects of any material alteration in the value of that standard, and the paramount necessity, so far as practicable, of preventing any considerable fluctuations in it. If the standard falls in value, the weight of all debts and encumbrances is proportionally lessened, because a lesser quantity of the produce of labour is required for their discharge; if it rises, their weight is proportionally augmented, because a larger quantity is required for that purpose. So great is the effect of any considerable change in this respect, that it has occasioned, and can alone explain, the greatest events in the intercourse of nations of which history has preserved a record.

6. The great contest between Rome and Carthage, which Hannibal and Scipio conducted, and Livy has immortalised, was determined by a decree of the Senate, induced by necessity, which postponed the payment of all obligations of the public treasury in specie to the conclusion of the war, and thereby created an inconvertible paper currency for the Roman empire.* More even than the slaughter on the Metaurus, the triumph of Zama, this decree determined the fate of the ancient world, for it alone equipped the

legions by whom those victories were gained. Rome itself, saved in its utmost need by an expansion, sank in the end under a still greater contraction of the national currency. The supplies of specie for the Old World became inadequate to the increasing wants of its population, when the power of the emperors had given lasting internal peace to its hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants. The mines of Spain and Greece, from which the chief supplies were obtained at that period, were worked out, or became unworkable, from the exactions of the emperors; and so great was the dearth of the precious metals which thence ensued, that the treasure in circulation in the Empire, which in the time of Augustus amounted to £380,000,000, had sunk in that of Justinian to £80,000,000 sterling, although the numbers and transactions of men, from the long internal peace which had prevailed in the Empire, had in the interim greatly increased. The value of money had, in consequence, undergone a total change: the golden *aureus*, which in the days of the Antonines weighed 118 grains, had come, in the fifth century, to weigh only 68, though it was only taken in discharge of debts and taxes at its original and standard value. As a necessary consequence of so prodigious a contraction of the currency, without any proportional diminution in the numbers or transactions of mankind, debts and taxes, which were all measured in the old standard, became so overwhelming that the national in-

* "Hortati censores, ut omnia perinde agerent, locarent ac si pecunia in arario esset: neminem nisi bello confecto, pecuniam ab arario petiturum esse."—Liv., lib. xxiv. cap. 18.—On one occasion, when in a party in London, composed chiefly of Whigs, opponents of Mr Pitt's Currency Act of 1797, the dangerous effects of this measure were under discussion, the late Lord Melbourne, whose sagacity of mind was equal to his charm of manner, quoted this passage from memory. "The censors," says Arnold, "found the treasury unable to supply the public service. Upon this, trust monies belonging to widows and minors, or to widows and unmarried women, were deposited in the treasury; and whatever sums the trustees had to draw for were paid by the quarter in bills on the banking commissioners,

or *triumvirs mensarii*. It is probable that these bills were actually a paper currency, and that they circulated as money, on the security of the public faith. In the same way, the government contracts were also paid in paper; for the contractors came forward in a body to the censors, and begged them to make their contracts as usual, promising not to demand payment till the end of the war. This must, I conceive, mean that they were to be paid in orders upon the treasury, which orders were to be converted into cash when the present difficulties of the government should be at an end."—ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 207. This was just an inconvertible paper currency, and its issue, after the battle of Cannæ, saved the Roman empire.

dustry was ruined ; agriculture disappeared, and was succeeded by pasturage in the fields ; the great cities were all fed from Egypt and Libya ; the revenue became irrecoverable ; the legions dwindled into cohorts, the cohorts into companies ; and the six hundred thousand men, who guarded the frontiers of the Empire in the time of Augustus, had sunk to one hundred and fifty thousand in that of Justinian—a force wholly inadequate to its defence.

7. What rendered this great contraction of the circulating medium so crushing in the ancient world was, that they were wholly unacquainted, except for a brief period during the necessities of the second Punic War, with that marvellous substitute for it—a paper currency. It was the Jews who first discovered this admirable system, to facilitate the transmission of their wealth amidst the violence and extortions of the middle ages ; and it is, perhaps, not going too far to assert that, if it had been found out, and brought into general use, at an earlier period, it might have averted the fall of the Roman Empire. The effects of a scarcity of the precious metals, therefore, were immediately felt in the diminished wages of labour and price of produce, and increasing weight of debts and taxes. A paper currency, adequately secured and duly limited, would have obviated all these evils, because it provides a REPRESENTATIVE of the metallic currency, which, when the latter becomes scarce, may, without risk, be rendered a SUBSTITUTE for it. Thus the ruinous effects of a contraction of the circulating medium, even when most violent, may be entirely prevented, and the industry, revenue, and prosperity of a country completely sustained during the utmost scarcity, or even entire absence, of the precious metals. It was thus that the alarming crisis of 1797, which threatened to induce the national bankruptcy, was surmounted with ease, by the simple device of declaring the Bank of England notes, like the treasury bonds in the second Punic War, a legal tender, not convertible into

cash till the close of the war ; and that the year 1810, when, from the demand for gold on the Continent, there was scarcely a guinea left in this country, was one of general prosperity, and the greatest national efforts recorded in its annals.

8. As paper may with ease be issued to any extent, either by Government or private establishments authorised to circulate it, it becomes an engine of as great danger, and attended with as destructive effects, when it is unduly multiplied as when it is unduly contracted. It is like the blood in the human body, whose circulation sustains and is essential to animal life : drained away, or not adequately fed, it leads to death by atrophy ; unduly increased, it proves fatal by inducing apoplexy. To preserve a proper medium, and promote the circulation equally and healthfully through all parts of the system, is the great object of regimens alike in the natural frame and the body politic. Issued in overwhelming quantities, as it was in France during the Revolution, it induces such a rise of prices as destroys all realised capital, by permitting it to be discharged by a mere fraction of its real amount ; contracted to an excessive degree, either by the mutations of commerce or the policy of Government, it proves equally fatal to industry, by lowering the money price of its produce, and augmenting the weight of the debts and taxes with which it is oppressed. A paper currency, when perfectly secure, and hindered by the regulations under which it is issued from becoming redundant, may not only, in the absence of gold and silver, supply its place, but in its presence almost supersede its use. “If,” says Adam Smith, “the gold and silver in a country should at any time fall short, in a country which has wherewithal to purchase them, there are more expedients for supplying their place than almost any other commodity. If provisions are wanted, the people must starve ; if the materials for manufacture are wanting, industry must stop ; but if money is wanted, barter will supply its place, though with a good deal of

inconvenience. Buying and selling upon credit, and the different dealers compensating one another once a month or year, will supply it with less inconveniency. A well-regulated paper money will supply it, *not only without inconveniency, but in some cases with some advantage.*" Experience may soon convince any one that this latter observation of Mr Smith is well founded, and that a duly regulated paper is often more convenient and serviceable than one entirely of specie. Let him go into any bank at a distance from London, and he will find that they will give him sovereigns to any extent without any charge; but that for Bank of England notes, or a bill on London, they will, in one form or other, charge a premium; and if he has any doubt of the superior convenience of bank-notes over specie for the transactions of life, he is recommended to compare travelling in England with £500, in five English notes, in his waistcoat pocket, with doing so in France with the same sum in napoleons in his portmanteau.

9. The question is often asked, "What is a pound?" and Sir Robert Peel, after mentioning how Mr Locke and Sir Isaac Newton had failed, with all their abilities, in answering it, said that he could by no possible effort of intellect conceive it to be anything but a certain determinate weight of gold metal. Perhaps if his valuable life had been spared, and he had seen the ounce of gold selling in Australia at £3 to £3, 10s. instead of £3, 17s. 10½d., the mint price, he would have modified his opinion. In truth, a pound is an *abstract measure of value*, just as a foot or a yard is of length; and different things have at different periods been taken to denote that measure, according as the convenience of men suggested. It was originally a pound weight of silver; and that metal was till the present century the standard in England, as it still is in most other countries. When gold was made the standard, by the Bank being compelled by the Act of 1819 to pay in that metal, the old word, denoting its original signification of the less valuable metal,

was still retained. During the war, when the metallic currency disappeared, the pound was a Bank of England pound-note: the standard was thus paper,—for gold was worth 28s. the pound, from the demand for it on the Continent. Since California and Australia have begun to pour forth their golden treasures, the standard has practically come again to be silver, as the precious metal which is least changing in value at this time. The proof of this is decisive;—the ounce of gold is selling (1853) for £3 to £3, 10s. at Melbourne; gold is measured by silver, not silver by gold. In truth, different things at different times are taken to express the much-coveted abstract standard; and what is always taken is *that article in general circulation which is most steady in value and most generally received.*

10. None but those practically acquainted with the subject can conceive how powerfully, and often rapidly, an extension or contraction of the currency acts upon the general industry and fortunes of the country. All other causes, in a commercial state, sink into insignificance in comparison. "The judicious operations of banking," says Mr Smith, "enable the trader to convert his dead stock into active and productive stock. The first forms a very valuable part of the capital of the country, which produces nothing to the country. The operation of banking, by substituting paper in room of a great part of the gold and silver, enables the country to convert a great part of dead stock into active and productive stock—into stock which produces something to the country. The gold and silver money which circulates in any country may very properly be compared to a highway, which, while it circulates and carries to market all the grass and corn of the country, does not itself produce a single pile of either. The judicious operations of banking enable the country to convert, as it were, a great part of its highways into good pastures and corn-fields, and thereby increase considerably the annual produce of its land and labours." To this it may be added, that so great

is the effect of an increase of the paper circulation, and consequently of the expansion of the credit, industry, and enterprise of a commercial state, that a country which has dead stock, as Mr Smith says, of the value of twenty thousand millions, may find the value of all its articles of merchandise enhanced or diminished fifty per cent by the expansion or contraction of the currency to the extent of ten millions sterling. Such an addition or subtraction is to be compared, not to the entire amount of its realised wealth, but to the amount of *that small portion of it which forms its circulating medium*, upon which its prosperity depends; just as the warmth of a house is determined, not by the quantity of coals in the cellar, but by what is put upon the fires. Such an addition to the wealth of a state may be as nothing to the value of its dead stock, but it is much to the sum total of its circulating medium.

11. It is not in the general case *immediately* that this great effect of an expansion or contraction of the currency acts upon the price of the produce and the remuneration of the labour of the country: months may sometimes elapse after the augmented issues go forth from the bank before their effects begin to appear upon prices and enterprise; years, before these effects are fully developed. But these effects are quite certain in the end: an expansion never fails by degrees to stimulate, a contraction to depress. The reason of the delay in general is, that it takes a certain time for the augmented supplies of money and extended credit to flow down from the great reservoirs in the metropolis, from whence it is first issued, to the country banks which receive it, and through them upon their different customers, whose speculation and industry it develops. There is no immediate connection between augmented supplies of money, whether in gold, silver, or paper, and a rise in the price of commodities, or between their diminution and a fall; it is by the gradual process of stimulating enterprise, and increasing the demand for them in the one case, and diminishing

it in the other, that these effects take place; and either is the work of time. When matters approach a crisis, however, and general alarm prevails, any operations on the currency are attended with effects much more rapidly, and sometimes instantaneously. Several instances of this will appear in the sequel of this History.

12. As the increase or diminution of the currency in any considerable degree is thus attended with such incalculable effects upon the industry, enterprise, and prosperity of every country which is largely engaged in undertakings, it becomes of the last importance to preserve its amount *as equal* as may be, and to exclude, if possible, all casual or uncalled-for expansions or contractions. Such variations are fatal to prudent enterprise and legitimate speculation, because they induce changes in prices irrespective altogether of the judgment with which they were undertaken, against which no wisdom or foresight can provide, and which render commercial speculations as hazardous, and often ruinous, as the gaming-table. They are injurious in the highest degree to the labouring classes, because they encourage in them habits of improvidence and lavish expenditure at one time, which are inevitably succeeded by depression and misery at another. They often sweep away in a few months the accumulated savings of whole generations, and leave the nation with great undertakings on its hands, without either credit or resources to carry them on. Their effects are more disastrous than those of plague, pestilence, and famine put together, for these, in their worst form, affect only an existing race of men; but commercial crises extend their ravages to distant times, by sweeping away the means of maintaining the future generations of man.

13. No currency which is based exclusively upon the precious metals, or consists of them, can possibly be exempt from such fluctuations, because, being valuable all over the world, these are always liable to be drained away at particular times by

the mutations of commerce or the necessities of war in the neighbouring states. A war between France and Austria occasioning a great demand for gold on the Continent; a bad harvest in England rendering necessary a great exportation of it to bring grain from Poland or America; a revolution in France; three weeks' rain in August in England—events, unhappily, nearly equally probable—may at any time induce the calamity. True, the precious metals will always in the end be attracted to the centre of wealth and commerce; but before they come back, half the traders and manufacturers in the country may be rendered bankrupt. Any interruption of the wonted issues of cash to them is like the stopping the issuing of rations to an army, or food to a people. The only possible way of averting so dire a calamity, is either by having had such immense treasures of gold and silver in the country, that they are adequate to meet any possible strain which may come upon them, and may fairly be considered inexhaustible; or by having some currency at home not convertible into specie, but which, issued in moderate quantities, and under sufficient safeguards against excess, may supply its place, and do its work during its temporary absence. Of the first, Great Britain and the whole civilised world afforded in 1852 a memorable example, when the vast and newly-discovered treasures of California and Australia diffused animation and prosperity over every nation, by inducing a constant rise of prices ever since, which has now reached 40 per cent; the second was illustrated by England in 1797 and 1810, when not a guinea was left in the country, but every difficulty was surmounted by the moderate issue of an inconvertible paper, which, without becoming excessive, was adequate to the wants of the community.

14. The bill of 1819, which re-established cash payments, and thereby rendered the national currency, with the exception of £14,000,000, which the Bank was authorised to issue upon securities, entirely dependent on the retention of the precious metals in

the country, was brought about by a singular but not unnatural combination of causes. In the first place, there was the natural reaction of the human mind against the enormous evils which had arisen in France from the abuse of the system of assignats, the quantities of which issued exceeded at one time £700,000,000 sterling, and caused such a rise of prices as swept away nearly the whole realised capital of the country. In the next place, there was the inevitable dread on the part of all the holders of realised wealth of such a continued elevation of prices as might lessen the exchangeable value of their fortunes, and in some degree deprive them of their inheritances or the fruits of their toil. Thirdly, the whole persons engaged in manufactures—a large and increasing class—were impressed with the same ideas, from the experience which the opening of the harbours had afforded them, since the peace, of the great difference between the money wages of labour and prices of raw material on the Continent, where money was scarce, because its inhabitants were poor, and England, where it was plentiful, because they were rich, and the necessity of contracting the currency in order to lower prices, especially of raw material and labour, and enable them better to compete with their Continental rivals. The Whigs, as a party, naturally and unanimously adhered to the same opinion. They did so because Mr Pitt and Lord Castlereagh had supported the opposite system, on the principle of Mr Tierney: “The business of the Opposition is to oppose everything, and turn out the Government.” Lastly, the political economists, struck with the obvious dangers of great variations in prices, of which recent times had afforded so many examples, formed the same opinion, from an idea that, gold being the most precious of all metals, and the most in request in all countries and ages, no circulation could be considered as safe or lasting except such as was built upon that imperishable foundation. These circumstances, joined to the weight and abilities of Mr Huskisson, Mr Horner, and the Bullion Com-

mittee, who had recommended the resumption of cash payments, and of Mr Peel, who had recently embraced their views, and the general ignorance of the greater part of the community on the subject, produced that "chaos of unanimity" which, as already mentioned, led to the resolutions introducing it being adopted by the House of Commons without one dissenting voice.

15. A chaos of unanimity, however, which confounds parties, obliterates old impressions, and is followed by new alliances, is seldom in the end attended by advantages; on the contrary, it is in general the herald of misfortune. As it arises from the judgment of men being obliterated for a season, by the pressure of some common passion or apprehension, or the creation of some common object of ambition, so it ends in general in their interests being confounded in one common disaster. The great danger of considering paper as the *representative* of gold and silver, not, when required, a *substitute* for them, consists in this, that it tends necessarily to *multiply or diminish them both at the same time*; a state of things of all others the most calamitous, and fraught with danger to the best interests of society. When gold and silver are plentiful abroad, and they flow in large quantities into this country, from its being the best market which the holders of those metals can find for them, they necessarily accumulate in large quantities in the banks, especially the Bank of England, which being obliged to take them at a fixed price, often above the market value, of course gets the largest proportion. It pays for this treasure with its own paper, which thus augments the circulation, already, perhaps, too plentiful from the affluence of the precious metals. Then prices rise, money becomes easy, credit expands, and enterprises often of the most absurd and dangerous kind are set on foot, which, however, are generally for a brief period attended with great profit to the fortunate holders of shares. When a change arrives—as arrive it must, from this rapid increasing of the currency both in specie and

paper at the same time, and the precious metals are as quickly withdrawn to other countries, probably to pay the importations which the preceding fever had brought into the country—the very reverse of all this takes place. The banks, finding their stock of treasure daily diminishing, take the alarm; discounts cease, credits are contracted; the greatest mercantile houses are unable to obtain even inconsiderable advances, and the nation is left with a vast variety of speculations and undertakings on hand, without either funds or credit to bring them to a successful issue.

16. The true system would be just the reverse. Proceeding on the principle that the great object is to equalise the currency, and with it prices and speculation, it would *enlarge* the paper currency when the precious metals are withdrawn and credit is threatened with stoppage, and proportionally *contract* it when the precious metals return, and the currency is becoming adequate without any considerable addition to the paper. In this way, not only would the immense danger of a large amount of gold and paper being poured into the circulation at the same time be avoided, but a support would be given to credit, and an adequate supply of currency provided for the country when its precious metals are drained away, and a monetary crisis is at hand. A few millions, secured on Government credit, not convertible into cash, judiciously issued by Government commissioners when the exchanges are becoming unfavourable and money scarce, would at any time arrest the progress of the most dreadful monetary crisis that ever set in upon the country. That of 1793 was stopped by the issue of Exchequer bills; that of 1797 by suspending cash payments; that of 1825 was arrested, as will appear in the sequel, by the accidental discovery and issue of two millions of *old bank-notes* in the Bank of England, when their treasure was all but exhausted; that of 1847 was at once stopped by a mere letter of the Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, authorising the suspension of

cash payments; the still more terrible one of 1857 in the same way. The prospect even of a currency which was to be a substitute for gold, not a representative of it, arrested the panic, and saved the nation. Such an expedient, when intrusted to Government commissioners, and not to bankers or interested parties, would be comparatively safe from abuse; and it would at once put an end to that fluctuation of prices and commercial crises, which have been the constant bane of the country for the last thirty years.*

* Adam Smith clearly saw the advantages of an inconvertible paper currency issued on such principles, and on such safeguards against abuse. "The government of Pennsylvania," says he, "without amassing any treasure, invented a method of lending, *not money, indeed, but what is equivalent to money*, to its subjects. By advancing to private people at interest, and upon land security to double the value, paper bills of credit, to be redeemed fifteen years after their date, and in the mean time made transferable from hand to hand like bank-notes, and declared by act of Parliament to be a legal tender in all payments by one inhabitant of the province to another, it raised a moderate revenue, which went a considerable way towards defraying the expenses of that orderly and frugal government. The success of an expedient of this kind must depend on three circumstances: first, upon the demand for some other instrument of commerce besides gold and silver money, or upon the demand for such a quantity of consumable stock as could not be had without *sending abroad the greater part of their gold or silver money in order to purchase it*; secondly, upon the good credit of the government which makes use of the expedient; thirdly, upon the *moderation with which it is used*, the whole value of the paper bills of credit *never exceeding that of the gold and silver money* which would have been necessary for carrying on their circulation, had there been no paper bills of credit. The same expedient was upon different occasions adopted by several other American States; but, from want of this moderation, it produced in the greater part of them much disorder and inconvenience."—*Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. 2. This is the true principle which should regulate the issue of inconvertible paper, its main use serving as a substitute for gold and silver, not as a representative of it, to be used chiefly where the precious metals are drawn away, and *never exceeding the amount of them which would have been required to conduct and facilitate its real transactions*. The moderation of Pennsylvania was a prototype of the wisdom of the English; the extravagance of the other American colonies, of the madness of France in the use of this powerful agent for good or for evil during the subsequent revolutionary war.

17. In addition to these dangers with which the resumption of cash payments and the establishment of a paper currency—the representative, not the substitute for gold, and therefore dependent on the retention of the precious metals—must always be attended, there were peculiar circumstances which rendered it eminently hazardous, and its effects disastrous, at the time it was adopted by the English Government. The annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe, which, as already mentioned, had been on an average, before 1810, ten millions sterling, had sunk, from the effects of the revolution in South America, to little more than two millions. The great paper currency guaranteed by all the allied powers, issued so plentifully during 1813 and 1814, and which had circulated as cash from the banks of the Rhine to the wall of China, had been drawn in, in conformity with the Convention of London of 30th September 1813; and the Continent had never yet recovered from the contraction of credit and shortcoming of specie consequent on its disappearance, and on the cessation of the vast expenditure of the war. The loans on the Continent, in the years following its termination, had been so immense, that they had ruinously contracted the circulation, and destroyed credit. The fall of prices in consequence, and from the good harvest of 1818, had been as great in Germany after the peace as in Great Britain; and the Cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and St Petersburg, were as much straitened for money in the beginning of 1819 as the French Government.*

* FALL OF PRICES OF WHEAT THE QUARTER ON THE CONTINENT FROM 1817 TO 1819.

	Mar-h 1817.	September 1819.
Vienna, . .	114s. 0d.	19s. 6d.
Munich, . .	151s. 0d.	24s. 5d.
Norway, . .	81s. 10d.	26s. 8d.
Venice, . .	99s. 6d.	29s. 4d.
Lisbon, . .	117s. 0d.	54s. 2d.
Piunne, . .	88s. 11d.	29s. 9d.
Udine, . .	99s. 6d.	31s. 7d.

The bad harvest of 1816 was the cause of the high prices in 1817, but the prodigious fall in 1819 was due mainly to the pressure on the money market.—*Tooke On Prices*, ii. 91, 92, and authorities there quoted.

18. In addition to this, the strain on the money market at Paris, in the close of 1818 and commencement of 1819, had been so dreadful that a monetary crisis of the utmost severity had set in there, which had rendered it a matter of absolute necessity, as already mentioned, for the French Government to solicit, and the allied cabinets to grant, a prolongation of the term for payment of the immense sums they were required to pay, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as the price of the evacuation of their territory, which was extended, by a convention in December 1818, from nine to eighteen months. It was not surprising that such a financial crisis should have taken place on the Continent at this time, for the loans negotiated by its different governments in the course of 1817 and 1818 amounted to the enormous sum of £38,600,000,* of which £27,700,000 was on account of France. At least three-fourths of these loans were undertaken in London and Amsterdam by Messrs Baring and Hope; and as the whole sums they had to pay up under them required to be remitted in specie, the drain which in consequence set in upon the Bank of England was so severe that its accumulated treasure, which in October 1817 had been £11,914,000, and in February 1818, £10,055,460, had sunk, on 31st August 1818, to £6,363,160, and on 27th February 1819 was only £4,184,000.

19. It was the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1817 and 1818, which, as already men-

tioned, alone enabled this country to prosper during this terrible crisis, which was acting with such severity upon other states, and occasioning so fearful a drain on its own metallic resources. But that suspension had not only, by providing it with an adequate internal currency, averted the catastrophe so general at that time on the Continent, but had given it at the very same time an extraordinary degree of prosperity. "In consequence," says Mr Tooke, "of the great fall in the French funds, combined with the great and sudden fall of the prices of grain on the Continent, extensive failures occurred in Paris, Marseilles, and other parts of France, as also in Holland and in Hamburg, in 1818, *before any indication had appeared of discredit, or of any pressure on the money market of this country.* A loan had also been negotiated in 1818 for the Russian Government, the payments for a large proportion of which were made in bullion exported from this country, thus adding greatly to the pressure on the money market, and at the same time exhibiting the phenomenon of prices falling rapidly on the continent of Europe—much more rapidly than here—while bullion was flowing there from hence." It is not surprising it was so; for the Continental states, during 1817 and 1818, had no paper adequate to sustain their industry during the scarcity of money, owing to the immense pressure on their money market, whereas England enjoyed in the highest degree that advantage.† The paper circulation of Great Britain had greatly in-

* LOANS RAISED IN EUROPE IN 1817 AND 1818.

France,	£27,700,000
Prussia,	2,800,000
Austria,	3,600,000
Russia,	4,500,000
	<hr/> £38,600,000

—Appendix to *Lords' Com. on Cash Payments*, 1819, p. 424.

† CIRCULATION OF BANK OF ENGLAND AND COUNTRY NOTES.

Years	Bank of England.	Country Banks.	Total.
1816	£26,758,720	£15,096,000	£41,854,720
1817	29,543,780	15,894,000	45,437,780
1818	26,202,150	20,507,000	46,709,150
1819	25,252,690	15,701,328	40,954,018

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 382; MARSHAL'S *Par. Tables*, 55.

creased during the drain on the precious metals, and compensated for their want, and in the last of these years had reached £46,700,000 in England alone, a higher amount than in any year of the war. Hence the prosperity in this country which co-existed with the most serious pressure and distress on the Continent.

20. The consequences of this abundant supply of the currency in Great Britain had been an extraordinary degree of prosperity to the country in the last months of 1818 and first of 1819, accompanied by a corresponding and a too sudden start in speculations of every sort. It was so great, and the change so rapid, that it was made the subject of special congratulation and notice in the speech from the throne.* Statistical facts demonstrate how great a start had at the same time taken place in all our principal articles of imports and manufactures, and in the general rise of prices of all sorts. The former had more than doubled, the latter advanced fully 50 per cent.† The unavoidable consequence was, that prices were high, but not unreasonably so: they had not advanced so as to afford grounds to fear a reaction. Wheat, on an average of 1819, was at 72s., while during the scarcity of 1817 it had been 116s., and at the lowest point of the great fall of spring 1816, 52s. And that the imports, how great and in-

creased soever, as compared with the distressed years which had preceded it, were not excessive, or running into dangerous speculation, is decisively proved by the facts that the imports and exports of Great Britain in 1818, as compared to its population and revenue, were not half what they have since become, not only without risk of collapse, but with the most general and admitted prosperity. In a word, the British empire, in the whole of 1818 and commencement of 1819, was beginning to taste the blessed fruits of peace and prosperity; and industry, vivified and supported by a currency at once adequate and duly limited, was flourishing in all its branches, and daily discovering new channels of profit and enterprise, at the very time when the scarcity of money on the Continent was involving all classes in unheard-of disasters.‡

21. But these flattering prospects were of short duration, and Great Britain was soon doomed to experience, in all its bitterness, the disastrous effects of an ill-judged and worse-timed contraction of the currency. At the moment when the annual supplies of the precious metals for the use of the globe had been reduced, by the South American revolution, to a fourth of their former amount,—when the coin annually issued from the English Mint had in consequence sunk to only £1,270,000

* "The Prince-Regent has the greatest pleasure in being able to inform you that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition. The favourable change which has so rapidly taken place in the internal circumstances of the United Kingdom, affords the strongest proof of the solidity of its resources. To cultivate and improve the advantages of our present situation will be the object of your deliberations."—PRINCE-REGENT'S Speech, Jan. 21, 1819; *Parliamentary Debates*, xxxix. 21.

† IMPORTS INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Silk. lb.	Wool. lb.	Cotton. lb.	Manuf. Tons.	Tallow. Tons.	Linseed. Qrs.	Colonial Produce.
1816	1,137,922	8,117,864	93,920,055	18,473	20,858	70,892	£26,374,920
1817	1,177,693	14,715,843	124,912,968	22,863	19,298	162,759	29,916,320
1818	2,101,618	26,405,486	177,282,158	33,020	27,149	237,141	35,819,798

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 61, 62.

‡ This opinion was strongly expressed by the most intelligent persons at the time. "Both trade and manufactures are in a flourishing condition, and likely to improve still further. There appears to be little speculation beyond the regular demands of the different markets, men without capital finding it almost impossible to procure credit; so that there is now no disposition to force a trade, and no injurious competition to procure orders, and consequently wages are fair and reasonable."—Lord SHEFFIELD to Lord SIDMOUTH, 17th Dec. 1818; *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 242.

a-year*—when the drains of gold on the Bank, to meet the gigantic loans contracted for in this country for the Continental powers, and pay for the immense importations of the year, had reduced the treasure in the Bank from £12,000,000 to £3,595,000—and when the large mercantile transactions recently entered into in this country, and the general prosperity and activity which prevailed, imperatively required, instead of a contraction, a great increase of the currency,—Parliament, *without one dissenting voice*, passed an act, requiring the Bank of England, at no distant period, to resume cash payments, thereby rendering the currency dependent on the retention of gold—the very thing which, in the circumstances of the country, could not be retained.†

22. The effects of this extraordinary

piece of legislation were soon apparent. The industry of the nation was speedily congealed, as a flowing stream is by the severity of an arctic winter. The alarm became universal—as widespread as confidence and activity had recently been. The country bankers, who had advanced largely on the stocks of goods imported, refused to continue their support to their customers, and they were in consequence forced to bring their stock into the market. Prices in consequence rapidly fell—that of cotton, in particular, sank in the space of three months to half its former level. The country bankers' circulation was contracted by no less than five millions sterling; the entire circulation of England fell from £46,709,150 in 1818, to £34,875,000 in 1820; and in the succeeding year it sank as low as £28,551,000.‡ Nothing

* MONEY COINED AND ISSUED AT THE MINT.

1817,	.	.	.	.	.	£6,771,595
1818,	.	.	.	.	.	3,488,652
1819,	.	.	.	.	.	1,270,817
1820,	.	.	.	.	.	1,787,233
1821,	.	.	.	.	.	7,954,444

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*; ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. xevi., Appendix.

† Lord Eldon, however, had strongly opposed it in the Cabinet, and wished the project postponed for two years.—TWISS'S *Life of Lord Eldon*, ii. 329. Mr Ward (Lord Dudley) said: "Those that are near the scene of action are not less surprised than you are at the turn the Bullion question has taken. Canning says it is the greatest wonder he has witnessed in the political world."—EARL OF DUDLEY'S *Letters*, 222. The truth is, Ministers at the period were very weak, and had sustained several defeats in the House of Commons, particularly on the Criminal Law, and they did not venture to face the Opposition on the Bullion question. Lord Liverpool, at the period it was first broached in the Cabinet, wrote to Lord Eldon in allusion to their difference of opinion on the subject: "After the defeats we have already experienced during the session, our remaining in office is a positive evil. It confounds all the ideas of government in the minds of men. It disgraces us personally, and renders us less capable every day of being of any real service to the country now. If, therefore, things are to remain as they are, I am quite clear that there is no advantage in any way in our being the persons to carry on the public service."—LORD LIVERPOOL to LORD ELDON, May 10, 1819; *Eldon's Life*, ii. 329.

‡ BANK AND BANKERS' NOTES.

Years.	Bank of England.	Country Bankers.	Total.	Money Coined and Issued at the Mint.
1818	£26,202,150	£20,507,000	£46,709,150	£3,438,652
1819	25,252,690	15,701,328	40,954,018	1,270,817
1820	24,299,340	10,576,245	34,875,585	1,797,233
1821	20,295,300	8,256,180	28,551,480	9,954,444
1822	17,464,790	8,416,830	25,881,620	5,388,217

—Appendix to TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 382; MARSHAL'S *Par. Tables*, 55; and PORTER'S *Par. Tables*.

Mr Sedgewick, of the Stamp Office, estimates the contraction of country bank notes as follows:—

1819,	.	.	.	.	£15,284,491
1820,	.	.	.	.	11,767,391
1821,	.	.	.	.	8,414,231
1822,	.	.	.	.	8,067,260
1823,	.	.	.	.	8,798,277

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 123.

in this disastrous contraction of the currency, at a period when its expansion was so loudly called for, sustained the national industry, or averted a general bankruptcy, but the fortunate circumstance that the obligation on the Bank to pay in specie was, by the Act of 1819, only to commence on 1st February 1820; and this enabled that establishment, in the preceding autumn, when the crash began, not only not to contract its issues, but even in a slight degree to increase them.*

23. The effects of this sudden and prodigious contraction of the currency were soon apparent, and they rendered the next three years a period of ceaseless distress and suffering in the British Islands. The accommodation granted by bankers diminished so much, in consequence of the obligation laid upon them of paying in specie when specie was not to be got, that the paper under discount at the Bank of England, which in 1810 had been £23,000,000, and in

1815 not less than £20,660,000, sank in 1820 to £4,672,000, and in 1821 to £2,722,000!† The effect upon prices was not less immediate or appalling. They declined in general, within six months, to half their former amount, and remained at that low level for the next three years.‡ Imports sank from £36,800,000 in 1818, to £30,792,000 in 1821; exports from £46,603,000 in the former year, to £36,659,000 in the latter.§ Distress was universal in the latter months of the year 1819, and that distrust and discouragement was felt in all branches of industry, which is at once the forerunner and the cause of disaster. The Three per Cents, which had been at 79 in January, gradually fell, after the Bank Restriction Act passed, to 65 in December; and the bankruptcies, which had been 86 in January, rose in May to 178: the total in the year was 1499, being an increase of 531 over the preceding year.||

24. The effects of this panic, and con-

* CIRCULATION OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

				Bullion.
27th February 1819,	.	.	£25,126,970	£4,184,620
31st August 1819,	.	.	25,252,790	3,595,360

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 96.

† PAPER UNDER DISCOUNT AT THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

1808,	.	£14,287,696	1814,	.	£13,363,475
1809,	.	18,127,597	1815,	.	20,660,094
1810,	.	23,775,093	1819,	.	6,321,402
1811,	.	15,199,032	1820,	.	4,672,123
1812,	.	17,010,930	1821,	.	2,722,587
1813,	.	14,514,744	1822,	.	3,622,151

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 381-383.

‡ PRICES OF THE UNDERMENTIONED ARTICLES IN THE YEAR, AND WHEAT IN DECEMBER OF EACH YEAR.

Year.	Wheat, per qr.	Cotton, per lb.	Iron, per ton.	Rice, per ton.	Silk, per lb.	Tea, per lb.	Wool, per lb.	Sugar, per cwt.	Beef, per tierce.
1818	s. d. 83 8	s. d. 2 0	£ s. 9 0	s. 45	s. d. 39 0	s. d. 3 1	s. d. 6 0	s. 70	s. 100
1819	72 3	1 11	8 10	43	30 0	2 10	6 0	66	115
1820	65 10	1 5	9 0	32	26 2	2 5	3 0	58	130
1821	54 5	1 1	7 10	36	24 5	2 4	3 3	58	115
1822	43 3	1 0	6 10	33	25 1	2 8	3 6	42	80

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 148; and TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 390, 397, 420.

	Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.
£ 1818,	£46,603,249	£36,885,182
1819,	35,208,321	30,776,810
1820,	36,424,652	32,438,650
1821,	36,659,630	30,792,760
1822,	36,968,964	30,500,094

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 356.

¶ Mr Tooke, whose industry and talents entitle his opinions to the highest respect, has

sequent distress, especially in the manufacturing districts, speedily appeared; and the demagogues were not slow to turn to the best account this unexpected turn of fortune in their favour. Mr Cobbett said afterwards, that the moment he heard in America of the resumption of cash payments in Great Britain, he prepared to return to this country, as he felt certain that the cause of Reform in Parliament could not long be averted; and the result proved that he had correctly scanned the effects of that measure. The disaffected, under the direction of their able and intelligent leaders, changed the direction of their tactics. They no longer confined their operations to

laboured hard to show that the contraction of the currency in 1819 had no connection with the distress of that and the three following years, but that it is entirely to be ascribed to overtrading; and in this opinion he is followed by Miss Martineau. With what success their arguments are founded may be judged of by the facts above stated. Mr Tooke's arguments are based upon an idea which every one acquainted with the real working of commerce knows to be fallacious—that the effects of monetary changes, if real, upon prices, must be *immediate*, and, therefore, as he finds the Bank issues a shade higher in August 1819 than they had been in February of that year, he concludes that there was no contraction to account for the distress, and that it arose entirely from overtrading.—(Tooke *On Prices*, ii. 96, 113.) He takes no account of the prodigious drain on the metallic currency which brought the bullion in the Bank down from £12,000,000 to £3,500,000, nor of the contraction of £5,000,000 in the country bankers' issues, from the passing of the Act. But, in truth, his notion that there is an *immediate* connection between currency and prices, if there is any, is entirely erroneous. Sometimes, doubtless, the effect is very rapid, but in general it is the work of time. If a sudden panic is either produced or arrested by legislative measures, the effect may be instantaneous; but in other cases it is by slow degrees, and by working through all the ramifications of society, that a contraction or expansion of the currency acts upon the interests of society. If five millions additional are thrown into the money market, or gradually withdrawn, it by no means follows that there is to be an instantaneous effect on prices. The effect takes place gradually, in consequence of the extended speculations and undertakings which are set on foot in the one case, or ruined or contracted in the other. The effect of the contraction of the currency which began in 1819, continued through the whole three following years, till it was arrested by an expansion of it in 1822, which soon landed the nation in another set of dangers on the opposite side. The speculation of 1818 was doubtless considerable, and would probably, in any event and with the best-regulated currency, have led to a check and a temporary fall of prices, just as an abundant harvest for a season lowers the price of grain. But it is quite chimerical to suppose that the long-continued distress, from 1819 to 1823, was owing to the importations of 1818. If they were excessive, that evil would speedily check itself, and restore prices to their average and healthful state. But that they were *not excessive*, and should not, if the currency had been let alone, have terminated in anything like disaster, is decisively proved by the fact that they were not half as great, relatively to the population of the empire, as they have since become in years not only unaccompanied by disaster, but marked by the most unequivocal prosperity. This distinctly appears from the following table of exports and imports:—

Years.	British and Irish Exports—official value.	Imports—official value.	Population of Great Britain and Ireland.
1818	£42,700,521	£36,885,182	20,500,000
1819	33,534,176	30,776,810	
1820	38,395,625	32,438,650	
1823	43,804,372	35,798,707	21,282,000
1824	48,785,551	37,552,935	
1825	47,106,020	44,137,482	
1834	73,821,550	49,362,811	24,410,000
1835	78,376,731	48,911,542	
1836	85,229,837	57,023,867	
1844	131,564,503	85,441,555	27,041,000
1845	134,599,116	85,281,958	
1846	132,288,345	75,953,875	
1847	126,130,986	90,921,866	

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, pp. 11, 356.

It is true, several of these prosperous years terminated in a collapse; but that was the necessary effect of the system of currency established in the empire, which rendered periods of disaster as necessarily the followers of prosperity as night is of day.

the breaking of mills or destruction of machinery ; political changes became their object ; and their method of effecting them was by making displays of vast multitudes of men, in a certain degree disciplined, and closely banded together in feeling. At a great meeting of 30,000 or 40,000 persons, which took place at Glasgow on 16th May, called to petition the Prince-Regent for relief and means to emigrate to Canada, an amendment was proposed, and carried by an overwhelming majority, that no good was to be expected but from annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and diminished taxation. They now, for the first time, assumed the name of RADICAL REFORMERS, and began to use, as their war-cries, the necessity of annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the other points which have since been combined in what is called the People's Charter. The leaders of the great meetings which took place, much to their credit, strenuously inculcated upon the people the necessity of keeping the peace, and abstaining from all acts of intimidation and outrage ; and, considering the immense multitudes who were congregated together, amounting often to 30,000 and 40,000 persons, it was surprising how generally the directions were followed. Aware from the symptoms in the political atmosphere of an approaching storm, but wholly unconscious that it had proceeded from their own acts, Government strengthened themselves by the admission of the Duke of Wellington into the Cabinet as Master-General of the Ordnance, on his return from the command of the Army of Occupation in 1819 ; and on 7th July issued a pressing circular to the magistrates to use their utmost efforts to preserve the public peace.

25. These political meetings were general in all the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland during the whole summer of 1819, and the leading topics constantly dwelt on were the depression of wages and misery of the poor, which were invariably ascribed to the Corn Laws, the weight of taxation, the influence of the borough-

mongers, or holders of nomination boroughs, and the want of any representation of the people in Parliament. The speeches, which were often eloquent and moving, acquired additional force from the notorious facts to which they could all refer, which were too expressive of the general distress which prevailed. No serious breach of the peace, however, occurred till the 16th August 1819, when a great assemblage took place at *Peterloo*, near Manchester. As it was known that multitudes were to come to that meeting from all the towns and villages in that densely-peopled locality, great apprehensions were entertained by the local authorities, and extraordinary precautions taken to prevent a breach of the peace, in conformity with the circular, already noticed, from the Home Office on 7th July, which recommended the utmost vigilance on the part of the local magistracy, and the adoption of prompt and vigorous measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity. The yeomanry of the county of Cheshire, and a troop of Manchester yeomanry, were summoned ; and the military, consisting of six troops of the 15th Hussars, two guns, and nearly the whole of the 31st regiment, were also on the spot and under arms. A large body of special constables was sworn in, and, armed with their batons, surrounded the hustings where the speakers were to be placed.

26. The avowed object of the first proposed meeting, which had been called by regular advertisement, was to elect "a representative and legislative attorney" to represent the city of Manchester, as had already been done at Birmingham, Stockport, Leeds, and other places. This meeting was called for the 9th August ; but as the magistrates, feeling such an object to be illegal, had intimated it would be dispersed, the next or adjourned meeting, which was called for the 16th, was simply to petition for a reform in Parliament. Drilling had been practised in many places in all the country round ; and large bodies of men had met on the hills between Lancashire and Yorkshire, in the grey of the morning, to go

through their evolutions, though without having any arms. The consequence was, that they marched into Manchester from every direction for thirty miles around, six abreast, with bands of music and colours flying. On these were inscribed, "No Corn Laws;" "Annual Parliaments;" "Universal Suffrage;" "Vote by Ballot;" "Equal Representation or Death;" "Liberty or Death;" "God armeth the Patriot"—with a figure of Wallace. Two bands of female reformers were among them, one numbering 150 members, with light-blue silk flags: they added much to the interest and excitement of the scene. Mr Hunt was the person who was to address the multitude, and before he arrived on the ground it was computed that 60,000 persons were assembled, chiefly from places around Manchester—a large proportion, as usual in such cases, being women, and not a few children.

27. The magistrates of Manchester, deeming such a meeting for such an object to be illegal, resolved to prevent it by arresting Mr Hunt, its avowed leader, before the proceedings had begun. He arrived about noon in an open carriage, and made his way with some difficulty to the hustings erected on the centre of the ground, amidst cheers which rent the air. A warrant was immediately made out to arrest him, and put into the hands of Mr Nadin, the chief constable, with orders to execute it immediately. He declared, however, that he could not do so; which was evidently the case, as the crowd was so dense that it was physically impossible to force a passage through the throng up to the hustings. Upon this they directed the military to be called up to clear the way—and notes were despatched to the commanders of the yeomanry and the military to advance to the support of the civil officers who were to execute the warrant. The Manchester yeomanry were nearest at hand, and, coming up, adopted the unlucky resolution of advancing two by two at a walk. A loud shout was set up when they appeared, and as they continued to move on, they were speedily detached from each other, hemmed in,

and some of them unhorsed. Upon seeing this, the commanding officer of the hussars said to Mr Hutton, the chief magistrate, "What am I to do?" "Do you not see they are attacking the yeomanry?—disperse the crowd," was the answer. Upon this the word "Forward" was given; the hussars came up at a trot, and, forming on the edge of the throng, the trumpet sounded the charge, and the horsemen, advancing, wheeled into line, and speedily drove the multitude before them. The dense mass of human beings forced forward was instantly thrown into the most dreadful alarm; numbers were trod down, and some suffocated by the pressure; and although the hussars acted with the utmost forbearance, and struck in general only with the flat side of their sabres, yet four or five persons, including one woman, were pressed to death, and about twenty injured by sabre wounds. About seventy persons in all were more or less hurt during this unhappy affray, including one special constable ridden over by the hussars, and one yeoman struck from his horse by a stone from the mob. Mr Hunt and ten of his friends were arrested and committed, first on a charge of high treason, and afterwards of conspiring to alter the law by force and threats; and several men were wounded by a discharge from the foot-soldiers, when violently assailed by the mob while conveying the prisoners to jail.

28. Lord Sidmouth, to whom, as Home Secretary, the first intelligence of this unhappy affair was sent, acted in the noblest manner on the occasion. Perceiving at once that a crisis of no ordinary kind had arrived, and that the conduct of the magistrates in ordering the dispersion of the crowd before any acts of violence had been committed, would be made the subject of unbounded obloquy, and probably great misrepresentation, on the part of the popular press, he at once determined to take his full share of the responsibility connected with it; and accordingly, before there was time to call together the entire Cabinet to deliberate on the subject, he conveyed, with the concurrence of the Prince-Regent, the law-

officers of the Crown, and such of the Cabinet as could be hastily got together, the royal approbation for the course pursued on the occasion.* In doing this, he acted on the principle which "he considered an essential principle of government, namely, to acquire the confidence of the magistracy, especially in critical times, by showing a readiness to support them in all honest, reasonable, and well-intended acts, without inquiring too minutely whether they might have performed their duty a little better or a little worse." His conduct on this occasion, though attacked with the utmost vehemence at the time, earned the support of all men really acquainted with the necessary action of government in a popular community, as it must command the admiration of every right-thinking man in all time coming.†

29. The generosity of Lord Sidmouth's conduct is wholly irrespective of the real merits of the conduct of the magistracy on this occasion; nay, it becomes greater, if, after the act was done, and could not be undone, he voluntarily interposed the shield of his responsibility, to shelter those whose conduct may be considered as open to some exception. Mr Hunt was afterwards indicted, along with Johnson,

* "The Prince-Regent desires me to convey to your Lordship his approbation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities at Manchester, as well as the officers and troops, both regular and yeomanry cavalry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil powers preserved the peace of the town upon that most critical occasion. His Royal Highness entertains a favourable sense of the forbearance of Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange in the execution of his duty, and bestows the greatest praise upon the zeal and alacrity manifested by Major Trafford and Lieut.-Colonel Townsend, and their respective corps. I am, &c.

"B. BLOOMFIELD.

"To the Lord Viscount SIDMOUTH."

—*Lord Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 262.

† "To attack the executive for supporting the magistracy on such an occasion, appears to me perfectly senseless. How can it be supposed that any magistrate will act unless assured of support—nay, unless supported with a high hand? Assuredly as the executive shrinks from encouraging, approving, and supporting the magistracy, there will be an end of all subordination."—Lord SHEPFIELD to Lord SIDMOUTH, Nov. 1, 1819; *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 263.

Moorhouse, and seven others, before the Manchester Grand Jury, for seditious conspiracy, who found true bills against them all. They traversed, in English law phrase—that is, got the trial postponed till the next assizes—in order to give the public effervescence time to subside; and they were ultimately tried before Mr Justice Bayley at York, and, after a long and most impartial trial, which lasted eleven days, and which Mr Hunt himself had the candour to call "a magnificent specimen of British justice," Hunt, Johnson, Healy, and Bamford, were convicted of conspiracy to get up a seditious meeting, and "alter the government by force and threats." The case was afterwards carried to the Court of King's Bench, by which the verdict was affirmed, and Hunt sentenced to two years and a half, the others to one year's imprisonment in Ilchester jail; which sentences were carried into full execution. The verdicts of the coroner's inquest on the persons killed in the Manchester affray were of such a kind as amounted to casual death, or justifiable homicide, with the exception of one, which, after having been long protracted, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench on the ground of irregularity, from the coroner not having, with the jury, inspected the body, as by law directed.*

* Lord Eldon said, in the debates which followed in the House of Lords, "When I read in my law books that numbers constitute force, and force terror, it is impossible to say that the Manchester meeting was not an illegal one."—*Parl. Deb.*, 23d Nov. 1819; HANSARD, xli. 33. This is undoubtedly true; but it may be observed, that it is impossible the law on this point can be on a more unsatisfactory footing, and that it is high time it should be at once defined, by Act of Parliament, what is an illegal meeting, independent of actual commenced violence. Who is to be the judge of what inspires terror, and in whom? In a dozen old men or old women, or a dozen intrepid young men? Between these two extremes, infinite diversities of opinion will be found to exist; no two wises will agree, no two juries will arrive at the same conclusion. The practical result is, that no man, as the law now stands, can say with certainty what is an illegal meeting, and every magistrate, if he gives orders to disperse it, places himself at the mercy of the subsequent jury, who may be called to determine whether the circumstances

30. The judgment of these high authorities leaves no room for doubt as to the illegality of the meeting at Manchester by the English law; and very little reflection is required to show that it was a proceeding of such a kind as in no well-regulated community should now be tolerated. So long, indeed, as the great majority of the manufacturing towns and districts were unrepresented in Parliament, there was a plausible—it may be a just—reason assigned for allowing such meetings, that there was no other way in which the people could make known their wishes to the legislature. But since the Reform Act has passed, and every considerable place is fully represented in Parliament, and a legal channel has been provided for the transmission of the popular will to Government, this plea can no longer be advanced. Such meetings are now simply dangerous and pernicious, without being attended with one countervailing advantage. Too large and promiscuous either for deliberation or discussion, they tend only to inflame passion and multiply misrepresentation. Their purpose really is not to express opinion, but to inspire terror; it is by the display of their physical numbers, not their intellectual strength, that they hope to gain their object. As such, they tend to uproot the very foundations of government, which must always be laid in the loyalty and submission of the great body of the people. They are always on the edge of violence, if they do not actually commence it; and if they are not actually treasonable, they may be rendered such at no distant period. In all considerable towns in the empire, where such meetings are in use to be held, there are rooms capable of holding at least as many as can possibly hear the speakers; the press will next morning convey their sentiments to the whole nation; and if the display of numbers is desired, the petition or

such as to have inspired terror in a reasonable mind, as to which, it is a mere chance what opinion they form. The only security for the magistrate in such cases is, to wait till the danger has become so imminent that a tolerable unanimity of witnesses may be hoped for before orders to act are given.

resolutions agreed to may be presented to Parliament, supported by a million of signatures.

31. The conduct of the magistrates on this unhappy occasion, though not illegal, appears to have been more open to exception in point of prudence; and though properly and courageously approved of by the Government at the time, it should by no means be followed on similar occasions. They had not issued any proclamation before, warning the meeting that its object was illegal, and that it would be dispersed by force; nor, indeed, could such a proclamation have been issued, as the avowed object of the meeting to petition for a reform in Parliament was legal. The banners carried, though in some instances inflammatory and dangerous, could hardly be called, upon the whole, seditious. “God save the King,” and “Rule Britannia,” had been played by the bands without any signs of disapprobation from the meeting; and though they had in part marched in military array, they had no arms except a few pikes, had numbers of women and children among them, and had attempted no outrage or act of violence. They had not commenced the proceedings when the dispersion began, so that nothing had been said on the spot to justify it. The Riot Act had been read from the window where the magistrates were, but the hour required to justify the dispersion of a peaceable assembly had not elapsed. The highest authorities have taught us that the meeting was illegal, from its menacing and dangerous character; but the point is, was it *expedient* at the moment, when no warning had been given of its illegality, to disperse it by force? * True, the warrant

* Lord Eldon appears, at first at least, to have been of this opinion, for he wrote to his brother, Sir William Scott, soon after hearing of it: “Without all doubt the Manchester magistrates must be supported; but they are very generally blamed here. For my part, I think if the assembly was *only an unlawful assembly*, that task will be *difficult enough in sound reasoning*. If the meeting was an overt act of high treason, their justification was complete.” He then goes on to say he thought it was an overt act of treason.—LORD ELDON to Sir W. SCOTT; *Eldon's Life*, ii. 338.

to arrest Hunt and his friends could not be executed but by military force ; but where was the necessity of executing it at all in the presence of the multitude ? Could they not have been observed by the police, and arrested in the evening, or at night, after they had dispersed, when no tumult or disorder was to be apprehended ? Had the crowd proceeded to acts of violence or depredation, they could not have been too quickly or vigorously charged by the military ; but while yet pacific and orderly, and when no seditious resolutions had been proposed, *they* at least were innocent, whatever their leaders may have been. In a word, the conduct of the magistrates, though legal, seems to have been ill-judged, and their measures inexpedient. But great allowance must be made for unprofessional men suddenly placed in such trying circumstances ; and as their error, if error there was, was one of judgment only, there can be but one opinion on the noble and intrepid course which Government pursued on the occasion.*

32. It soon appeared how little effect the violent suppression of the

* In truth, in all such cases, what the magistrate has chiefly to consider is, not what is, strictly speaking, legal merely, but what will bear the efforts of misrepresentation and the ordeal of public opinion. Many things are legal which must often not be attempted by those intrusted with authority ; many things illegal, in those subjected to it, which must yet be sometimes tolerated. The following rules to guide the magistrate in such difficult circumstances may perhaps be of use to those who are liable to be called on to act under them, and have been the result of some experience and much reflection on the part of the author : 1st. If a meeting, evidently treasonable or seditious, or obviously tending to a breach of the peace—as to choose a provisional government, or to levy war on the Government, or to train without proper authority, or to have an Orange procession among Ribbonmen—is announced, to meet it by a counter-proclamation denouncing it as illegal ; but not to do this unless the illegality or danger is manifest, and the magistrate is prepared, and has the force to act decidedly if his admonition is disregarded. 2d. If, in defiance of the proclamation, the meeting is held or the procession attempted, to stop it as gently as possible by force, the magistrate being always himself at the head of the civil or military force which may be employed. 3d. If a meeting, not called for treasonable or

Manchester meeting had in preventing assemblages of a similar or still more alarming description throughout the country. Meetings took place at Birmingham and Leeds, in Westminster, York, Liverpool, Bristol, and Nottingham, attended by great multitudes, at which flags representing a yeoman cutting at a woman were displayed, with the word “Vengeance” inscribed in large letters, and resolutions vehemently condemning the Manchester proceedings were adopted. A meeting of the Common Council of London was held on 9th September, when a petition was voted to the Prince-Regent, condemning the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry, and praying for inquiry ; and at Paisley a meeting of the most violent and seditious character was held, which led to still more serious results. The magistrates of the burgh and sheriff of the county had there very properly issued a proclamation, denouncing the proposed meeting as illegal, and warning the public that it would be dispersed by force ; but notwithstanding this, the people met on a common near the town, and entered it in great force,

seditious purposes, takes place, but threatening to the public peace, to assemble in the vicinity as large a civil and military force as he has at his disposal, but place them out of sight, and never let them be exposed passively either to the insults or the seductions of the people. 4th. If acts of violence, as breaking into houses, setting fire to them, or assaulting or robbing individuals, are attempted, to charge the mob instantly, the magistrate taking his place beside the commanding officer, and taking on himself the entire responsibility ; but not to give orders to act till the felonious acts are so clear and decided as to leave no doubt of the impending danger, and to be capable of being proved, in defiance of misrepresentation, by numerous witnesses. 5th. If the leaders are to be arrested, but nothing illegal has yet been done by the multitude, to have the warrant ready, but not to attempt to execute it till they have dispersed, taking the precaution, however, to have the speeches listened to, or taken down, by persons who can be relied on. 6th. If acts of decided felony have been commenced, to act at once, without waiting for the hour required to elapse by the Riot Act, and though it has not been read ; the object of that Act being to render illegal a legal and peaceable, not to justify the dispersion of a violent and illegal assembly.

with colours, bearing seditious devices, flying, and music sounding. They were met by the sheriff and magistrates, who seized the colours, and warned the people to disperse. This led to a violent tumult, in the course of which several shops were broken into and pillaged, and order was not restored till the military had been brought from Glasgow, and twenty of the ringleaders seized. In Yorkshire a meeting was held, on a requisition to the high sheriff, signed by Lord Fitzwilliam, the lord-lieutenant of the West Riding of the county, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, where resolutions strongly condemnatory of the Manchester proceedings were adopted. For his share in that proceeding, Lord Fitzwilliam was immediately removed from his high office by order of Government, to the great regret of the friends of that highly-respected nobleman; but the divergence of opinions between him and the Administration had become such that it was impossible they could longer act together.

33. Great inconvenience had been experienced throughout, all these disturbances occurring simultaneously in so many different and distant quarters, from the want of any adequate military force to overawe the disaffected and preserve the public peace. A serious riot occurred at Ely, in the course of which the rioters got possession of, and kept for some time, the little town of Littleport, and the only force to oppose to them was eighteen dragoons. The like force was all that could be collected to oppose an insurrection at Derby. When the disturbance broke out at Paisley in the end of September, and the most pressing request for more troops was sent by Sir Thomas Bradford, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, the only mode of answering it was by sending a regiment from Portsmouth, and supplying its place by one from Guernsey. The Commander-in-Chief, with the exception of the Guards, who could not with safety be moved from London, had not a single regiment at his disposal, when applications for protection were coming in from all quarters, and yet Parliament was ring-

ing with declamations about the undue increase of the military force of the country. In this extremity Government adopted the wisest course which could have been followed, by calling out the most efficient of the pensioners, and arranging them in veteran battalions—a measure which, at a cost of only £300,000 a-year, added nearly 11,000 men to the military force of the kingdom. Lord Sidmouth was indefatigable in pursuing this object, as well as in augmenting the number and strength of the yeomanry force throughout the country; and so ceaseless and energetic were his efforts in both respects, that the Prince-Regent observed, with equal truth and justice, “He is the Duke of Wellington on home service.” At the same time that illustrious commander—who now, on his return from the Continent, commenced that career of administrative reform and amelioration which, not less than his military career, entitle him to the gratitude and admiration of his country—addressed a letter to Lord Sidmouth, of lasting value to all magistrates and officers placed in similar circumstances.*

* “I strongly recommend to you to order the magistrates to carry into execution, without loss of time, the law against training, and to furnish them with the means of doing so. Do not let us be again reproached with having omitted to carry the laws into execution. By sending to Carlisle and Newcastle 700 or 800 men, cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, or, in other words, two of this movable column, the four would be more than sufficient to do all that may be required. Rely upon it, that, in the circumstances in which we are placed, *impression on either side is everything*. If, upon the passing of the training law, you prevent training, either by the use of force or the appearance of force, in the two places above mentioned, you will put a stop at once to all the proceedings of the insurgents. *They are like conquerors; they must go forward: the moment they stop they are lost*. Their adherents will lose all confidence, and by degrees every individual will relapse into their old habits of loyalty or indifference. On the other hand, the moment the loyal see there is a law which can prevent these practices, and means and inclination and determination to carry it into execution, they will regain courage, and will do everything which you can desire. In my opinion, if you send the troops, and order that the law shall be carried into execution, you will not be under the necessity of using them; and the good effect of this will be felt

34. Parliament met on the 23d November, and of course there was special allusion in the Speech from the Throne to the seditious practices which had unfortunately become so prevalent in the country. There were no congratulations on the prosperity of the country, or the general wellbeing of the working classes. On the contrary, the Speech contained an emphatic admission of deep distress in several branches of industry.* It is not surprising that Ministers alluded to the suffering which pervaded several branches of manufacturing industry, for from the papers laid before Parliament, to justify the measures of repression which were proposed, it appeared that wages in the cotton manufacture had sunk *a half* within the last eight months, and in most other trades in the same proportion,—a fact speaking volumes both as to the real cause which at this particular period had rendered the efforts of the demagogues so successful in disturbing the population, and the futility of the ideas of those who ascribe the distress which prevailed to the excess of importations, which could have had no other effect but a beneficial one on the manufactures for the export sale,

not only in these towns, but over all England. Observe also, that if training is continued after the passing of the law, which it will be unless you send a force to prevent it, the insurgents will gain a very important victory.”—WELLINGTON to Lord Sidmouth, Dec. 11, 1819; *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 293.

* “The seditious practices so long prevalent in several parts of the manufacturing districts of the country, have been continued with increased activity since you were last assembled. They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of the country, but at the subversion of the rights of property, and of all order in society. . . . Some depression still continues to exist in certain branches of our manufactures, and I deeply lament the distress felt by those who more immediately depend upon them; but this depression is in a great measure to be ascribed to the embarrassed situation of other countries, and I earnestly hope it will be found to be of a temporary nature.”—PRINCE-REGENT'S Speech, 23d Nov. 1819; *Ann. Reg.* for 1819, 116, 117.

by diminishing the price at which the raw material and the subsistence for the workmen would be purchased.*

35. As soon as the debates on the Address, which were unusually long and stormy, but which terminated in large ministerial majorities in both Houses, were over, Lord Sidmouth in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, introduced the new measures which the Cabinet had deemed essential to meet the exigencies of the times. They were four in number, and, with the addition of two others not immediately connected with the public disturbances, were long famous in England under the name of the *Six Acts*. By the first, all training or practising military exercises, by persons not authorised by Government, was prohibited, and persons engaged in it were declared liable to punishment by fine, or imprisonment not exceeding two years. By the second, justices of the peace were authorised to issue warrants in certain counties of England and Scotland, to search for arms or other weapons dangerous to the public peace, on a sworn information. By the third, the court was authorised, in the event of the accused allowing judgment to go by default, to order the seizure of all copies of a seditious or blasphemous libel, to be restored if the person accused was afterwards acquitted; and for the second offence banishment might be inflicted. By the fourth, no more than fifty persons were to be allowed to assemble, except in borough or county meetings called by the magistrate; and the carrying of flags or attending such meetings armed was prohibited, and extensive powers given to justices of peace or magistrates for dispersing them. In addition to this, a bill was introduced by the Lord Chancellor, to prevent traversing or postponing of the trial, in cases of misdemeanour, to sub-

* “In all the great stations of the cotton manufacture, as Manchester, Glasgow, Paisley, the rate of wages had fallen on an average more than *one half*. This depression might be traced through the last twenty years to measures of *political economy*.”—Lord LANSDOWNE'S Speech, Dec. 1, 1819; *Parl. Deb.* xiii. 422.

sequent assizes ; and another in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh, subjecting newspapers to certain stamps, and to prevent the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels. The first and third of the first four acts alone were permanent ; the second and third were temporary only in their endurance, and have long since expired. The bills were all strenuously resisted, with the exception of the first, in both Houses, but were passed by large majorities,—that in the Commons, on the Seditious Meetings Bill, being 223, the numbers 351 to 128 ; in the Lords, on the same bill, 97, the numbers being 135 to 38. In regard to the Training Act, however, which is still in force, a much greater degree of unanimity prevailed. Several members of both Houses usually opposed to Government, but officially acquainted with the state of the country, added their testimony to its necessity ; and that the practice of training was then generally prevalent has since been admitted by the Radical leaders, and their ablest historical advocates.*

36. A curious but instructive circumstance took place when the Radical leaders were brought up for examination before the Privy Council, into the presence of those whom they had been taught to regard as of a cruel and unrelenting disposition, and the bitterest enemies of the people. "The simple-minded men who had followed Hunt were surprised," says Miss Martineau, "when brought into the presence of the Privy Council, at the actual appearance of the rulers of the land, whom they had regarded as their cruel enemies. They found no cruelty or ferocity in the faces of the tyrants—Lord Castlereagh, the good-looking person in a plum-coloured coat, with

a gold ring on the little finger of his left hand, on which he sometimes looked while addressing them : Lord Sidmouth, a tall, square, and bony figure, with thin and grey hairs, broad and prominent forehead, whose mild and intelligent eyes looked forth from their cavernous orbits ; his manners affable, and much more encouraging to freedom of speech than had been expected." "How often," says Thiers, "would factions the most opposite be reconciled, if they could meet and read each other's hearts !" On the other hand, Hunt was far from exhibiting the constancy in adversity which, in every age, has animated the patriot and the hero. He was alternately querulous and depressed—elated by popular applause, but sadly cast down when the intoxicating draught was taken from his lips. In this there is nothing surprising ; rectitude of intention is the principle which animates the patriot, who is sustained by its consciousness when aiding the people often against their will. Vanity is the prevailing passion of the demagogue, and his spirits sink the moment the exciting influence is withdrawn.

37. The beginning of the year 1820 was marked by two events which strongly riveted the attention of the nation, and had a beneficial general effect in reviving those feelings of loyalty, which, though sometimes forgotten, are never extinct in the breast of the English people. The Duke of Kent, the father of our present gracious Sovereign, had accompanied the Duchess and his infant daughter, the future Sovereign of Great Britain, to Sidmouth, in Devonshire, for the benefit of change of air. There he was unfortunately exposed to wet and cold on the 13th January, which brought on a cough and inflammation of the lungs ; and this, notwithstanding the most active treatment, terminated fatally on the 23d of the same month. He was interred, with the usual solemnities, at Windsor on 7th February. This prince took little share in public life ; and the rigorous discipline which he had found it necessary to enforce in the army in his earlier years, when in

* "There is, and can be, no dispute about the fact of military training ; the only question is in regard to the design or object of the practice. Numerous informations were taken by the Lancashire magistrates, and transmitted to Government in the beginning of August." Bamford, the Radical annalist, assures us it was done solely with a view to the great meeting on the 16th August at Manchester.—See Miss MARTINEAU, i. 227 ; BAMFORD'S *Life of a Radical*, i. 177, 180.

command, had at the time given rise to considerable discussion. But he had survived this temporary unpopularity, as really estimable characters seldom fail to do; and in his latter years he possessed alike the respect of the nation and the warm affection of his personal friends. Personally intrepid, as his race have ever been, he possessed at the same time the kindness of heart and charm of manner, which in all, but in none so much as those of exalted station, are the main foundation of lasting affection. In politics he inclined to the Liberal side, as his brother the Prince-Regent and the Duke of Sussex had so long done; but he had little turn for political contentions, and shrouded himself in preference in the seclusion and enjoyments of private life. Deeds of beneficence, or the support of institutions of charity, of which he was a munificent patron, alone brought him before the eye of the public; but in private, no one was more kindly in his disposition, or had secured by acts of generosity a wider or more attached circle of friends.

38. The death of the Duke of Kent was speedily followed by that of his father, who had so long swayed the sceptre of the realm. Towards the end of January, the health of George III., which had hitherto been surprisingly preserved during his long and melancholy mental alienation, rapidly sank. His strength failed, his appetite left him, and it became evident that the powers of nature were exhausted. At length, at half-past eight on the 28th January, he breathed his last; and the Prince-Regent, as George IV., formally ascended the throne, of which, during ten years, he had discharged the duties. On Monday the 31st, the new sovereign was proclaimed with the usual formalities at the Palace, Temple Bar, Charing Cross, and other places; the members of Parliament were sworn in, and both Houses immediately adjourned to the 17th February.

39. Although he had lived nearly ten years in retirement, and the practical discharge of the functions of roy-

alty by the sovereign who succeeded him had so long withdrawn him from the public gaze, the death of George III. made a profound impression on the British heart. The very circumstances under which the demise had taken place added to the melancholy interest which it excited, and the feelings with which the bereavement was regarded by the people. Nearly the whole existing generation had grown up during his long reign of sixty years; there was no one who had not been accustomed to regard the 4th of June, the well-known birthday of the Sovereign, as a day of rejoicing; no one could form an idea of a king without the aged form which still flitted through the halls of Windsor occurring to the mind. The very obscurity in which his last days had been shrouded, the mental darkness which had prevented him from being conscious of the surpassing glories of the close of his reign, the malady which had secluded him from the eyes of his affectionate people, added to the emotion which his death occasioned. Old feelings were revived, former affections, long pent up, gushed forth, and flowed without control. The realisation of the catastrophe, though not of the sorrows, of Lear on the theatre of the world, profoundly affected every heart. The King had survived all his unpopularity; he had lived down the bitterest of his enemies. When the eloquent preacher quoted the words of Scripture, "And Joseph asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? is he yet alive? And they answered, Our father is yet alive. And they bowed their heads, and made obeisance,"* all felt that now, as in the days of the patriarchs, the same affections of a people to their common father were experienced. The removal of the aged King from this earthly scene made no change in the political world; it was unfelt in the councils or cabinets of princes; but, like a similar bereavement in private life, the circle of the domestic affections was for a season drawn closer, from the

* Sermon on the Jubilee, 1810, by Rev. A. Alison—*Sermons*, i. 419.

removal of one who had shared in its brightness. Nor did it lessen the emotion felt on this event, that it occurred at the time when the mighty antagonist of the departed sovereign was declining in distant and hopeless captivity, and that while George III. slept to death in the solitude of his ancestral halls, Napoleon was dying a dis-crowned exile in the melancholy main.

40. The French said, in the days of their loyalty, "The king is dead—long live the king!" Never was the value of this noble maxim more strongly felt than on the present occasion. The death of the King, preceded as it had been by that of the Princess Charlotte, the heiress of the throne, the age and circumstances of the sovereign who had just ascended it, and the situation of the other members of the royal family, had long awakened a feeling of disquietude as to the succession to the monarchy. The Duke of York, now the heir-apparent, was married, had no family, and the duchess was in declining health; the Duke of Clarence, the next in succession, was advanced in years, and although he had had children, they had all died in infancy or early youth. The successors to the crown, after the present sovereign, whose health was known to be in a precarious condition, were, a prince from whom no issue could now be expected, and, after him, an infant princess. Many were the gloomy apprehensions entertained of the eventual consequences of such a state of things, at a time when Europe was convulsed by revolutionary passions, and vigour and capacity on the throne seemed, in an especial manner, requisite to steer the monarchy through the shoals with which it was surrounded. But how often does the course of events deviate from what was once anticipated, and Providence, out of seeming disaster, educe the means of future salvation! Out of this apparently untoward combination of circumstances arose an event of the last importance in after times to the British empire. George IV. reigned just ten years after his accession to the throne, the Duke of Clarence only seven; and his demise

opened the succession to our present gracious Sovereign, then an infant in the arms, who, uniting the courage and spirit of her Plantagenet and Stuart, to the judgment and integrity of her Hanoverian ancestors, has again bound, in troubled times, all hearts to the throne, and spread through her entire subjects the noble feelings of disinterested loyalty. The sequel of this History will show of what incalculable importance it was that, at a time when every crown in Europe was shaking on the brow of its wearer, and the strongest monarchies were crumbling in the dust, a Queen should have been on the British throne, whose virtues had inspired the respect, while her intrepidity had awakened the admiration of all her subjects, and who, like her ancestress Queen Mary, was regarded with warmer feelings of chivalrous devotion than any king, how eminent soever, could have been; for towards her, to all that could command respect in the other sex were united

"The gallantry of man
In lovelier woman's cause."

41. The English were soon made aware on how precarious a footing the succession to the throne was placed, and how soon they might have to mourn a second death among their monarchs. Hardly had the new King ascended the throne, when he was seized with a violent attack of inflammation in the chest, which was the more alarming, from its being the same complaint which had so recently proved fatal to the Duke of Kent. For several days his life was in imminent danger, and almost despaired of; but at length the strength of his constitution, and the skill of his physicians, triumphed over the virulence of the disease, and the alarming symptoms disappeared. He long continued, however, very weak, from the copious bleedings which he had undergone; and when his royal father was laid in the grave at Windsor, on the 16th February, the highest in station was absent and the Duke of York was chief mourner.

42. Parliament met again, after the prorogation, on the 17th February.

By the Constitution, the House of Commons must be dissolved within six months after the demise of the King, and the state of the public business rendered it advisable that this should take place as soon as possible, in order to get it over by the ordinary time of prorogation. It was indispensable, however, for Ministers to obtain some votes in supply before the House was dissolved; and, in doing so, they received early warning of a serious difficulty which awaited them at the very threshold of their career as ministers of the new monarch. Hitherto Queen Caroline had been prayed for in the Liturgy as the Princess of Wales. But as the King was determined never, under any circumstances, to acknowledge her as Queen of England, it was deemed indispensable to make a stand at the very outset; and, accordingly, her name was omitted in the Liturgy by an order of the Privy Council. This gave rise to an ominous question in the House of Commons a few days after. Mr Hume asked, on the 18th February, whether the allowance of £35,000 a-year, hitherto made to her Royal Highness, was to be continued; and Lord Castlereagh having answered in the affirmative, no further notice of the subject took place, though Mr Brougham, her chief legal adviser, was present, and had made a violent attack on the Government. But on the 21st, when a motion was made that the House should resolve itself into a committee of supply, Mr Hume again introduced the subject, and said that, without finding fault with any exercise of the prerogative, on the part of the Sovereign, as head of the Church, he might be permitted to ask why an address of condolence and congratulation had not been voted to her Majesty on her accession to the throne, and to express his regret at the manner in which she had been treated. Was she to be left a beggar upon the Continent, and the Queen of England to be thrown a needy suppliant on the cold charity of foreign princes? Something definite should be fixed in regard to the future provision for her.

43. The speech of Mr Brougham on

this occasion was very remarkable, and seemed to presage, as he was the Queen's Attorney-General, a more favourable issue to this unhappy division than could have been at first anticipated. He deemed it unnecessary to lay any stress on the omission of her name in the Liturgy, or her being called by the King's ministers in this debate an "exalted personage" instead of Her Majesty. Was she not the wedded wife of the Sovereign? What she was called could not alter her position one way or other. These are trifles light as air, which can never render her situation either precarious or uncertain. If the advisers of the Crown should be able to settle upon her what was necessary to maintain her rank and dignity out of the civil list, there would be no need to introduce her Majesty's name. He had refused to listen to any surmise; he had shut his ears to all reports; he knew nothing of any delicate investigations; but if any charge was preferred against her Majesty, he would be prepared to meet it alike as her Majesty's confidential adviser, and as an independent member of Parliament.

44. Nothing further followed on this conversation, and Parliament, having been prorogued to the 13th March, was next day dissolved, and writs issued for the election of a new Parliament to meet on 27th April. But ere it could assemble the nation was horror-struck by the discovery of one of the most atrocious murderous conspiracies that ever disgraced the annals of mankind, and which was only prevented from ending in the massacre of the whole Cabinet by the timidity or treachery of one of the members of the gang, who revealed the plot to the Government. This was the CATO STREET CONSPIRACY, which may well take its place beside the worst outbreaks of Italian crime, and showed to what frightful extremities the English mind, when violently excited by political passions, is capable of being led. The author of the plot was Arthur Thistlewood, who was born in 1770, had received a tolerable education, and had served both in the militia and in a West India regiment.

He soon, however, resigned his commission, and, notwithstanding the war, succeeded in making his way to Paris, where he arrived shortly after the fall of Robespierre. He there embraced all the extravagant ideas which the Revolution had caused to germinate in France, and he returned to England firmly persuaded that the first duty of a patriot was to massacre the Government, and overturn all existing institutions. He was engaged in Watson's conspiracy, already mentioned, and, like him, acquitted in the face of distinct proof, chiefly from the indictment having been laid for high treason, which was straining a point, instead of conspiracy and riot, as to which the evidence was clear. On his acquittal he sent a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which he was handed over to the civil authorities, by whom he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. He came out of prison at its expiration thirsting for vengeance, and burning with revolutionary passions, at the very time when the "Manchester massacre," as it was called, had excited such a ferment in the country, and he immediately engaged himself in the furtherance of a conspiracy, the object of which was to murder the Ministers and overturn the Government.

45. He soon succeeded, in that period of excitement, in collecting a band of conspirators as determined and reckless as himself—men fit, indeed, "to disturb the peace of the whole world," though certainly not to "rule it when 'tis wildest." Ings, a butcher; Davidson, a creole; Brunt and Tidd, shoemakers, were his principal associates, but with them were collected forty or fifty more, who were to be employed in the execution of their designs. They met twice a-day, during February, in a hired room near Gray's Inn Lane, and their first design was to murder the King, but this was soon laid aside for the massacre of his ministers, who were to be despatched separately in their own houses. On Saturday, February 19th, their plans were arranged. Forty men were to be set apart for these de-

tached murders, and whoever faltered in the great work was to atone for it with his life; while a detachment was, at the same time, to seize two pieces of artillery stationed in Gray's Inn, and six in the artillery-ground. The Mansion House was to be immediately attacked, and a provisional government established there, the Bank assailed, and London set on fire in several places. But this design was modified, in consequence of information given by Edwards, one of their number, who afterwards revealed the conspiracy, that the whole Cabinet was to dine at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square. Thistlewood immediately proposed to murder them all at once when assembled there, which was assented to; "for," said he, "as there has not been a dinner for so long, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there; and it will be *a rare haul to murder them all together.*"

46. In pursuance of this plan, two of the conspirators were stationed in Grosvenor Square to see what was going on there; and a room was taken above a stable in Cato Street, off the Edgeware Road, where the conspirators were to assemble on the afternoon of the 22d February, when the dinner at Lord Harrowby's was to take place. The only access to this room, which was large enough to hold thirty persons, was by a ladder, which led up to a trap-door, and there, at six in the evening, Thistlewood, and twenty-four of the conspirators, fully armed, were assembled. It was arranged that one of the conspirators was to call at Lord Harrowby's with a note when the party were at dinner, and on the door being opened the whole were to rush in, murder the Ministers, and as trophies of their success bring out the heads of Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, for which purpose bags were provided. Meanwhile the cavalry barracks in King Street, Portman Square, were to be set on fire by throwing fire-balls into the straw dépôt, and the Bank and Mansion House attacked by those left in the city. Everything was in readiness, arms and ammunition provided, fire-balls prepared, the treasonable pro-

clamation ready, and at half-past seven the conspirators were arming themselves in the Cato Street loft by the light of two small candles. But meanwhile Ministers had information of their designs from the information of Edwards, who had revealed the whole conspiracy, and instead of dining at Lord Harrowby's they dined together privately in Downing Street. The preparations for the dinner at Lord Harrowby's, however, were allowed to proceed without any interruption, and a party of fourteen police, under that able police magistrate, Mr Birnie, proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where it had been arranged they were to be supported by a detachment of the Coldstream Guards. The Guards, however, were not ready to start instantly when Birnie called with the police at their barracks, and in consequence, thinking not a moment was to be lost, that intrepid officer hastened on with his fourteen policemen alone.*

47. The first of the police who ascended the trap-stair was an active and brave officer, named Smithers, who, the moment he got to the top of the ladder, called on the conspirators to

* The delay in getting the detachment of Foot Guards ready when Birnie called at the barracks with the police, was not owing to any want of zeal or activity on the part of that gallant corps, the detachment of which, under their noble leader, Captain Fitzclarence, behaved with the utmost spirit, and rendered essential service in the affray when they did come up. It arose from a different meaning being attached by military men and civilians to the words, "ready to turn out at a moment's warning." The former understood these words to mean, "ready to take their places in file, and be told off," when ordered to do so; the latter, ready to *face about and march straight out of the barrack gate*. The difference should be known, and is often attended with important consequences. In this instance, if the Guards had been drawn up and told off in the barrack-yard, and marched out with Birnie the moment he arrived, the whole conspirators would at once have been taken in the loft, and perhaps no lives lost. They had been ordered to be in readiness to start at a moment's warning, but some little time was lost in putting them in their places and telling off. Another instance will occur in the sequel of this History, where a similar misunderstanding as to the meaning of these words between the magistrates and military occasioned the loss of three lives.

surrender. As they refused to do so, he advanced to seize Thistlewood, and was by him run through the body and immediately fell. The lights were instantly extinguished, and a frightful conflict began in the dark between the police officers and the gang, in the course of which some dashed headlong down the trap-stair, and others, including Thistlewood, made their escape by the back windows of the loft. At this critical moment the Foot Guards, thirty in number, came up with fixed bayonets, and, hastening in double-quick time to the door of the stable, arrived there as some of the conspirators were rushing out. Captain Fitzclarence, who was at their head, advanced to seize the sentinel at the door, who instantly aimed a pistol at his head, the ball of which was averted by his covering Sergeant Logge, whom it wounded. Fitzclarence upon this ordered his men to follow him into the stable, himself leading the way. He was met by a mulatto, who aimed a blow at him with a cutlass, which one of the soldiers warded off with his musket. Both these men were made prisoners. They then mounted the ladder, and five men were secured in the loft, making, with those previously taken by the police, nine in all. The rest, in the darkness and confusion, had escaped, among whom was Thistlewood; but a reward of £1000 having been offered for his apprehension, he was made prisoner the following morning in his bed.

48. The Ministers, whose lives had been saved by the discovery of this conspiracy, returned thanks publicly in St Paul's a few days after, and the whole respectable classes in the country were horror-struck at the intelligence. Thistlewood, Ings, Tidd, Brunt, and Davidson, were arraigned for high treason on the 17th of April, found guilty, and sentenced to death, on proof which, though consisting in part of the testimony of two of the conspirators who were taken as king's evidence, was so confirmed by the police officers, military, and others engaged in the capture, that not a doubt could exist of their guilt. Five were sentenced to

transportation for life, and one, after sentence, received a free pardon. Indeed, so far from denying their guilt, Thistlewood and Brunt gloried in it at their trial, alleging that assassination was fully justifiable in the circumstances, and that it was a fit retribution for the high treason committed against the people by the Manchester massacre.* They were executed on the 1st May, in presence of an immense crowd of spectators, many of whom evinced a warm sympathy with their fate. They behaved with great firmness in their last moments, exhibiting that mixture of stoicism and ruffianism so common in persons engaged in political conspiracies. All attempts to awaken them to any sense of religion or feelings of repentance failed, except with Da-

* "High treason was committed against the people at Manchester, but justice was closed against the mutilated, the maimed, and the friends of those who were upon that occasion indiscriminately massacred. The Prince, by the advice of his Ministers, thanked the murderers, still reeking in the gore of their victims. If one spark of honour, if one spark of independence, still glimmered in the breasts of Englishmen, they would have risen as one man. Insurrection then became a public duty, and the blood of the victims should have been the watchword for vengeance on their murderers. Albion is still in the chains of slavery. I quit it without regret. I shall soon be consigned to the grave; my body will be immured beneath the soil where I first drew breath. My only sorrow is, that the soil should be a theatre for slaves, for cowards, and for despots. I disclaim any personal motives. My every principle was for the prosperity of my country. My every feeling, the height of my ambition, was for the welfare of my starving countrymen. I keenly felt for their miseries: but when their miseries were laughed at, and when, because they dared to express those miseries, they were inhumanly massacred and trampled upon, my feelings became too intense, and I resolved on vengeance! I resolved that the lives of the instigators should be required to the souls of the murdered innocents."—*Thistlewood's Address before receiving sentence.*

"Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth have been the cause of the death of millions. I conspired to put them out of the world, but I did not intend to commit high treason. In undertaking to kill them and their fellow-ministers, I did not expect to save my own life: but I was determined to die a martyr in my country's cause, and to avenge the innocent blood shed at Manchester."—*Brunt's Speech before receiving sentence; Ann. Reg. 1820, 946, 947; Appendix to Chronicle.*

vidson. "In ten minutes," said Ings, as he ascended the scaffold, "we shall know the great secret." The frightful process of decapitating, prescribed by the English law for cases of high treason, was executed, it is to be hoped for the last time, on their lifeless remains, amidst the shudders of the crowd, who were more horror-struck with this relic of ancient barbarity than impressed with the guilt of the criminals.

49. Hardly had the nation recovered from the shock arising from this atrocious conspiracy, and its dreadful punishment, when a fresh alarm of a more serious and widespread nature broke out in the north. Notwithstanding the powers given to the magistrates to suppress military training by the late Act, it still continued through the whole winter in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, and the neighbourhood of Glasgow. All the vigilance of the magistrates was unable to detect or suppress these alarming practices, which evidently presaged, at no distant period, a general insurrection against the Government. It was at first fixed for the 1st November, but adjourned then, and on various other occasions, in consequence of the preparations not being complete. Meanwhile the midnight training went on without intermission on the hills and moors, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, so as to elude discovery or pursuit; and at length, all things being conceived to be in readiness, the insurrection was arranged to take place on the 2d April. The large military force, however, which was stationed in Lancashire and Yorkshire, prevented any serious outbreak in that quarter, and it ended in an assembly of three hundred malcontents near Huddersfield, who dispersed on the rumour of the approach of a body of cavalry. But in Scotland affairs became more serious, and revealed at once the precipice on the brink of which the nation stood, and the extraordinary sway which the leaders of the movement had obtained over the working classes in the manufacturing districts.

50. On Sunday morning, 2d April, a treasonable proclamation was found placarded over all the streets of Glasgow, Paisley, Stirling, and the neighbouring towns and villages, in the name of a provisional government, calling on the people to desist from labour; on all manufacturers to close their workshops; on the soldiers to remember the glorious example of the Spanish troops; and on all friends of their country to come forward and effect a revolution by force, with a view to the establishment of an entire equality of civil rights. Strange to say, this treasonable proclamation, unsigned, proceeding from an unknown authority, was widely obeyed. Work immediately ceased; the manufactories were closed from the desertions of their workmen; the streets were filled with anxious crowds, eagerly expecting news from the south; the sounds of industry were no longer heard; and two hundred thousand persons in the busiest districts of the country were thrown at once into a state of compulsory idleness, by the mandates of an unseen and unknown power. Never was there a clearer proof how powerful an engine fear is to work upon the human heart—how much its influence is extended by the terror being awakened from a source of which all are ignorant. How true are the words of Tacitus, "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*;" and how well founded was the boast of Marat, that with three hundred determined braves he would govern France, and cause three hundred thousand heads to fall.

51. Fortunately at this juncture the energy of Government, and the spirit of the untainted parts of the country, were adequate to encounter the danger. Volunteer and yeomanry corps had shortly before been formed in various districts; regiments 800 strong had been raised in Edinburgh and Glasgow, entirely clothed at their own expense. Squadrons of yeomanry had been formed in both towns, and they came forward at the approach of danger with the most praiseworthy alacrity. At 2 P.M. on April 3, summonses

were despatched to the Edinburgh squadron, which was 99 strong, to assemble in marching order; at 4 P.M. 97 were at the appointed rendezvous, and set out for Glasgow.* Volunteer and yeomanry corps rapidly poured into that city; in a few days 5000 men, of whom 2000 were horse, with eight guns, were assembled in it. The Crown officers hastened to Glasgow, and directed the proceedings. This great demonstration of moral and physical strength extinguished the threatened insurrection. The expected movement in England did not take place; the appointed signal of the stopping of the London mail in vain was looked for: a tumultuous body of insurgents, which set out from Strathaven, in Lanarkshire, melted away before they arrived in Glasgow; another between Kilsyth and Falkirk was encountered at Bonnymuir by a detachment of fourteen husars and fourteen of the Stirlingshire yeomanry, totally defeated, and nineteen of their number made prisoners. Before the week had elapsed the danger was over; the insurgents saw they were overmatched; a rigorous search for arms in Glasgow revealed to them their weakness; numerous arrests paralysed all the movements of the leaders, and sent numbers into voluntary exile; the people gradually resumed their avocations: and this outbreak, which at first had appeared so threatening, was terminated with the sacrifice only of two men executed at Stirling, one at Glasgow, and seven or eight transported. But the rebellious spirit of the manufacturing districts was suppressed in a far more effectual and better way, which neither caused

* The author has much pleasure in recording this just tribute to a fine and spirited corps, in the ranks of which some of the happiest days of his life have been spent. The Edinburgh squadron at that time, which was the successor of that in which Sir Walter Scott had served, and has immortalised, contained several young men destined to distinguished eminence: among others, the late Lord Justice-Clerk, Hope; Mr Patrick Tytler, the historian of Scotland; Mr Lockhart, since editor of the *Quarterly Review*; and Mr Francis Grant, since so eminent as a painter in London.

blood to flow nor a tear to fall. They were morally slaughtered; the strength of their opponents, their own weakness, was evinced in an unmistakable manner. The ancient spirit and loyalty of the Scotch was shown in the most striking manner on this occasion: the flower of the youth in all the counties ranged themselves in arms around the standard of their country; and Sir Walter Scott, whose chivalrous spirit was strongly roused by these exciting events, boasted, in the pride of his heart, that at a public dinner of 800 gentlemen in Edinburgh, presided over by the Marquess of Huntly, there were gentlemen enough assembled to have raised 50,000 men in arms.*

52. Parliament met, after the general election, on 21st April. Its results had made no material difference in the respective strength of parties, but, if anything, strengthened the ministerial ranks,—the usual result of public disturbances, which awaken men to a sense of the necessity of supporting the Government, whatever it is, which is intrusted with the duty of repressing them. One distinguished member of the House, however, Mr GRATTAN, never took his seat in the new Parliament, and expired soon after the session commenced. He was the last of that bright band of patriots, who, warmed into life by the great struggle for Irish independence in 1782, when the chains in which that country had so long been held by England first began to be broken, were, after the Union, transferred to the British Parliament, which they caused to re-

sound with strains of eloquence rarely before heard within its walls.

53. He was not so luminous in his exposition of facts as Pitt, nor so vehement in his declamation as Fox; but in burning thoughts, generous feelings, and glowing language, he was sometimes superior to either. Occasional passages in his speeches, when quoted or repeated, are perhaps the finest and most imaginative pieces of eloquence in the English language. It was justly observed by Sir James Mackintosh, in moving a new writ for Dublin, which he had long represented, that he was perhaps the only man recorded in history who had obtained equal fame and influence in two assemblies differing from each other in such essential respects as the English and Irish Parliaments. Forty years before his death, he had been voted a grant to purchase an estate, by the Irish Parliament, in consideration of his eminent national services—a thing unknown in an individual not connected with the public establishments. He had been at first a decided opponent, but afterwards a warm supporter of the Union, hoping, as he himself expressed it, that Ireland, instead of receiving laws from England, should henceforth take an equal share with her in legislating for the united empire. It is only to be regretted that his genius, great as it was, had been through life chiefly directed to an unattainable object. The independence of Ireland was the chief aspiration of his mind, and he lived to see that it was hopeless. He said, in his figurative and beautiful language, "I have sat by its cradle, I have followed its hearse." Hence his name, with the exception of the Union and the shackles burst in 1782, is linked with no great legislative improvement in his native country; for Catholic emancipation, of which he was the strenuous and able advocate, has failed, by the admission of its warmest supporters, to prove such. It is remarkable that the Irish or Celtic character, gifted, often beyond the Anglo-Saxon, with the brightest imaginative qualities, has in general been found deficient in that practical turn

* "We have silenced the Scottish Whigs for our time, and, I think, drawn the flower of Scotland round the King and Constitution. Literally I do not exceed the mark, when Lord Huntly, our Cock of the North, as he is called, presided over 800 gentlemen, there was influence and following enough among us to raise 50,000 men, property enough to equip and pay them for a year, young men not unacquainted with arms enough to discipline them, and one or two experienced generals to command them. I told this to my Whig friends who were bullying me about the popular voice—and added, they might begin when they liked, we were as ready as they." —Sir WALTER SCOTT to Lord SIDMOUTH, 17th February 1821; *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 343.

and intuitive sagacity which is necessary to turn them to any good purpose; and that, amidst all our admiration of their genius, we are too often reminded of the elegant allegory told of the Duke of Orleans, that every fairy invited to his christening sent him a gift of person, genius, or fortune; but that one old fairy, to whom no invitation had been given, sent one fatal present—that he should be unable to make any use of them.

54. One of the first measures adopted by Government, with the sanction of Parliament, was the increase of the yeomanry force, which was so much augmented that before the end of the year it amounted to nearly 35,000 men, all animated with the best spirit, and for the most part in a surprising state of discipline and efficiency. Without doubt, it takes above a year to make a good horse-soldier; but it often excites the wonder of military officers how quickly men of intelligence and spirit, such as usually compose the yeomanry corps, if previously able to ride, acquire the rudiments of skill even in the cavalry service; and still more, how *quickly their horses learn it*. The Duke of Wellington recommended that the militia should be called out throughout the kingdom; but this was thought not advisable, probably because it was doubtful how far, in the manufacturing districts, such a force could be relied on. Two thousand men, however, were added to the marines, which rendered disposable an equal amount of the regular force stationed in the garrison seaport towns. Such was the vigour of Lord Sidmouth in following up the measures for the increase of the yeomanry force, that the King happily said of him, "If England is to be preserved England, the arrangements he has made will lead to that preservation." Without doubt, the powerful volunteer force, organised especially in the manufacturing districts at this period, and the decisive demonstration it afforded of moral and physical strength on the part of the Government, was the chief cause of Great Britain escaping an alarming convulsion, at the time when the spirit of

revolution was proving so fatal to monarchy in so many of the Continental states.

55. The revenue for the year fell considerably short of what had been anticipated, the natural consequence of the general distress which prevailed in the country. Mr Alderman Heygate, who had so strenuously resisted the resumption of cash payments in the preceding year, did not fail to point out the contraction of the currency as the main cause of that deficiency.* Great disputes, as usual, took place as to the real amount of the revenue, as compared with the expenditure; but it appeared upon the whole evident that the revenue had fallen above a million short of what had been anticipated, and that instead of the expected real sinking-fund of £5,000,000, no reduction in the public debt had taken place, as the unfunded debt had decreased £2,000,000, and the funded debt increased by exactly the same sum. The revenue for 1820 and 1821 exhibited, without any change in taxation, and the most strenuous efforts at economy on the part of Government, decisive evidence of the labouring state of the finances of the country, and took away all hopes of making, during peace, any serious impression on the public debt. The details are of little practical importance in a work of general history; but the result is so, as demonstrating how entirely the effects had corresponded to what had been predicted as to the effects of the currency bill passed

* "Let the House contrast the quantity of the circulating medium which was floating in the country in May 1818, with the amount in circulation in the same month in the present year. In the issue of Bank of England notes there had been a diminution of £4,000,000; in the issue of country bank notes there had been a diminution of £5,000,000. The total diminution in that short period had been £9,000,000, a sum amounting to more than one-sixth of the whole circulation of the country. The state of the exchange during that period had been almost uniformly in our favour, but not a single piece of gold had made its appearance to replace the notes which had been withdrawn. Three-fourths of the distress of the country was to be ascribed to the haste with which so large a proportion as £9,000,000 had been withdrawn from the circulation."—Mr HEYGATE'S *Speech*, June 19, 1820; *Parl. Deb.*, i. 1178, new series.

so unanimously in the preceding year by both Houses of Parliament.*

56. The Parliamentary debates of 1820 embrace fewer topics than usual of general moment, in consequence of the engrossing interest of the proceedings regarding the Queen, to be immediately noticed. But three subjects of lasting importance were brought forward—namely, that of general education, introduced by Mr Brougham; the disfranchisement of Grampound, by LORD JOHN RUSSELL; and Free Trade, by Mr Wallace of the Board of Trade. On the first point it is superfluous to give the speeches, even in an abbreviated form, because the subject is one upon which the minds of all men

are made up. It is no more necessary to prove that the sun's rays will give light and warmth, than that the lamp of knowledge will illuminate and humanise the mind. But the subject, as all others in which the feelings of large bodies of men are warmly interested, is beset with difficulties; and Mr Brougham's speech was replete with valuable information on it. His project, which was for the establishment, as in Scotland, of a school, maintained by the public funds, in every parish, failed chiefly from its proposing to connect the schools with the Established Church, which at once lost for it the support of all the Dissenters.† But the facts which he had collected

* The revenue of Great Britain and Ireland for 1820 and 1821 stood thus:—

INCOME.		1820.—Net.	1821.—Net.
Customs,		£10,743,189	£11,475,259
Excise,		28,622,248	28,941,629
Stamps,		6,794,866	6,853,986
Lands Assessed, including Ireland,		8,313,148	8,192,301
Post-Office,		1,692,636	1,621,326
Lesser Imposts,		1,323,893	1,731,231
Hereditary Revenue,		127,820	136,077
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Loans from Sinking Fund,		17,292,544	13,833,783
Total,		£74,597,195	£71,937,638
Of which was Irish Revenue,		3,905,899	3,672,419
EXPENDITURE.		1820.	1821.
National Debt and Sinking Fund,		£47,070,927	£47,130,171
Unfunded Debt, Ireland,		1,849,219	2,219,602
Civil List, &c.,		2,134,213	2,268,940
Civil Government, Scotland,		132,080	133,077
Lesser Payments,		438,339	476,873
Navy,		6,387,799	5,943,879
Ordnance,		1,401,585	1,337,923
Army,		8,926,423	8,932,779
Miscellaneous,		2,616,700	3,870,042
Foreign Loans, &c.,		50,357	48,464
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		£71,007,648	£72,361,756
NATIONAL DEBT.			
Unfunded Debt,		£37,042,433	£36,244,726
Debt Redeemed by Sinking Fund to 5th January 1821,		399,560,101	399,358,449
Unredeemed Debt at ditto,		772,066,898	795,312,767
Annual Interest:—			
Funded Debt,		31,450,128	31,450,128
Sinking Fund,		16,649,514	16,649,514

—*Ann. Reg.* 1821, 254, 271; and 1822, 319, 325.

† “No scheme of popular education can ever become national in this country, which gives the management of schools and appointment of masters to the Church, while Dissenters constitute a large proportion of the inhabitants in almost every district, and especially in the most populous, where the Dissenters bear their full share in such education as already exists. This difficulty was immediately fatal to Mr Brougham's measure, and has been so in every scheme proposed in succeeding years; the members of the Established Church insisting on direct religious instruction as a part of the plan, and the Dissenters refusing to subject their children to the religious instruction of the Church, or to pay for a system from which their children are necessarily excluded.”—MISS MARTINEAU'S *Thirty Years of Peace*, i. 265.

were of lasting value in the great cause of moral and social improvement.

57. According to Mr Brougham's statement, there were then 12,000 parishes or chapelries in England; of these, 3500 had not a vestige of a school, endowed or unendowed, and the people had no more means of education than the Hottentots or the Caffres. Of the remainder, 3000 had endowed schools, and the remaining 5500 were provided only with unendowed schools, depending entirely on the casual and fleeting support of the parents of the children attending them. The number of children annually receiving education at all the schools, week-day and Sunday, was 700,000, of whom only 600,000 were at day-schools, where regular attendance was given and discipline enforced. Fifty thousand were estimated as the number educated at home, making in all 750,000 annually under tuition of one sort or another, which, taking the population of England at 9,540,000, the amount by the census of 1811, was about *one-fifteenth* of the whole population. But in reality the population of England was proved, by the census taken in the succeeding year, to be considerably greater than he supposed, for it amounted to no less than 11,260,000, besides 470,000 in the army, navy, and mercantile sea-service. Thus the real proportion receiving education was not more than *one-seventeenth* of the entire population; a small figure for a country boasting so great an amount of intelligence and civilisation, for in many countries with less pretensions in these respects the proportion was much higher. In Scotland the proportion at that period was between one-ninth and one-tenth; in Holland it was one-tenth; in Switzerland, one-eighth; in Prussia, one-tenth; in Austria, one-eleventh. In France—to its disgrace be it said—the proportion was still one twenty-eighth only, though 7200 new schools had been opened in the last two years. But though England presented a much more favourable aspect, yet there the deficiency was very great; for the total children requiring education were about 1,000,000, and as 750,000 only were at

any place of education, it followed that 250,000 persons, or a quarter of the entire juvenile population, were yearly growing up without any education whatever.*

58. It is abundantly evident from these facts—and the same has been proved in other countries—that no reliance can be placed on the voluntary system for the support of education, and that unless the means of instruction are provided at the public expense, the education of the people will always be in a most unsatisfactory state, and its blessings in a considerable portion of society wholly unknown. Whatever ministers to the physical necessities or pleasures of the people is easily rendered self-supporting. There is no need of state support for butchers, bakers, or spirit-dealers; but it is otherwise with what tends to their moral improvement or social elevation. These can never be safely left to private support, for this plain reason, that a large portion of society, and that the very one which most stands in need of them, is wholly insensible to their value, and will pay nothing for their furtherance. Had the property which once belonged to the Church still remained in its hands, and been righteously administered, it might have solved the difficulty, because it was adequate to the gratuitous support of the whole religious and educational institutions requisite for the country. But as so large a part of it had been seized on by private cupidity, and been alienated from the Church at the Reformation, this precious resource was lost, and nothing remained but assessment, and there the difficulty at once is felt.

* Mr Brougham stated that in endowed schools 165,432 children were educated, and 490,000 in unendowed, besides 11,000 who might be allowed for the unendowed schools in 150 parishes, from which no returns had been obtained. Of this number 53,000 were at dame schools, where only the rudiments of education were taught. Small as the proportion of educated children was, it had only become such as it was of late years, for of the total educated about 200,000 were at 1520 Lancasterian schools, which only began to be established in 1803, so that before that time not more than one-twentieth of the population was annually receiving instruction.—*Ann. Reg.* 1820, 50.

59. At first sight, it appears easy to solve the difficulty by simply establishing a school-rate in every parish, to be collected along with the poor-rate and prison-rate, and which, at a trifling cost to the community, would afford to the children of all adequate means of instruction. This was what Lord Brougham proposed in England, and which has been long established with great success in America. But a difficulty, which has hitherto been found insurmountable, lies at the very threshold of the question in this country, which is the more serious that it arises from the combined sincere convictions and selfish jealousies of the ministers of religion and their zealous followers. What religion is to be taught? Is it to be the Episcopalian, Catholic, or Dissent? If the last, which Dissent, for their name is legion? So great is this difficulty, that it has hitherto been found insurmountable both in England or Ireland, and caused all attempts at a general system of education to fail. Each sect not only gives no support to any attempt to establish any general system of education connected with any other sect, but meets it with the most strenuous opposition. Nor is this surprising, for each considers its own tenets and forms the ones most conducive to temporal wellbeing—and not a few, the only portals to eternal salvation.

60. Scotland is the exception. Its parochial schools were established in 1696, when the fervour of the Reformation in a community as yet only agricultural had produced an unusual degree of unanimity on religious subjects, and the burden was laid entirely on the landholders. No *general* school-rate could by possibility succeed if introduced for the first time now, in the divided state of the religious world in that country. The difficulty might perhaps be solved by simply levying a rate, and dividing it in each parish, for the support of schools, in proportion to the number of families belonging to each considerable persuasion; and possibly this is the way in which alone the difficulty can ultimately be overcome. In urban parishes, at least,

where the evils of want of education for the poor are most strongly felt, it would be easy to establish in every school a room or rooms, in which the elements of secular education are taught to all, while in an adjoining apartment the children of the different persuasions are in succession instructed on religious subjects by their respective religious teachers. A general rate might be levied on all for the support of the teachers in the first; a special rate on those professing each persuasion for the instruction in the last. This is done by common consent in several schools in manufactories in Scotland, and is generally practised in America with perfect success. The system appears complicated, but it is perhaps the only way in which the difficulties connected with the subject can be obviated, or a general assessment for educational purposes be reconciled with the sincere, and therefore respectable, scruples of the serious portion of the community.

61. But supposing this difficulty surmounted, another, and a yet more formidable one, remains behind, to the magnitude of which the world is only beginning to awaken. When the people are educated, what is to be done with them? How is the country to get on when so many more are trained to and qualified for intellectual labour than can by possibility find a subsistence, even by the most successful prosecution of any of its branches? How is the constantly-increasing multitude of well-educated persons, armed with the powers of intellect, stimulated by the pressure of necessity, not restrained by the possession of property, to be disposed of, when no possible means of providing for them but by physical labour, which they abhor, can be devised? How are they to be prevented, in periods of distress, from becoming seditious, and listening to the suggestions of the demagogues who never fail to appear in such circumstances, who tell them that all their distresses are owing to the faulty institutions of society, and that under the reign of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," they will all disappear before the ascending power

of the people? Perhaps nature has provided an antidote to this danger in the very small number of mankind comparatively upon whom any, even the most general, system of education can produce any impression. But there is another danger which is not so easily to be avoided. How, in such circumstances, is the balance of the different classes of society to be preserved, and the great, but inert and comparatively unintellectual, mass of the rural population to be hindered from falling under the dominion of the less numerous, but more concentrated, more wealthy, and more acute inhabitants of towns? If they do become subjected to them, what is that but class-government of the worst and most dangerous, because the most numerous and irresponsible, kind? And what is to be expected from it, but the entire sacrifice of the interests of the country, by successive acts of the legislature, to those of towns? England has already felt these evils, but not to the degree that she otherwise would, from the invaluable vent which her numerous colonies have afforded to her surplus educated and indigent population; in America they have been wholly unknown, because the Far West has absorbed it all.

62. These observations are not foreign to a work of general history: its subsequent volumes will be little more than a commentary on this text. And without anticipating the march of events, which will abundantly illustrate them, it may be observed that the maintenance of despotic institutions in a country of advancing intelligence is impossible; that as knowledge is power, so knowledge will obtain power; that the wisdom of government with a people growing in information, is gradually and cautiously to admit them to a share in its duties; that the only way to do this with safety, is by the representation of *interests*, not *numbers*, the latter being class-government of the worst kind; and that, with all that, safety must mainly be looked for in the providing ample outlets for the indigent intelligence of the State in colonial settlements. It is impos-

sible it should be otherwise, for it is by the force of education that the destinies of the species are to be worked out by the voluntary acts of free agents. The desires consequent on information, with their natural offspring, democratic ambition, are the great moving powers of nature; and in the last days of man, as in the first, it is by eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge that he is torn up from his native seats, and impelled by the force of his own desires to obey the Divine precept to overspread the earth and subdue it.

63. Another subject, destined in the end to be attended with paramount importance, though its moment was not perceived at this time, was at the same time introduced into Parliament, and showed how closely the growing intelligence of an era is connected with the desire for an extension of political power. This was PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. Lord John Russell on 9th May introduced the subject by proposing three resolutions: 1. That the people were dissatisfied with the representation; 2. That boroughs convicted of bribery should be disfranchised; and, 3. That their members should be transferred to some populous place not represented. Gram-pound had been convicted of bribery in the last election, on so extensive a scale that it appeared in evidence that "perhaps there might be *two or three electors* who had *not* received bribes." The bill disfranchising the borough passed without any opposition, but a great division of opinion arose as to the place to which the members for it should be transferred. In the bill as it originally stood, it was proposed that they should be transferred to Leeds; but the aristocratic party, in both Houses, inclined to give them to some rural district, where their influence might be more easily exerted. The bill was not pushed through all its stages this session, in consequence of the proceedings against the Queen absorbing the whole attention of the legislature; but it was revived in the next, and, as it passed the Commons, the franchise was conferred on Leeds. In the Lords, however, this was altered,

and the members were bestowed on the county of York. With this alteration the Reform party were far from being satisfied; but they wisely agreed to it, and the bill, thus amended, passed into a law. Thus was the foundation laid of the great fabric of parliamentary reform, ten years before the empire was shaken to the centre by the superstructure being raised. Even at this early period, however, the opening made awakened very serious alarms in many able persons, who afterwards became leaders of the Whig party.* Happy would it have been for the nation if it had been regarded by the opposite parties as a question of social amelioration, not political power, and the use that was practicable had been made of the progressive and just reforms which might have been founded on the disfranchisement of the boroughs convicted of corruption, instead of the wholesale destruction of the majority of their number.

64. The doctrine of FREE TRADE, afterwards so largely acted upon by the British Legislature, first began at this time to engross the thoughts not only of persons engaged in commerce and manufactures, but of the heads of the Government. On 8th May, Mr Baring presented a petition on this

* In October 1819, after the Grampound Disfranchisement Bill had first been introduced into Parliament, Mr Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley, wrote to the Bishop of Llandaff: "All I am afraid of is, that by having the theoretical defects of the present House of Commons perpetually dinned into their ears, the well-intentioned and well-affected part of the community should at last begin to suppose that *some reform* is necessary. Now, I can hardly conceive *any* reform that would not bring us within the whirlpool of democracy, towards which we should be attracted by an irresistible force, and in an hourly accelerated ratio. But I flatter myself there is wisdom enough in the country to preserve us long from so great an innovation." In April 1820 he again wrote: "When I see the progress that reform is making, not only among the vulgar, but persons, like yourself, of understanding and education, clear of interested motives and party fanaticism, my spirits fail me. I wish I could persuade myself that the first day of reform will not be the first of the English revolution." In February 1821 he writes: "*Mackintosh would keep the nomination boroughs; for my part, I am content with the constitution as it stands.*"—Lord DUDLEY'S *Letters*, 226, 247, 277.

subject from the merchants of London; and on the 16th, Mr Kirkman Finlay, a Glasgow merchant, equally remarkable for the extent of his transactions and the liberality of his views, brought forward a petition from the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow, which set forth, in strong terms, the evils arising from the restricted state of the trade with China and the East Indies, and the advantages over British subjects which the Americans enjoyed in that respect; and urged the repeal of the Usury Laws, and the reduction or removal of the duties on the importation of several foreign commodities. These views were so favourably received in both Houses of Parliament, that Lord Lansdowne was encouraged, a few days after, to bring forward a motion for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the means of extending our foreign commerce. He dwelt, in an especial manner, on the inconveniences to which the trade of the country was now exposed by the numerous duties which restricted it in every direction, and argued that, "whatever brought the *foreign* merchant to this country, and made it a general mart for the merchandise of the world, was beneficial to our trade, and enriched the industrious population of our ports. Such freedom of transit would allow an assortment of cargoes for foreign markets, and thus extend our trade in general. The import duties on Baltic timber should be removed, for they cost us annually £500,000 more for our ships and houses than if we bought it from the north of Europe. The duties on French wines also should be lowered, to augment the trade with that country; and the trade with India entirely thrown open. As a proof of the superior value of the free trade to the East to that of the East India Company, it is sufficient to observe, that the former has 61,000 tons of shipping and 4720 seamen, while the latter employs only 20,000 tons and 2550; and our trade to America, which, at the period of the independence of that country, was only £3,000,000, has now swelled to the enormous amount of

£30,000,000 a-year, exports and imports included."

65. Lord Liverpool made a very remarkable speech in reply; memorable as being the first enunciation, on the part of Government, of the principles of free trade, which, half a century before, had been promulgated by Quesnay in France, and Adam Smith in Great Britain. "It must be admitted," he observed, "that there has been a great falling off in our foreign trade in the last year; for our exports have declined no less than £7,200,000 in the year 1819, compared with the average of the three preceding years. It is of importance to examine in what branches of our trade so great and alarming a diminution has occurred. It is not in any great degree in our intercourse with the Continent; with it the decline has been only £600,000. The great decrease has been in our trade with the East Indies and the United States of America: with the latter alone there was a falling off in the last, compared with the three preceding years, of no less than £3,500,000. The general doctrines of freedom of trade, viewed in the abstract, are undoubtedly well founded; but the noble Marquess (Lansdowne) who introduced the subject is too experienced a statesman not to qualify them in their application to this country. It is impossible for us, or any country in the world, except, perhaps, the United States of America, to act unreservedly upon that principle.

66. "If we look to the general principles of trade and commerce, we must, at the same time, look to our law concerning agriculture. We shall there see an absolute prohibition of the importation of great part of foreign agricultural produce, and heavy duties on the remainder. Under the operation of these laws, we cannot admit free trade to foreign countries. We will not take their cattle, nor their corn, except under heavy duties; how can we expect them to take our manufactures? With what propriety may not those countries say to us, 'If you talk big of the advantages of free commerce, if you value so highly the principles of

your Adam Smith, show your sincerity and your justice by the establishment of a reciprocal intercourse. Admit our agricultural produce, and we will admit your manufactures.' Your lordships know it would be impossible to accede to such a proposition. We have risen to our present greatness under the opposite system. Some suppose that we have risen in consequence of that system; others, *of whom I am one*, believe we have risen in spite of that system. Whichever of these hypotheses be true, certain it is we have risen under a very different system from that of free and unrestricted trade. It is utterly impossible, with our debt and taxation, even if they were but half their existing amount, that we can suddenly adopt the principles of free trade. To do so would be to unhinge the whole property in the country; to make a change in the value of every man's possessions, and in none more so than those of agriculture, the very basis of our opulence and power.

67. "I was one of those who, in 1815, advocated the Corn Bill. In common with all the supporters of that measure, I believed it expedient to give an additional protection to the agriculturist. I thought that, after the conclusion of a twenty years' war, and the unlimited extent to which speculation in agriculture had been carried, and the comparatively low price at which corn could be raised in several countries of the Continent, great distress would ensue to all persons engaged in the cultivation of the land. I thought the Corn Bill should be passed then, or not at all. Having been passed, it should now be steadily adhered to; for nothing aggravates the difficulties of all persons engaged in cultivation so much as alterations in the laws regarding importation. While, therefore, I advocate going into a committee, with a view to removing many of the restrictions and prohibitions affecting our foreign and colonial trade, I must at the same time state that, as a general measure, absolute freedom of trade cannot be established. In agricultural productions, and several

branches of our manufactures, protection must be adhered to. It might have been better had it been otherwise from the beginning, and each country had attended only to those branches of manufacture in which it has natural advantages; but, as matters stand, we cannot, save under large exceptions, attempt to retrace our steps. I do not believe the change in the currency has had *any connection* with the general distress which has since unhappily prevailed."

68. This subject of agricultural distress was anxiously pressed on both Houses of Parliament during this session; and the petitions relating to the subject were so numerous, and stated facts of such importance and startling magnitude, that although Government opposed the appointment of a committee to inquire into the subject, it was carried by a majority of 150 to 101. It met, accordingly, collected a great deal of valuable evidence and information, and, as will appear in the sequel, published a most important report. But what is chiefly of moment in this stage of the inquiry is the opinions delivered by three very remarkable men, well qualified to judge of the subject, and on the justice of whose views subsequent experience has thrown an imperishable light. These were Mr Brougham, Mr Huskisson, and Mr Ricardo; and the quotations, brief as they shall be, from their speeches, present the kernel, as it were, of that great debate with the issue of which the future fate of the empire was indissolubly wound up.

69. It was observed by Mr Brougham: "Agriculture is in an especial manner entitled to protection, both because many public burdens press unequally upon it, and because much poor land has been brought into cultivation, which could not be thrown back to its former state without immense misery to individuals, as well as injury to the public. A manufacturer erects a huge building in a parish, in which the production of two articles is carried on — *cotton and paupers*; and although this manufactory may yield to the proprietor £30,000 a-year,

yet he is only rated for poor-rates at £500 a-year, the value of his buildings; while his poor neighbour, who rents land to that amount, is rated at the same, though his income, so far from being equal to the manufacturer's, is not a fourth part even of his rent. Besides this, there are the bridge-rates, the county-rates, the church-rates, and many other blessings, heaped on that favoured class the agriculturists. They, of course, must not raise their voices against such a distribution of these imposts, nor for a moment be heard to contend for an equality of burdens with the other classes of the community.

70. "It is said that it is an erroneous policy to purchase corn dear at home, when it can be bought at a much cheaper rate abroad; and the only effect of this, it is added, is to lead men to cultivate bad land at a very great expense. This may possibly be true in the abstract; but the question we have now to consider is not whether, at such an expense, you ought to bring bad land into cultivation, but whether, having encouraged the cultivation of that land, we should now allow it to run to waste? The circumstances in which the country has been placed have been such, that even the worst land has been eagerly cultivated and brought in at an immense expense. It has been drained, hedged, ditched, manured, and become part of the inheritance of the British people. The capital expended in these improvements has been irrecoverably sunk in the land: it has become part and parcel of the soil, and was the life and soul of the cultivators and a large part of our inhabitants. Is it expedient to allow this inheritance to waste away, this large capital to perish, and with it the means of livelihood to so large a part of our people?

71. "Some time ago there were several vessels in the harbour of London laden with wheat, which, but for the Corn Laws, might have been purchased for 37s. a quarter. On the principle on which the Corn Laws are opposed, this corn ought to have been purchased, because it was cheaper than any which

we can grow; but then, if that principle were acted upon, what would be the consequence? The inevitable result would be, that, in the next season, seven or eight millions of acres would be thrown out of cultivation, and the persons engaged in it out of employment. Is there any man bold enough to look such a prospect in the face? What does the change amount to? To this, and nothing more, that we would inflict a certain calamity on the cultivator and landlord, in order to enable the consumer to eat his quartern loaf a penny cheaper. Can the destruction of so large a portion of the community be considered as a benefit because another gained by it? There is no philosopher or political economist who has ever ventured to maintain such a doctrine. The average of imports of wheat for the last five years has been 477,138 quarters. *This is formidable enough of itself, but what is it to what may be anticipated under a free trade in grain?"**

72. On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Ricardo, on the part of the Free-traders: "The agriculturists argue that they are entitled to a remunerating price for their produce,

forgetting that what is remunerating must vary according to circumstances. If, by preventing importation, the farmer is induced to expend his capital on land not suited for the production of grain crops, you voluntarily, and by your own act, raise the price by which you are remunerated, and then you make that price a ground for again prohibiting importation. Open the ports, admit foreign grain, and you drive this land out of cultivation; a less remunerating price will then do for the more productive soils. You might thus have fifty remunerating prices, according as your capital was employed on productive or unproductive soils. It becomes the legislature, however, not to look at the partial losses which would be endured by a few who could not cultivate their land profitably at a diminished price, but to the general interests of the nation. It is better to have a greater quantity of produce at a low price than a lesser at a large price, for the benefit to the producer is the same, and that to the consumer is much greater.

73. "By cheapening food the people will be enabled at once to purchase a

* Mr Huskisson, who followed on the same side, made several most important observations, which subsequent events have rendered prophetic. He observed, "That he still retained the same views on this question which he had held in 1815, when the present Corn Law was passed. In the first place, he considered that during a long series of years, by circumstances over which the country had no control, an artificial protection had been afforded to agriculture, which had forced a great mass of capital to the raising of corn which would not otherwise have been applied to that object. If an open trade in corn had been then allowed, a great loss of the capital thus invested, and a great loss to the agricultural part of the community, would have been occasioned. It was considered that 80s. the quarter was the price which would remunerate the farmer, and he had voted for it accordingly. The second reason was, that, in its peculiar circumstances, it was of great importance to this country not to be dependent on foreign countries for a supply of food. It is an error to say there will be suffering on both sides, if the country which raised corn for us attempted to withhold the supply. So there would; but would the contest be an equal one? To the foreign nation the result would be a diminution of revenue or a pressure on agriculture. To us the result would probably be revolution and the subversion of

the State. Let it be recollected that America, during the late war, despite its dependence on agriculture, and its sensitiveness to the voice of the people, actually submitted to an embargo with a view to incommode us by cutting off our supply of grain. A great power, like that of Napoleon, might compel a weak neutral to close its harbours, and thus starve us into submission, without suffering any inconvenience itself. The third ground on which he had consented to the modification of the principle of free trade, was the situation of Ireland, which had previously received encouragement from our demand, to withdraw which would have been most injurious to that country. To give a superior cultivation to the fertile land of that most fertile country, and to turn British capital into it, would ultimately tend, in a most material degree, to increase the resources and revenue of the empire. Since the passing of the Corn Laws the imports from Ireland had increased every year."—*Parl. Debates*, new series, i. 678, 679. One of the most curious things in history is the clear and lucid way in which the result of measures under discussion is often foretold, the entire insensibility which is at the time shown to the prediction, and its ultimate complete accomplishment. The importation of all kinds of foreign grain is now (1862) above 15,000,000 quarters a-year, or above half the food of our people.

larger quantity of it, and an additional supply of other conveniences or luxuries. The high price of provisions diminishes at once the profits of the capitalist and the comforts of the workmen he employs. What constitutes the greater part of the price of manufactured articles? The wages of labour. Diminish those wages, by lessening the cost of the subsistence which must always form its principal ingredient, and you either augment the profits of capital, or extend the market for its produce by lessening its cost. Either of these would be a great benefit to our manufacturing population. The agriculturists say that they are able to supply the whole inhabitants of the country with food, and they demand heavy duties to enable them to feel secure in their efforts to do so. But the answer to all their demands is plain. You can grow these articles, it is true; but we can purchase them cheaper than you can grow them. Is it expedient to force cultivation on your inferior soils at a loss to yourselves? All principle is against it. They might as well urge in France, that, as they can grow sugar from beet-root at a cost greater than it can be raised in the West Indies, therefore you should load West Indian sugar in that country with prohibitory duties.

74. "Again it is said, as shipowners and various classes of manufacturers are protected, the agriculturists should be the same. In truth, however, these protections are of no use whatever, either to the country or the branches of industry which are protected. Take any branch of trade you please; let it be in the most flourishing state, and enjoying the best possible prospects; surround it with prohibitory duties, and you will soon see it languish and decline. The reason is, that the stimulus to human industry, the spur to human exertions arising from necessity, has been taken away. Even if the trade protected were thereby benefited, it could only be at the expense of the rest of the community; and all that is said on the other side about the injustice of benefiting one class at the expense of another, here turns

against themselves. Countervailing duties, if adopted in one country, will soon be followed in others, and thence will arise a war of tariffs, which will cripple, and at last destroy, all commerce whatever. The interests of the agriculturists and of the other classes of the community might, indeed, be identified, provided we were restrained from all intercourse with other nations; but this is impossible in a country such as ours, which carries on an extensive commercial intercourse with foreign countries. The price of grain may be altered either by alterations in the currency, which will raise it along with all other articles, or by legislative restrictions, which will alter it alone. The first alteration may not be injurious, because it affects all alike. The latter necessarily must be so, because it lowers at once both the profits of stock and the wages of labour."

75. Such was the commencement of this great debate, which for the next quarter of a century almost constantly convulsed the nation, and certainly never was pleaded on both sides with greater force or by more consummate masters. One important consideration, however, was omitted on both sides, from statistical researches having not as then brought it to light, though it now stands forth in the brightest colours. This is the infinitely superior value of our home or colonial trade to that of the grain-growing countries from whom we import food, and the extreme impolicy, even with a view to the interest in the end of the manufacturers themselves, of discouraging the former to encourage the latter. So great is this disproportion, that it would pass for incredible, if not established by the unerring evidence of statistical facts. Our manufacturers still find their best customers in the men who cultivate the adjoining fields. Notwithstanding the great extent of our foreign commerce, the manufactures consumed in the home market are still double in value those consumed in all foreign markets put together: our own husbandmen take off fifty times the amount of our manufactures per head which those of the grain-

growing countries do, from whom we now derive so large a part of our subsistence; and small as is the number of their inhabitants to those of the rest of the world, our exports to our own colonies, emancipated and unemancipated, are nearly equal to those to all the rest of the world put together.*

76. These, and all other social questions, how momentous soever, were cut short in this Parliament by the proceedings against the Queen, which entirely engrossed the attention of the Legislature and the interest of the people during the whole remainder of the year, and not only seriously shook the Ministry, but violently agitated the nation. This unhappy Princess, the second daughter of the sister of George III., and of the illustrious House of Brunswick, had been married early in life to the Prince of Wales, now the reigning Sovereign, without their ever having seen each other, or possessing the smallest acquaintance with each other's tastes, habits, or inclinations. It is the melancholy fate of persons in that elevated sphere in general to have marriages imposed upon them as a matter of State necessity, without the slightest regard to their wishes or happiness; and great

is the domestic misery to which this necessity too often leads. But the peculiar circumstances of this case rendered the situation of the royal pair beyond the ordinary case of crowned heads calamitous. The Prince at the time of his marriage was deeply attached to, and had been married, though without the consent required by the Marriage Act, and of course illegally, to another lady of great personal and mental attractions. The Princess, to whom he was afterwards compelled to give his hand, though possessed of great liveliness and considerable talent, and no small share of personal charms, was totally unsuited to his tastes, and repugnant to his habits. The consequence was, that both parties were inspired with a mutual aversion from the moment they first met: the marriage ceremony was gone through, but it was more a form than anything else; after the first few days they never met in private, and after the birth of the Princess Charlotte, no hope remained of any further issue to continue the direct line of succession to the throne.

77. The Princess, after her separation from her husband, lived chiefly at Blackheath, and there Mr Perceval,

* EXPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN IN 1850.

	Exports Declared value.	Population.	Rate per head.
Russia,	£1,289,704	66,000,000	£0 0 3½
Prussia,	503,531	16,000,000	0 0 7
France,	2,028,463	34,000,000	0 0 10
British America,	3,813,707	2,500,000	1 10 0
West Indies,	2,201,032	972,000	2 14 0
Australia,	2,807,356	538,000	5 17 0
Total British Colonies, . . .	19,517,039	115,675,000	0 4 9
United States of America, . .	14,362,976	25,000,000	0 13 8
British Colonies and Descendants, } All the rest of the World, .	£33,880,015	140,675,000	£0 4 8
	40,668,707	830,000,000	0 1 0
	£74,448,722		
Manufactured for Home } Market, }	130,000,000	27,000,000	£5 0 0

—Parliamentary Papers, 1851.

Excluding the native population of India, which is 109,000,000, and supposing they consume £5,000,000 worth of the £7,000,000 of exports to British India, the exports to British native colonial population, which is about 6,000,000, will be £14,000,000, or £2, 5s. a-head, against 1s. a-head for all the rest of the world.

afterwards Prime Minister, was for long her principal adviser : but Mr Canning also shared her society, and has recorded his opinion of the liveliness of her manner, and the charms of her conversation; and Sir Walter Scott has added his testimony to the flattering opinion. It was scarcely possible that a Princess of a lively manner, fond of society, and especially of that of young and agreeable men, and living apart from her husband, should escape the breath of scandal, and it would probably have attached to her notwithstanding the utmost decorum and propriety on her part. Unfortunately, however, the latter qualities were precisely those in which the Princess was most deficient; and without going the length of asserting that her conduct was actually criminal, or that she retaliated in kind on her husband for his well-known infidelities, it is sufficient to observe that the levity and indiscretion of her manners were such as to awaken the solicitude of her royal parents; and that a "delicate investigation" took place, the particulars of which have never been disclosed, and upon the import of which the only observation which can safely be made is, that no public proceedings were adopted in consequence of it.

78. When the Continent was opened to British travellers after the peace, the Princess of Wales, to the great relief of her royal spouse, went abroad, with a separate allowance of £35,000 a-year, and for several years little was heard of her in this country, except her occasional appearance at a foreign court. It appeared, however, that, unknown to the public, her conduct was strictly watched; confidential persons of respectability were sent abroad to obtain evidence; and, from the information received, Government conceived themselves called upon to send instructions to our ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts, that they were not to give her any official or public reception: and if she were received publicly by the sovereign, they were not to be present at it. This, with her formal exclusion from the English court, which had been previously pronounced,

rendered her situation abroad very uncomfortable; and to put an end to it, and get matters arranged on a permanent footing, Mr Brougham, who had become her confidential adviser, proposed to Lord Liverpool, in June 1819, though without the knowledge of her Royal Highness, that, on condition of her allowance of £35,000 a-year, which she at present enjoyed, being secured for her by Act of Parliament or warrant of the Treasury for life, instead of being, as at present, dependent on the life of the Prince Regent, she should agree to remain abroad during the whole remainder of her life. The Ministers returned a favourable answer to this application; and it was no wonder they did so, for it went to relieve them from an embarrassment which all but proved fatal to the Administration. The Prince strenuously contended for a divorce, as not only justified, but called for, in the circumstances, which, he maintained, were such as would entitle any private subject to that remedy; and intimated his determination, if it was refused by the Cabinet, to change his Ministry, or himself retire to Hanover. The Cabinet opposed this, as likely to lead to a very serious agitation in the present disturbed state of the public mind. At length they came to a compromise, to the effect that, if she remained abroad, no further proceedings of any sort should be adopted against her Royal Highness; but that, if she returned to England, they would accede to the Prince's wishes.

79. Matters remained in this position, in a kind of lull, during the remainder of the life of George III. But when that monarch died, in February 1820, and the strong step of omitting her Majesty's name in the Liturgy was taken, matters were brought to a crisis. The new Queen loudly exclaimed that such an omission was a direct imputation on her honour, which could not for a moment be submitted to; and that she would return to England instantly to vindicate her character. The King, learning this, as obstinately contended for an immediate divorce, in the event of her carrying her threat into execution; and as his Ministers refused

to accede to this, they tendered their resignation, and attempts were made to form a new ministry, of which Lord Wellesley was to be the head. These failed; and it was at length agreed that, if the Queen returned, proceedings were to be immediately commenced against her. Attempts were, however, again made to avert so dire an alternative; it was even proposed to increase her allowance to £50,000 a-year, provided she agreed to take some other name or title than that of Queen, and not to exercise any of the rights belonging to that character. These proposals were formally transmitted to Mr Brougham, as her Majesty's principal law-officer, on the 15th April, and approved of by him. The indignant feelings and impetuous disposition of the Queen, however, rendered all attempt at accommodation fruitless. She was much incensed, in February, by being refused a guard of honour as Queen of England; and no sooner did she hear of the omission of her name in the Liturgy, than she took the bold resolution of returning immediately to this country, alleging that England was her real home, and to it she would immediately fly. However we may regret this resolution, and deplore the unfortunate results to which it led, we cannot but admire the spirit of a Princess who thus braved the utmost dangers, it might be to her life, in vindication of her honour, or fail to admit that, in whatever else Queen Caroline was wanting, it was not in the courage hereditary in her race.*

* "I have written to Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, demanding to have my name inserted in the Liturgy of the Church of England, and that orders be given to all British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, that I should be acknowledged and received as Queen of England; and after the speech made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, in answer to Mr Brougham, I do not expect to receive further insult. I have also demanded that a palace may be prepared for my reception. England is my real home, to which I shall immediately fly."—*QUEEN CAROLINE*, March 16, 1820; *Ann. Reg.* 1820, p. 131. "Her promptitude and courage," said Lord Dudley at the time, "confounded her opponents, and gained her the favour of the people. Whatever one may think of her conduct in other respects, it is impossible not to give her credit for these qualities."—*LORD DUDLEY'S Letters*, 254.

80. She was met by Mr Brougham and Lord Hutchinson, who in vain endeavoured to get her to accede to the King's offer of £50,000 a-year, provided she would remain abroad, and not assume the title or duties of the Queen of England. She indignantly rejected the proposal, as an insult to her honour and a stain upon her character; and having dismissed Bergami, her alleged paramour, at St Omer, she landed at Dover on the afternoon of the 6th June. No words can adequately describe the universal enthusiasm which her arrival excited among the great bulk of the people. They had previously been prepared for her reception by the publication of her letters complaining of the treatment she had experienced, and she had been expected almost daily for several weeks past. The courage and decision displayed by her Royal Highness on this trying occasion excited general admiration, and was hailed as a convincing proof of her innocence. The spectacle of a Queen deserted by her husband, calumniated, as it was thought, by his Ministers, threatened with trial, it might be death, if she set her foot on British ground, braving all these dangers in vindication of her innocence, awakened the warmest sympathy of the multitude, in whom noble deeds seldom fail to excite the most enthusiastic feelings. Pity for her supposed wrongs, united with admiration of her real courage, and the fine expression of Mr Denman, that if she had her place at all in the Prayer-Book, it was in the supplication "for all who are desolate and oppressed," found a responsive echo in the British heart.

81. That these were the feelings of the vast majority of the British people, who hailed the arrival of the Queen with such enthusiastic feelings, is beyond a doubt; and it was honourable to the nation that they were so general. But the Radical leaders, who fanned the movement, were actuated by very different and much deeper views. Better informed than the multitude whom they led, they had no confidence in the ultimate vindication of the Queen's innocence; but, so far from being deterred by that circumstance, they built

on it their warmest hopes, and considered it as a reason for the most strenuous efforts. Innocent or guilty, they could not but gain by the investigation, and the agitation to which it would infallibly lead :

"Careless of fate, they took their way,
Scarce caring who might win the day;
Their booty was secure."

If her innocence were proved, they would gain a triumph over the King, force upon him a wife whom he could not endure, overturn his Ministers, and perhaps shake the monarchy : if her guilt, they would gain the best possible ground for declaiming on the corruption which prevailed in high places, and the monstrous nature of those institutions which gave persons of such character the lead in society. The views they entertained, and the hopes by which they were animated, have been stated by one of the ablest of their number, whose voluminous writings and sterling sense have given him a lasting place in British annals.* Lord Eldon, more correctly, as the event proved, foresaw the issue of the crisis, when he wrote at the time, "Our Queen threatens to approach England ; if she can venture, she is the most courageous lady I ever heard of. The mischief, if she does come, will be infinite. *At first*, she will have extensive popularity with the multitude ; in a few short weeks or months, she will be *ruined in the opinion of all the world.*"

82. The reception which the Queen met with was such as might swell her heart with exultation, and flatter the Radicals into the hope of an approaching subversion of the Government. Nothing like it had been witnessed since the restoration of Charles II. An immense multitude awaited her arrival at

* The people, in their sense of justice," says Cobbett, "went back to the time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort having been imputed to her : they compared what they had *heard* of the wife with what they had seen of the husband, and they came to their determination accordingly. *As far as related to the question of guilt or innocence, they did not care a straw ;* but they took a large view of the matter : they went over her whole history ; they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her."—COBBETT'S *Life of George IV.*, 425.

the harbour of Dover ; the thunder of artillery from the castle, for the first and *last time*, saluted her approach ; the road to London was beset with multitudes eager to obtain a glimpse of her person. She entered the metropolis, accompanied by two hundred thousand persons. Night and day her dwelling was surrounded by crowds, whose vociferous applause of herself and her friends was equalled by their vituperation of the King, and threats against his Ministers. Government were in the utmost alarm : meetings of Ministers were held daily, almost hourly. Their apprehensions were much increased by symptoms of insubordination being manifested in one of the regiments of the foot-guards stationed in the Mews barracks at Charing Cross, which, although ostensibly grounded on the inconveniences and crowded state of their barracks, were strongly apprehended to be connected with the excited feelings of the populace in the metropolis, with whom the household troops were in such constant communication. The Duke of Wellington was sent for, and by his presence and courage succeeded in restoring order, and next morning the disaffected troops were sent off in two divisions to Portsmouth. The night before the last division marched, however, an alarming mob collected round the gates of the barracks, calling on the troops to come out and join them ; and they were only dispersed by a troop of the life-guards, called out by Lord Sidmouth in person.

83. After the Queen's arrival in London, an attempt was made by her able advisers, Messrs Brougham and Denman, to renew the negotiation, and prevent the disclosures, painful and discreditable to all concerned, to which the threatened investigation would necessarily lead. The basis of the proposal was to be, that the King was to retract nothing, the Queen admit nothing, and that she was to leave Great Britain with an annuity, settled upon her for life, of £50,000 a-year. It failed, however, in consequence of her Majesty insisting on the insertion of her name in the Liturgy and a reception at foreign courts, or at least

some one foreign court, in a manner suitable to her rank. On the first point the King was immovable; on the last, the utmost length he would go, was to agree to notify her being legally Queen of England to some foreign court, leaving her reception there to the pleasure of that court. The utmost mutual temper and courtesy were evinced by the commissioners on both sides, who were no less persons than Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington on the part of his Majesty, and Messrs Brougham and Denman on that of the Queen. But all attempts at adjustment of the differences were unsuccessful, and on the 19th June it was formally announced in both Houses of Parliament that the negotiation had failed; and on the 4th July, the secret committee of the Lords, to whom it had been referred, reported "that the evidence affecting the honour of the Queen was such as to require, for the dignity of the Crown and the moral feeling and honour of the country, a solemn inquiry." The Queen next day declared, by petition to the Lords, her readiness to defend herself, and praying to be heard by counsel; and soon after Lord Liverpool brought forward, in the House of Lords, the famous Bill of Pains and Penalties, which, on the narrative of improper and degrading conduct on the part of her Majesty, and an adulterous connection with a menial servant named Bartolomeo Bergami, proposed to dissolve the marriage with his Majesty, and deprive her of all her rights and privileges as Queen of England.

84. The die was now cast, and the trial went on in good earnest. But who can paint the scene which ensued, when the first of British subjects was brought to trial before the first of British assemblies by the most powerful of British sovereigns! Within that august hall, fraught with so many interesting recollections, where so many noble men had perished, and innocence had so often appealed from the cruelty of man to the justice of Heaven; where Anne Boleyn had called God to witness, and Queen Catherine had sobbed

at severance from her children; where Elizabeth had spoken to the hearts of her people, and Anne had thrilled at the recital of Marlborough's victories; whose walls were still hung with the storied scene of the destruction of the Armada,—was all that was great and all that was noble in England assembled for the trial of the consort of the Sovereign, the daughter of the house of Brunswick! There was to be seen the noble forehead and serene countenance of Castlereagh—the same now, in the throes of domestic anxiety, as when he affronted the power of France, and turned the scales of fortune on the plains of Champagne; there the Roman head of Wellington, still in the prime of life, but whose growing intellectual expression bespoke the continued action of thought on that constitution of iron. Liverpool was there, calm and unmoved, amidst a nation's throes, and patiently enduring the responsibility of a proceeding on which the gaze of the world was fixed; and Sidmouth, whose courage nothing could daunt, and whose tutelary arm had so long enchained the fiery spirit which was now bursting forth on every side. There was Eldon, whose unaided abilities had placed him at the head of this august assembly, and who was now called to put his vast stores of learning to their noblest use—that of holding the scales of justice even, against his own strongest interests and prepossessions; and there was Copley, the terror of whose cross-examination proved so fatal on the trial, and presaged the fame of his career as Lord Chancellor. There was Grey, whose high intellectual forehead, big with the destinies of England, bespoke the coming revolution in her social state; and Lansdowne, in whom suavity of manner and dignity of deportment adorned, without concealing, the highest gifts of eloquence and statesmanship. There were Brougham and Denman, whose oratorical powers and legal acuteness were sustained by a noble intrepidity, and who, in now defending the illustrious accused against the phalanx of talent and influence by which she was assailed, apparently to

the ruin of their professional prospects, worthily won a seat on the Woolsack, and at the head of the King's Bench of England. Lawrence there gazed on a scene more thrilling and august than the soul of painting had ever conceived; and Kean studied the play of passions as violent as any by which he had entranced the world on the mimic stage. And in the front of all was the Queen of England, a stranger, childless, reviled, discrowned, but sustained by the native intrepidity of her race, and gazing undaunted on the hostility of a nation in arms.*

85. The trial—for trial it was, though disguised under the name of a Bill of Pains and Penalties—went on for several months; and day after day, during that long period, was the public press of England polluted by details, which elsewhere are confined to the professed votaries or theatres of pleasure. Immense was the demoralising influence which the production of these details exercised upon the nation, which laid before the whole people scenes, and familiarised them with ideas, which had hitherto been confined to the comparatively few, whom travelling had made acquainted with the licence of foreign manners. It does not belong to history to bring them again to light; they repose in decent obscurity, accessible to few, in the *Parliamentary Debates*, and have come to be forgotten even by the licentious, to whom at the time they were a subject of such unbounded gratification. Suffice it to say, that the facts sworn to by the witnesses for the prosecution were of such a nature as to leave no doubt of the guilt of the accused, if the evidence was to be relied on; but that there the case was beset by the greatest difficulties. Most of the witnesses were Italians, upon whose testimony little reliance could be placed; some of them were involved in such contradictions, or broke down so under cross-examination, that they required to be thrown

overboard altogether. The principal of them, Theodore Majocchi, the Princess's valet, pretended ignorance, on cross-examination, of so many things which he obviously recollected, that his answer to the questions, "*Non mi ricordo*," has passed into a proverbial expression known all over the world, to express the culpable concealment of known truth by a perjured witness. Yet did the conduct of the Queen herself afford reason to suspect that he had something material to reveal; for when his name was called out by the clerk, as the first witness, she started up, gave a faint cry, and left the House.

86. Mr Brougham thus closed his eloquent opening of the defence of her Majesty, justly celebrated as one of the finest specimens of British forensic eloquence: "Such, my Lords, is the case before you! Such is the evidence in support of this measure—evidence inadequate to prove a debt, impotent to deprive of a civil right, ridiculous to convict of the lowest offence, scandalous if brought forward to support the highest charge which the law knows, monstrous to stain the honour and blast the name of an English queen. What shall I say, then, if this is the proof by which an act of judicial legislation, a parliamentary sentence, an *ex post facto* law, is sought to be passed against this defenceless woman? My Lords, I pray you to pause; I do earnestly beseech you to take heed. You are standing on the brink of a precipice—then beware! It will go forth as your judgment, if sentence shall go against the Queen. But it will be the only judgment you ever pronounced, which, instead of reaching its object, will return, and bound back upon those who gave it. Save the country, my Lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe—save yourselves from this peril. Rescue that country of which you are the ornaments, but in which you can flourish no longer, when severed from the people, than the blossom when cut off from the roots and the stem of the tree. Save that country that you may continue to adorn it—save the Crown,

* The reader of Macaulay's incomparable *Essay on Warren Hastings* need not be told what model was in the author's eye in this paragraph; but no one can feel so strongly as he does the futility of all attempts to rival that noble picture.

which is in jeopardy—the aristocracy, which is shaken—the altar, which must totter with the blow which rends its kindred throne ! You have said, my Lords—you have willed—the Church and the King have willed—that the Queen should be deprived of its solemn service. She has, instead of that solemnity, the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wants no prayers of mine ; but I do here pour forth my humble supplications at the throne of mercy, that that mercy may be poured down upon the people, in a larger measure than the merits of its rulers may deserve, and that your hearts may be turned to justice."

87. Such was the effect of this splendid speech, and such the apprehensions felt in a large part of the House of Peers of the hourly-increasing agitation out of doors, that it is generally thought, by those best acquainted with the feelings of that assembly, that if the vote had been taken at that moment the Queen would have been entirely acquitted. Mr Brougham himself intended to have done this, after having merely presented her maid Mariette Bron for examination. But she was not to be found : and the case went on with most able arguments by Mr Denman and Mr Williams, followed by evidence led at great length for her Majesty, and powerful replies by the Attorney and Solicitor General. The speech of the first (Sir Robert Gifford) was in an especial manner effective—so much so, that upon its appearance in the newspapers, the Radical leaders gave up the case for lost, and Cobbett threw off 100,000 copies of an answer to it. It was not the evidence for the prosecution which had this effect, for it was of so suspicious a kind that little reliance could be placed on it, but what was elicited, on cross-examination, from the English officers on board the vessel which conveyed her Majesty to the Levant, men of integrity and honour, of whose testimony there was not a shadow of suspicion. Without asserting that any of them proved actual guilt against her Majesty, it cannot be disputed that they established against her an amount

of levity of manner and laxity of habits, which rendered her unfit to be at the head of English society, and amply justified the measures taken to exclude her from it. The result was, that on the 6th November the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 28, the numbers being 123 to 95, which was equivalent to a finding of guilty. In committee, when the divorce clause came forward, it was sustained by a majority of 129 to 62, the Opposition having nearly all voted for the clause, with the view of defeating the bill in its last stage. This proved successful ; for on the third reading, on 10th November, the majority sank to NINE, the numbers being 108 to 99. Upon this, Lord Liverpool rose and said, that with so slender a majority he could not think of pressing the measure farther, and withdrew the bill.

88. No words can convey an adequate idea of the general transports which prevailed through the British Islands when the intelligence of the withdrawal of the bill was received. London was spontaneously, though partially, illuminated for three successive nights—those who did not concur in the general joy, and they were many, joining in the festivity from a dread of the sovereign mob, and of the instant penalty of having their windows broken, which in general followed any resistance to its mandates. Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Liverpool, and all the great towns, followed the example. For several days the populace in all the cities of the empire seemed to be delirious with joy ; nothing had been seen like it before, since the battle of Waterloo ; nothing approaching to it after, till the Reform Bill was passed. Addresses were voted to the Queen from the Common Council of London, and all the popular constituencies in the kingdom ; and her residence in London was surrounded from daybreak to night by an immense crowd, testifying in their usual noisy way the satisfaction they felt at her victory. Yet, amidst all these congratulations, the position of her Majesty was sensibly deteriorated even by the completeness of her triumph.

89. Being now secure of her position, and independent of the support of the populace, she ceased to court them, and this speedily cooled their ardour in her cause. They complained that she was now always encircled by a coterie of Whig ladies, and no longer accessible to their deputations. When the struggle was over and the victory gained, the King and his Ministers defeated, and the Queen secured in her rank and fortune, they began to reflect on what they had done, and the qualities of the exalted personage of whom they had proved themselves such doughty champions. They called to mind the evidence in the case, which they had little considered while the contest lasted, and they observed, not without secret misgivings, the effect it produced on the different classes of society. They saw that the experienced hesitated at it, the serious shunned it, the licentious gloated over it. The reaction so usual in such cases, when the struggle is over, ensued; and, satisfied with having won the victory, they began to regret that it had not been gained in a less questionable cause. As has often been the case in English history, old feelings revived when recent ones were satiated; and, strange to say, the most popular years of the reign of George IV. were those which immediately followed the greatest defeat his Government had experienced.*

90. The Ministers, however, who

* "The Whig faction flocked round the Queen directly after the abandonment of the bill; and her lawyers, who now called themselves her constitutional advisers, belonged to that faction who thought to get possession of power by her instrumentality, she having the people at her back. But the people, who hated this faction more than the other, the moment they saw it about her, troubled her with no more addresses. They suffered her to remain very tranquil at Brandenburg House; the faction agitated questions concerning her in Parliament, concerning which the people cared not a straw; what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing: the people began to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a Parliamentary reform; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity, much more than interest, with the people." — COBBETT'S *Life of George IV.*, 454.

were not aware of the commencement of this reactionary feeling, and looked only at their public position as the King's Government, felt most acutely the defeat they had undergone. It all but overturned the Administration; with men of less nerve and resolution at its head, it unquestionably would have done so. But Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Sidmouth resolved to remain at their posts, conscious that to desert their Sovereign at this crisis would be nothing less than for his generals to abandon him in the day of battle. They were well aware that they were at the moment the most unpopular men in the British dominions; they were never seen in the street without being reviled by the mob; and anonymous letters every day threatened them with death, if the proceedings against her Majesty were not abandoned. They paid no regard to these threats, and walked or drove to the House every day as if nothing had occurred; and the people, admiring their courage, abstained from actual violence.* Division, as might naturally have been expected, ensued in the Cabinet, and more than one resignation was tendered to his Majesty; but one only—that of Mr Canning, as President of the Board of Control—was accepted, who was succeeded by Mr Bragge Bathurst, and the Government, as a body, ventured to weather the storm.

91. The result showed that they were right, and had not miscalculated

* "Matters here are in a very critical state. Fear and faction are actively, and not unsuccessfully, at work; and it is possible we may be in a minority and the fate of the Government determined in a very few days."—Lord SIDMOUTH to Mr BATHURST, 27th October 1820. "I cannot describe to you how grievously I suffer, and have suffered, on account of the dangerous and deplorable situation in which our country, the King's Government, and indeed all of us, have been placed—a situation from which I profess to see no satisfactory or safe deliverance."—Ditto to ditto, 28th October 1820. "One day, at this time, when Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth were walking through Parliament Street, they were violently hooted at by the mob. 'Here we go,' said Lord Sidmouth, 'the two most popular men in England.' 'Yes,' replied Lord Castlereagh, 'through a grateful and admiring multitude.'"—*Life of Sidmouth*, iii. 330, 333.

the effect of just and courageous conduct on the English mind. Though liable to occasional fits of fervour, which for the time have often looked like national insanity, the English mind, when allowed time for reflection, and not precluded from thinking by the pressure of suffering, quickly in general regains its equilibrium, and never so much so as after a decisive victory. In the present instance, the change in the public feeling was so rapid and remarkable, that it attracted the notice of the King himself, and his Ministers felt no difficulty in meeting Parliament.* Nor is it surprising that this was so; for reflection soon taught the nation that their zeal, how generous and honest soever, had been exerted on an unworthy object; that the Queen was by no means the immaculate character they supposed; and that, however culpable and heartless the King's conduct had been to her in the outset of her married life, latterly at least the principal fault had been on her side; in truth, also, be the fault where it may, her habits abroad had been such as rendered her unfit to be placed at the head of English society. The trial, they saw, was of her own seeking; she was offered the title of Queen, and a handsome provision abroad; and they could not regard without regret the enthusiasm which had prevailed in favour of a woman whom the highest court in the kingdom, upon evidence the force of which all must feel, had virtually pronounced guilty. The battle had been a drawn one: the people could pride themselves on their victory, the Ministers on the evidence by which they had justified their proceedings; and both parties having thus something to gratify their self-love, their mutual irritation was lessened, and reconciliation resulted

from a proceeding which presaged at first irreparable alienation.

92. Parliament met, after being prorogued in the end of November, on the 23d January, and Ministers were able to congratulate the country with reason on the improved condition of the people, and more contented temper of the public mind. In truth, the change in both respects was most remarkable; and Ministers, who had anticipated a narrow division, if not a defeat, on the question of the Queen, and their conduct in regard to her, were, to their surprise, supported by large majorities in both Houses, which on 6th February rose to 146 in the Commons. This great victory in a manner terminated the contest of parties on that painful subject. It was now evident that the long proceedings which had taken place on the Queen's trial, and the weighty evidence which had come out against her, had completely changed the public opinion on the subject, and that even the Radicals must look out for some fresh subject of complaint in their attempts to overturn the Government.

93. Such a subject would, but for the manly and judicious course adopted by the Government, have been afforded by the course which foreign affairs had taken at this period. The revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, and the ferment in Germany, had deeply agitated the public mind. It was hard to say whether the hopes these events had awakened in one party, or the fears in another, were most preponderant. All observed, many hoped, some feared, from them. The Congresses of Laybach and Troppau, of which an account has already been given, which had been assembled avowedly to consider the course to be adopted by the great Continental powers in regard to these portentous events, afforded a fertile field for eloquent declamation on the part of the Liberal leaders; and Lord Grey in the Upper House, and Sir James Mackintosh in the Lower, in moving for the production of papers relative to these events, took occasion to inveigh strongly against the dangerous attempts, evi-

* "It is clear beyond dispute, from the improvement of the public mind, and the loyalty which the country is now everywhere displaying, if properly cultivated and turned to the best advantage by Ministers, that the Government will thereby be enabled to repair to the country and to me those evils, of the magnitude of which there can be but one opinion."—GEORGE IV. to Lord ELDON, Jan. 9, 1821; *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, ii. 413. —

dently making by the Continental powers, to stifle the growth of freedom, and overturn constitutional monarchies in all the lesser states around them. Ministers resisted the motion, but declared at the same time that the English Government were no parties to these congresses, and that they had officially notified to the powers there assembled their dissent from the principles and right of interference there advanced. It was known that this statement was well founded, and Parliament, satisfied with having obtained such an assurance from the Government, and with the strong declaration of English feeling from the Opposition, supported Ministers in both Houses by large majorities.

94. Sir James Mackintosh continued in this Parliament, as he had done in the last, his able and indefatigable efforts to obtain a relaxation of the monstrous severities and anomalies of the English criminal code. His increasing success, though not unmixed with checks, demonstrated that public opinion was rapidly changing on this important subject, and that the time was not far distant when, practically speaking, the punishment of death would not be inflicted in any case except deliberate murder, in which, both on the authority of the Divine law and every consideration of human justice, it never should be abrogated. As this blessed change has now (1853) for above ten years been practically in operation, it is superfluous to enumerate all the steps by which it was effected. Suffice it to say, therefore, that it was by the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly, and after him of Sir James Mackintosh, that the necessity of this great reform was first impressed on the public mind, and by the adoption of their principles by Sir Robert Peel when he became Home Secretary, that it was on a large scale carried into effect. The only thing to be regretted is, that when the penalty of death was so justly taken away for so many offences, care was not taken at the same time to increase the certainty and enlarge the efficiency of secondary punishments; and that from the long-con-

tinued neglect by the colonial secretaries of the obvious expedient of always mingling, in due proportion, the streams of gratuitous government, with forced penal emigration, the country has in a great measure lost the immense advantage it might otherwise have derived from the possession of such outlets for its surplus population and dangerous crime; and that the colonies have been led to regard with horror, and strive to avert, a stream which, duly regulated, might, and certainly would, have been hailed as the greatest possible blessing.

95. Mr Plunkett, on the 28th February, brought forward a motion regarding Roman Catholic Emancipation, and it soon became evident, that if the mantle of Romilly had descended on Mackintosh, that of Grattan had fallen on the shoulders of Plunkett. As this subject will be fully discussed in a subsequent part of this History, when the passing of Catholic Emancipation is narrated, it would be superfluous to give the arguments advanced on both sides; but there is one speech in the Commons, and one in the Lords, from which brief extracts must be given, from the importance of the sentiments which they conveyed. Mr Canning was the most eloquent supporter, Mr Peel the most determined opponent, of the measure. "We are," said the former, "in the enjoyment of a peace achieved in a great degree by Catholic arms, and cemented by Catholic blood. For three centuries we have been erecting mounds, not to assist or improve, but to thwart nature; we have raised them high above the waters, where they have stood for many a year frowning proud defiance on all who attempted to cross them; but, in the course of ages, even they have been nearly broken down, and the narrow isthmus now formed between them stands between

'Two kindred seas,

Which, mounting, viewed each other from afar,
And longed to meet.'

Shall we, then, fortify the mounds which are almost in ruins? or shall we leave them to moulder away by time or accident?—an event which, though distant,

must happen, and which, when it does, will only confer a thankless favour—or shall we at once cut away the isthmus that remains, and float on the mingling waves the ark of our common constitution?”

96. On the other hand, it was argued by Mr Peel, in words which subsequent events have rendered prophetic: “I do not concur in the anticipation that the emancipation of the Catholics would tend to re-establish harmony in the State, or smooth down conflicting feelings. I do not wish to touch prospectively upon the consequences of intemperate struggles for power. I do not wish to use language which may be construed into a harsh interpretation of the acts and objects of men who proceed in the career of ambition. But I must say this much, that if Parliament admits an equal capacity for the possession of power between Protestant and Catholic in this respect, they will have no means of considering the state of the population, of securing that equal division of power which is, in my opinion, essential to the stability of the existing form of government. The struggle between the Catholic and Protestant will be violent, and the issue doubtful. If they were to be sent forth together as rival candidates, with an equal capacity for direct parliamentary representation, so far from seeing any prospect of the alleviation of points of political differences, I can only anticipate the *revival of animosities now happily extinct*, and the continuance, in an aggravated form, of angry discussions, now happily gliding into decay and disuse. If, in consequence of this alteration of the constitution, the duration of Parliament should be reduced from seven to three years, then will the frequent collision of Catholic and Protestant furnish a still greater accession of violent matter to keep alive domestic dissension in every form in which it can be arrayed, against the internal peace and concord of the empire. These are my honest sentiments upon this all-important question, uninfluenced by any motive but an ardent anxiety for the durability of our happy constitution.”

97. This debate is memorable for one circumstance—it was the first occasion on which a majority was obtained for Catholic Emancipation. The second reading was carried by a majority of 11, the numbers being 254 to 243; and this majority was increased, on the third reading, to 19, the numbers being 216 to 197. The bill, accordingly, went into committee, and passed the Commons; but it was thrown out, on the second reading, by a majority of 39 in the House of Lords, the numbers being 159 to 120. On this occasion the Duke of York made a memorable declaration of his opinion on this subject. “Educated,” said his Royal Highness, “in the principles of the Established Church, I am persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution. I consider it as an integral part of the constitution. The more I hear the subject discussed, the more am I confirmed in the opinion I now express. Let it not be supposed, however, that I am an enemy to toleration. I should wish that every sect should have the free exercise of its religion, so long as it does not affect the security of the established, and as long as its members remained loyal subjects. *But there is a great difference between allowing the free exercise of religion and the granting of political power.* My opposition to this bill arises from principles which I have embraced ever since I have been able to judge for myself, and which I hope I shall cherish to the last hour of my life.” This decisive declaration on the part of the heir-apparent of the throne, whose early accession seemed likely from the health of the reigning Sovereign, produced a very great impression, and carried the popularity of his Royal Highness to the highest point. He became the object of enthusiastic applause at all the political meetings of persons attached to the Established Church, at which the singular coincidence in number of the thirty-nine peers who threw out the bill and the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, never failed to be observed on, and elicit unbounded applause.

98. Lord John Russell, about the same time, brought forward a bill for a gradual and safe system of Parliamentary Reform. It was founded on resolutions, that there were great complaints on the subject of the representation of the people in Parliament; that it was expedient to give such places as had greatly increased in wealth and population, and at present were unrepresented, the right of sending members to serve in Parliament; and that it should be referred to a committee to consider how this could be done, without an inconvenient addition to the number of the House of Commons; and that all charges of bribery should be effectually inquired into, and, if proved, such boroughs should be disfranchised. The motion was rejected by a majority of 31, the numbers being 156 to 125; but the increasing strength of the minority, as well as weight of the names of which it was composed, indicated the change of general opinion on the subject, and might have warned the supporters of the existing system of the necessity of consenting to a safe and prudent reform, if anything could convince men who are mainly actuated by the desire to retain, or the thirst to obtain, political power.

99. The various branches of manufactures, during this year, exhibited a marked and gratifying improvement; but in agriculture the prevailing distress was not only unabated, but had become greater than ever, and, in truth, had now risen to such a height that it could no longer be passed over in silence. On 7th March, Mr Gooch brought forward a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into agricultural distress; and in the course of the debate, Mr Curwen observed: "In the flourishing days of the empire, the income of the nation was £400,000,000, and the taxation was £80,000,000 annually. At present the income is only £300,000,000, yet the taxation is nearly the same. In what situation is the farmer? The average of wheat, if properly taken, is not more than 62s. a quarter; the consequence of which is, that the farmer loses 3s. by every quarter of wheat which he grows.

On the article of wheat alone, the agricultural interest has lost £15,000,000, and on barley and oats £15,000,000 more. In addition to this, the value of farming stock has been diminished by £10,000,000; so that in England alone there has been a diminution of £40,000,000 a-year. The diminution on the value of agricultural produce in Scotland and Ireland cannot be less than £15,000,000; so that the total loss to the agriculturists of the two islands cannot be taken at less than £55,000,000. This is probably a quarter of the whole value of their productions; and as their taxation remains the same, it has, practically speaking, been increased twenty-six per cent also." The truth of these statements, how startling soever, was so generally known, that Government yielded; and a committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress, which made a most valuable report in the next session of Parliament.

100. Great light was thrown upon the causes of this distress in a debate which took place, shortly after, on a bill of little importance, introduced by Government, authorising the Bank, if they chose, to resume cash payments on 1st May 1821, instead of May 1822, as had been provided by the bill of 1819. The reason assigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for giving the Bank this option was, that they had, at a very heavy expense to themselves, accumulated a large treasure, and that the paper circulation of the country had been so much contracted that cash payments might be resumed with safety. He stated that, "in June 1819, the issues of the Bank amounted to £25,600,000; and they had been progressively diminished, till now they were only £24,000,000. The country bankers had drawn in their notes in a still greater proportion. Above four millions had been withdrawn from the circulation in less than two years—a state of things which amply justifies the present proposal to give the Bank the option of issuing gold coin, if they thought fit, a year sooner than by law provided."

101. The effects of the contraction of the currency, thus made the subject of boast by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were thus stated by Mr Baring in the same debate: "In looking at this question, it is very material to consider what is the state of the country in this the sixth year of peace. Petitions are coming in from all quarters, remonstrating against the state of suffering in which so many classes are unhappily involved, and none more than the agricultural class. When such is the state of the country in the sixth year of peace, and when all the idle stories about over-production and under-consumption, *and suchlike trash*, have been swept away, it is natural to inquire into the state of a country placed in a situation without a parallel in any other nation or time. No country before ever presented the continuance of so extraordinary a spectacle as that of living under a progressive increase in the value of money, and decrease in the value of the productions of the people. It appears clear that, from the operations of the altered currency, we have loaded ourselves, not only with an immense public debt, but also with an *increased debt between individual and individual*, the weight of which continues to press upon the country, and to the continuance of which pressure no end can be seen.

102. "The real difficulty is to meet the increased amount of debts of every sort, public and private, produced by the late change in the currency. It is an observation than which nothing can be more true, that an alteration in the value of the currency is what nobody, not even the wisest, generally perceive. They talk of alteration in the price of bread and provisions, never reflecting that the alteration is not in the value of these articles, but in that of the currency in which they are paid. To talk of the alteration of the value of money being three, five, or six per cent, is mere trifling. What we now are witnessing is the exact converse of what occurred during the war, from the enlarged issue of paper, and over the whole world from the discovery of the

mines of Mexico and Peru. The misfortune is, in reference to agriculture, that what is a remunerating price at one time becomes quite the reverse at another. Formerly it was thought that 56s. a quarter was a remunerating price, but that is not the case now. What is the reason of that? It is occasioned by the altered currency, and by the produce of this country coming into contact with the commodities from all parts of the world, at a time when the taxes, debts, and charges which the farmer has to meet have undergone no alteration. His products did not bring their former price, while his private debts remained at their original amount. Besides this, there is the great mortgage of the National Debt, which sweeps over the whole country, and renders it impossible for the farmer to live on prices which formerly were considered a fair remuneration. The difficulties of the country, then, arise from this, that you have brought back your currency to its former value, so far as regards your income; but it remains at its former value, so far as regards your expenditure." Weighty, indeed, are these remarks, which subsequent events have so fully confirmed, and which came then from the first merchant in the world, who afterwards conferred honour on, instead of receiving it from, the title of Ashburton.

103. The increased weight of debts and taxes, coinciding with the diminished incomes arising from the contracted currency, produced its natural and usual effect in inducing an additional pressure on Government for the reduction of taxation. Mr Hume brought this subject before the House of Commons, and the whole finances of the country underwent a more thorough investigation than they had ever previously done. His labours embraced chiefly the expenses of the offices connected with the army, navy, and ordnance departments; and there can be no doubt that he rendered good service by exposing many abuses that existed in these departments; and a committee was appointed to inquire into

the subject.* In consequence of the universal complaint of agricultural distress, Mr Western brought forward a bill to repeal the malt duties, which was carried, on the first reading, by a majority of 24, the numbers being 149 to 125. It was thrown out, however, on the second reading; and so productive is this tax, and so widely is its weight diffused over the community, that its repeal has never yet been carried. The majority on the leave to bring in the bill, however, was an ominous circumstance, characteristic of the depression of the agricultural interest; and Ministers were so impressed with it that they deemed it expedient to yield on a subordinate point, and the agricultural horse-tax was accordingly repealed this session.

104. The committee on agricultural distress presented their report on 18th June. It was a most elaborate and valuable document, as it bore testimony to the fact established before the committee, that "the complaints of the petitioners were founded in fact, in so far as they represented that, at the present price of corn, the returns to the owners of occupied land, after allowing growers the interest of investments, were *by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings*; but that the committee, after a long and anxious inquiry, had not been able to discover any means calculated immediately to relieve the present distress."† It is by no means surprising that it was so; for as their difficulties all arose from the contraction of the cur-

* The returns obtained by Mr Hume presented the following comparative statement of the British army, exclusive of the troops in India, in 1792 and 1821 respectively, viz. :—

1792.		1821.	
	Men.		Men.
Regulars in Great Britain—		Regulars in Great Britain—	
Cavalry and Infantry,	15,919	Cavalry and Infantry,	27,852
Do. Ireland,	12,000	Do. Ireland,	20,778
Colonies,	17,323	Do. Colonies,	32,476
Artillery,	3,730	Artillery,	7,872
Marines,	4,425	Marines,	8,000
		Colonial troops—Cape,	452
		Do. Ceylon,	3,606
Total regulars,	53,397	Recruiting Establishment,	497
		Total regulars,	101,539
Militia disembodied,	33,410		
	86,807	Disembodied militia—England,	55,092
		Do. Ireland,	22,472
		Yeomanry—Great Britain,	36,294
		Do. Ireland,	30,786
		Volunteer infantry,	6,934
		Great Britain—Veterans disembodied,	10,000
		East India Company's regiment,	750
		Total irregulars,	162,328
		Grand Total,	263,867

—*Parl. Papers*, No. 363, 1821; *Parl. Deb.*, v. 1362.

† "So far as the pressure arises from superabundant harvests, it is beyond the application of any legislative provision: so far as it is the result of the increased value of money, it is not one peculiar to the farmer, but extends to many other classes. That result, however, is the more severely felt by the tenant, in consequence of its coincidence with an overstocked market. The departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money, and persons dependent on a fixed income, was a benefit to the active capital of the country; and the same classes have been oppositely affected by a return to that standard. The restoration of it has also embarrassed the landholder, in proportion as his estate has been encumbered with mortgages, and other fixed payments assigned on it during the depreciation of the currency. The only alleviation for this evil is to be looked for in such a gradual reduction of the rate of interest as may lighten the burdens on the landed interest. At present the annual produce of corn, the growth of the United Kingdom, is, upon an average crop, equal to our present consumption, and that, with such an average crop, the present import prices, below which foreign corn is by law altogether excluded, are fully sufficient, more especially since the change in the currency, to secure to the British farmer the complete monopoly of the home market. The change in the

rency, it was impossible they could be removed till that contraction was alleviated, a thing which the great majority of the Legislature was resolved not to do. It is remarkable that at the very same time Lord Liverpool demonstrated in the House of Lords, that the *general* consumption of the country, in articles of comfort and luxury, had considerably increased in the last year.* This fact is important, as affording an illustration of the observation already made as to the eternal law of nature, that the division of labour and improvement of machinery, capable of indefinite application to manufacturing industry, have no tendency to cheapen the production of the subsistence of man, and consequently that the first and the last to suffer from a contraction of the currency, and enhancement of the value of money, are the classes engaged in the cultivation of the soil.

105. This long-continued and most severe depression in the price of agricultural produce, coupled with the reiterated refusals of Parliament to do anything for their relief, at length came to produce important political effects. It spread far and wide among the landowners and farmers, who in every age had been the firmest supporters of the throne, the conviction that they were not adequately represented in Parliament, and that no re-value of our money is virtually an advance upon our import prices; and the result of every such advance, supposing prices not to undergo a corresponding rise in other countries, must but expose this country to greater and more grievous fluctuations in price, and the business of the farmer to greater fluctuation and uncertainty. Protection cannot be carried farther than monopoly, which the British farmer has completely enjoyed for the last two harvests—the ports having been almost constantly shut against foreign imports during thirty months.”—*Commons' Report*, June 18, 1821; *Parl. Deb.*, v. 81, Appendix.

Average of three years
ending January 1820. Year 1821.

* Beer, barrels, . . .	5,356,000	5,599,000
Candles, lb., . . .	79,810,000	88,350,000
Malt, . . .	23,289,000	24,511,000
Salt, . . .	1,936,000	1,981,000
Soap, lb., . . .	69,474,000	73,765,000
Spirits, . . .	5,047,000	6,575,000
Tea, . . .	22,186,000	22,542,000
Sugar, . . .	3,117,000	3,413,000

—*Ann. Reg.* 1821, 73.

lief from their sufferings could be anticipated, until, by a change in the composition of the House of Commons, their voice was brought to bear more directly and powerfully upon the measures of Government. Everything was favourable; all the world was at peace; trade had revived; the seasons were fine; importation was prohibited, and had ceased. Nevertheless prices were so low that it was evident that a few more such years would exhaust all their capital, and reduce them to beggary. Reform had become indispensable, if they would avoid ruin. Now, accordingly, for the first time, the desire for parliamentary reform spread from the towns, where it had hitherto prevailed, to the rural districts, and gave token of an important change in this respect in the landed interest; and the ablest of the historians of the time in the Radical interest has borne testimony to the fact that, but for the change in the currency, the alteration of the constitution never could have taken place.*

* “In the beginning of 1822,” says Miss Martineau, “every branch of manufacturing industry was in a flourishing state; but agriculture was depressed, and complaints were uttered at many county meetings, both before and after the meeting of Parliament. These incessant groanings, wearisome to the ears, and truly distressing to the hearts, were not borne idly to the winds. The complainers did not obtain from Parliament the aid which they desired, but they *largely advanced the cause of parliamentary reform*. If the agricultural interest had been in a high state of prosperity from 1820 to 1830, *the great question of reform in Parliament must have remained much longer asleep than it actually did*, from the inertness or opposition of the agricultural classes, who, as it was, were sufficiently discontented with Parliament to desire a change. Extraordinary as this may appear, when we look only to the preponderance of the landed interest in the House at that time, we shall find, on looking abroad through the country, that it was so. Such politicians as Cobbett presented themselves among the discontented farmers, and preached to them about the pressure of the debt, a bad system of taxation, a habit of extravagant expenditure, and of a short method of remedying these evils by obtaining a better constitution of the House of Commons. It was no small section of the agricultural classes that assisted in carrying the question at last; and if would be interesting to know how many of that order of reformers obtained their convictions through the distress of these years.”

—MARTINEAU'S *Thirty Years of Peace*, i. 267.

106. Lord Castlereagh, to whom the mutability of the populace was well known, had prophesied, at the close of the proceedings against the Queen, that "in six months the King would be the most popular man within his dominions." This prediction was verified to the letter. The symptoms of returning popularity were so evident, that his Majesty, contrary to his inclination and usual habits, was prevailed on by his Ministers to appear frequently in public, both in the parks and principal theatres, on which occasions he was received with unbounded applause. This favourable appearance induced Government to determine on carrying into effect the coronation, which had been originally fixed for August in the preceding year, but had been postponed in consequence of the proceedings against the Queen, and the disturbed state of the public mind which ensued. Her Majesty, who was not aware that her popularity had declined as rapidly as that of her royal spouse had increased, was so imprudent as to prefer a claim, both to the King and the Privy Council, to be crowned at the same time as Queen-Consort. The Council, however, determined that she was not entitled to demand it as a matter of right, and that in the circumstances they were not called on to concede it as a matter of courtesy; and her demand was in consequence refused. Upon this the Queen applied to the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-Marshal of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, for a place in the Abbey at the coronation; but as they were subject to the King in Council in this matter, the petition was of course refused, though in the most courteous manner. Upon this her Majesty declared her resolution to appear personally at the coronation, and deliver her

At that period the author, whose head was then more full of academical studies than political speculations, frequently stated it in company as a problem in algebra, easy of solution, "Given the Toryism of a landed proprietor, required to find the period of want of rents which will reduce him to a Radical reformer." He little thought then what momentous consequences to his country and the world were to ensue from the solution of the problem.

protest into the King's own hand. This determination, being known, diffused a general apprehension that a riot would ensue on the occasion; and to such a degree did the panic spread, that places to see the procession, which previously had been selling for ten guineas, were to be had on the morning of the ceremony for half-a-crown, and all the troops in London and the vicinity were assembled near Westminster Abbey to preserve the peace.

107. The ceremony took place accordingly, but it soon appeared that the precautions and apprehensions were alike groundless. This coronation was memorable, not only for the unparalleled magnificence of the dresses, decorations, and arrangements made on the occasion, but for this circumstance—it was the LAST where the gorgeous but somewhat grotesque habiliments of feudal times appeared, or will ever appear, in the realm of England. All that the pomp of modern times could produce, or modern wealth purchase, joined to the magnificence of ancient costume, were there combined, and with the most imposing effect. The procession, which moved from the place where it was marshalled in Westminster Hall to the Abbey; the ceremony of coronation within the Abbey itself, which had seen so many similar pageants from the earliest days of English story; the splendid banquet in the Hall, where the Champion of England, in full armour, rode in, threw down his gauntlet to all who challenged the King's title, and backed his harnessed steed out of the Hall without turning on his Sovereign, were all exhibited with the most overpowering magnificence. Sir Walter Scott, whose mind was so fraught with chivalrous images, has declared that "a ceremony more august and imposing in all its parts, or more calculated to make the deepest impression both on the eye and the feelings, cannot possibly be conceived. The expense, so far as it is national or personal, goes directly and instantly to the encouragement of the British manufacturer. It operates as a tax on wealth, and consideration for the benefit of poverty and industry—a tax will-

ingly paid by one class, and not less acceptable to the other, because it adds a happy holiday to the monotony of a life of labour."

108. Men whose names have become immortal, walked — some of them, alas ! for the last time — in that magnificent pageant. There was Wellington, who grasped in his hand the baton won on the field of Vittoria, who bore by his side the sword which struck down Napoleon on the plains of Waterloo, and whose Roman countenance, improved but not yet dimmed by years, bespoke the lofty cast of his mind ; there Lord Castlereagh, who had recently succeeded to the title of Londonderry, in the magnificent robes of the Garter, with his high plumes, fine face, and majestic person, appeared a fitting representative of the Order of Edward III. ; and there was the Sovereign, the descendant of the founder of the Garter, whose air and countenance, though almost sinking under the weight of magnificence and jewels, revealed his high descent, and evinced the still untarnished blood of the Plantagenets and Stuarts. Nor was female beauty wanting to grace the splendid spectacle, for all the noblest and fairest of the nobility of England, the most lovely race in the world, were there, and added the lustre of their diamonds, and the still brighter lustre of their eyes, to the enchantment of the matchless scene.

109. But the first and highest lady in the realm was not there ; and the disappointment she experienced at being refused admittance was one cause of her death, which soon after ensued. The Queen, with that resolution and indomitable spirit which, for good or for evil, has ever been the characteristic of her race, though refused a ticket, resolved to force her way into the Abbey, and witness, at least, if she was not permitted to take part in, the ceremony. She came to the door, accordingly, in an open barouche, drawn by six beautiful bays, accompanied by Lord and Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, and was loudly cheered by the populace as she passed along the streets. When she approached the

Abbey, however, some cries of an opposite description were heard ; and when she arrived at the door, she was respectfully, but firmly, refused admittance by the doorkeeper, who had the painful duty imposed on him of denying access to his Sovereign. She retired from the door, after some altercation, deeply mortified, amidst cries from the people, some cheers, but others which proved how much general opinion had changed in regard to her. Such was the chagrin she experienced from this event, that, combined with an obstruction of the bowels that soon after seized her, mortification ensued, which terminated fatally in little more than a fortnight afterwards. The ruling passion appeared strong in death. She ordered that her remains should not be left in England, but carried to her native land, and buried beside her ancestors, with this inscription, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England."

110. Before the death of the Queen was known, the King had made preparations for a visit to Ireland, and it was not thought proper to interrupt them. On Saturday 11th August, his Majesty embarked at Holyhead, and on the following afternoon landed at Howth in the Bay of Dublin, where he was received with the loudest acclamations, and the most heartfelt demonstrations of loyalty, by that warm-hearted and easily-excited people. They escorted him with the most tumultuous acclamations to the vice-regal lodge, from the steps of which he thus addressed them : "This is one of the happiest days of my life. I have long wished to visit you. My heart has always been Irish : from the day it first beat, I loved Ireland, and this day has shown me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours, are nothing ; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me exalted happiness." These felicitous expressions diffused universal enchantment, and, combined with the graceful condescension and dignified affability of manner which the Sovereign knew so well to exhibit when inclined to do so,

roused the loyalty of the people to a perfect enthusiasm. For the week that he remained there, his life was a continued triumph: reviews, theatres, spectacles, and entertainments, succeeded one another in brilliant succession; and after a short sojourn at Slanes Castle, the seat of the Marquess of Conyngham, he returned to England, and soon after paid a visit to Hanover, where he was received in the same cordial and splendid manner.

111. The funeral of the Queen took place on the 14th August, at the very time when the King was receiving the impassioned demonstrations of loyalty on the part of his Irish subjects; and it caused a painful and discreditable scene, which led to the dismissal of one of the most gallant officers in the English army from the service which his valour and conduct had so long adorned. It had been directed by her Majesty that her body, as already mentioned, should be taken to Brunswick to be interred. Anxious to avoid any rioting or painful occurrence in conveying the body from Brandenburg House, where she died, to the place where it was to be embarked, Harwich in Essex, Ministers had directed that the hearse which conveyed the body, with attendants suitable to her rank, should proceed by a circuitous route through the north suburbs of London and the new road to Islington. The direct road to Harwich, however, lay through the city; and the people were resolved that the procession should go that way, that they might have an opportunity of testifying their respect to the illustrious deceased. As the orders of the persons intrusted with the direction of the procession were to go the other way, and they attempted to do so, the populace formed in a close column twenty deep, across the road at Cumberland Gate, and after a severe conflict, both there and at Tottenham Court Road, in the course of which two men were unfortunately killed by shots from the Life-Guards, the procession was fairly forced into the line which the people desired, and proceeded through the city in great pomp, amidst an immense crowd of specta-

tors, with the Lord Mayor and civic authorities at its head, the bells all tolling, and the shops shut.

112. The procession reached Harwich without further interruption, and the unhappy Queen was at length interred at Brunswick on August 23d. But the occurrence in London led to a melancholy result in Great Britain. Sir Robert Wilson, who had remonstrated with the military on occasion of this affray, from motives of humanity, and taken an active part in the procession, though not in the riot, and the police magistrate who had yielded to the violence of the populace, and changed the direction of the procession, were both dismissed, the first from the service, the last from his situation. However much all must regret that so gallant and distinguished an officer as Sir Robert Wilson should have been lost, even for a time, to the British army, no right-thinking person can hesitate as to the propriety of this step. Obedience is the first duty of the armed force: it acts, but should never deliberate. He who tries to make soldiers forget their duty to their sovereign, or sets the example of doing so, fails in his duty to his King, but still more to his country; for the cause of freedom has been often thrown back, but never yet was, in the end, promoted, by military revolt; and it was not a time to provoke such a catastrophe in Great Britain, when military revolution had just proved so fatal to the cause of liberty not less than of order in southern Europe.*

113. Notwithstanding the favourable state of general feeling in the country, and the improved condition of the manufacturing classes, Ministers felt that their position was insecure, and that

* Sir R. Wilson was afterwards restored to his rank in the army, and was for some years Governor of Gibraltar. It is due to the memory of this distinguished and gallant soldier to say, that his friends assert that the words which he spoke to the military on this unhappy occasion were such as urged them to forbearance and temper only towards the populace, and by no means calculated to shake their allegiance to their Sovereign; and his chivalrous character, notwithstanding his party zeal, leads the author to believe that this was really the fact.

it was highly desirable to obtain some further accession of strength, both in the Cabinet and the House of Commons. The continued and deep distress of the agricultural interest had not only led to several close divisions in the preceding session in the House of Commons, but occasioned several public meetings, where the voice of that class had made itself loudly heard. They had actually resigned upon his Majesty's demand for a divorce; they had been all but shipwrecked on the Queen's trial; and on occasion of the late riots at her funeral, the King had let fall some alarming expressions as to the way in which that delicate affair had been conducted. It was deemed indispensable, therefore, to look out for support; and the Grenville party—a sort of flying squadron between the Ministerialists and Liberals, but who had hitherto always acted with the Whigs—presented the fairest prospect of an alliance. Proposals were made accordingly, and accepted. Lord Grenville, the head of the party, was disabled by infirmities from taking an active part in public life, and could not be lured from his retreat; but the Marquess of Buckingham was made a duke; Mr Wynne, President of the Board of Control; and Mr H. Wynne, Envoy to the Swiss Cantons. This coalition gained Ministers a few votes in the House of Commons; but it was of more importance as indicating, as changes in the Cabinet generally do, the commencement of a change in the system of government. The admission of even a single Whig into the Cabinet indicated the increasing weight of that party in the country, and as they were favourable to the Catholic claims, it was an important change. Lord Eldon, *ultimus Romanorum*, presaged no good from the alliance. "This coalition," he said, "will have consequences very different from those expected by the members of the administration who brought it about. I hate coalitions."

114. A still more important change took place at the same time, in the retirement of Lord Sidmouth from the onerous and responsible post of Home Secretary. A life of thirty years in harness, oppressed with the cares of

official life, had nearly exhausted the physical strength, though they had by no means dimmed the mental energy, of this conscientious and intrepid statesman; and though no decline in his faculties was perceptible to those around him, he felt that the time had arrived when he should withdraw from the cares and responsibility of office, and dedicate his remaining years to the enjoyment of his family, to which he was strongly attached, and his duties to his Maker. He deemed it a fitting opportunity to take such a step, when the internal situation of the country was so tranquil that the public service could sustain no detriment by his withdrawing from it; for had it been otherwise, he would, at any hazard to his own health or life, have remained at his post.* He was succeeded in his arduous duties by a much younger man—Mr, afterwards SIR ROBERT PEELE—one of greater talents, and whose mind was more in harmony with the spirit of the age, but not of greater energy and integrity, and not of the same intrepid self-reliance. Lord Sidmouth's abilities, though not of the highest order, were of the most useful kind, and his administrative talents stood forth pre-eminent. His industry was indefatigable, his energy untiring, his intrepidity, both moral and physical, such as nothing could quell. He steered the vessel of the State during the anxious years which succeeded the close of the war, through all the shoals with which it was beset, with exemplary vigour and undaunted courage; and it was not a little owing to his resolution that the crisis was surmounted in 1820, which proved fatal to the cause of liberty and order in so many other states.

115. This parliamentary coalition was attended with still more important changes in Ireland, for there it commenced an entire alteration in the system of government, which has continued, with little interruption, to the present day. As the Protestants, ever

* "The truth is, it was *because* my official bed had become a bed of roses that I determined to withdraw from it. When strewn with thorns, I would not have left it."—*Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 390.

since the Revolution, had been the dominant party in that island, and the Catholics were known to be decidedly hostile both to the British government and alliance. the Viceroy, and all the officers of state who composed its government, had hitherto been invariably stanch Protestants; and Lord Talbot, the present Viceroy, and Mr Saurin, the Attorney-General, were of that persuasion. But as the Cabinet itself was now divided on the subject of concession of the Catholic claims, it was thought necessary to make a similar partition in the Irish administration. Accordingly, Marquess Wellesley, a decided supporter of the Catholics, was made Lord-Lieutenant in room of Lord Talbot; Mr Saurin, the champion of the Orange party, made way for Mr Plunkett, the eloquent advocate of the Catholic claims in the House of Commons; and Mr Bushe, also a Catholic supporter, was made Solicitor-General; while, on the principle of preserving a balance of parties, Mr Goulburn, a stanch Protestant, was appointed Secretary to the government. Great expectations were formed of the beneficial effects of this conciliatory policy, which, it was hoped, would continue the unanimity of loyal feeling which had animated the country during the visit of the Sovereign. But these hopes were miserably disappointed: party strife was increased instead of being diminished by the first step towards equality of government, and the next year added another to the innumerable proofs which the annals of Ireland have afforded, that its evils are social, not political, and are increased rather than diminished by the extension to its inhabitants of the privileges of free citizens.

116. Entirely agricultural in their habits, pursuits, and desires—solely dependent for their subsistence on the fruits of the soil, and without manufactures, mines, fisheries, or means of livelihood of any sort, save in Ulster, except that derived from its cultivation—the possession of land, and the sale of its produce, was a matter of life or death to the Irish people. The natural improvidence of the Celtic race, joined to

the entire absence of all those limitations on the principle of increase which arise from habits of comfort, the desire of rising, or the dread of falling, in the world—and the interested views of the Catholic priesthood, who encouraged marriage, from the profits which bridals and christenings brought to themselves—had overspread the land with an immense and redundant population, which had no other means of livelihood but the possession and cultivation of little bits of land. There were few labourers living on paid wages in any of the provinces of Ireland: in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, where the Celtic race and Catholic creed predominated, scarcely any. Of farmers possessed of capital, and employing farm-servants, there were in the south and west none. Emigration had not as yet opened its boundless fields, or spread out the garden of the Far West for the starving multitudes of the Emerald Isle. They had no resources or means of livelihood, but in the possession of little pieces of land, for which they bid against each other with the utmost eagerness, and from which they excluded the stranger with the most jealous care. Six millions of men, without either capital or industry, shut up within the four corners of a narrow though fruitful land, were contending with each other for the possession of their patches of the earth, like wolves enclosed within walls for pieces of carrion, whose hostility against each other was only interrupted by a common rush against any hapless stranger who might venture to approach their bounds, and threaten to share their scanty meal.

117. Experience has abundantly proved, since that time, what reason, not blinded by party, had already discovered—what were the real remedies for such an alarming and disastrous state of things, and what alone could have given any lasting relief. These were, to furnish the means of emigration, at the public expense, to the most destitute of the peasants of the country, and form roads, canals, and harbours, to facilitate the sale of the produce of such as remained at home. Having in this way got quit of the worst and

most dangerous part of the population, and lessened the competition for small farms among such as were still there, an opening would have been afforded for farmers, possessed of capital and skill, from England and Scotland, to occupy the land of those who had been removed to a happier hemisphere; and with them the religion, industrial habits, and education of the inhabitants of Great Britain, might gradually, and in the course of generations, have been introduced. But, unfortunately, party ambition and political delusion blinded men to all these rational views, which went only to bless the country, not to elevate a new party to its direction. Faction fastened upon Ireland as the arena where the Ministry might be assailed with effect; Catholic emancipation was cherished and incessantly brought forward, as the wedge the point of which, already inserted, might be made, by a few hard strokes, to split the Cabinet in pieces; and while motions on this subject, involving the entry of sixty gentlemen into Parliament, enforced by the eloquence of Canning and Plunkett, and resisted by the argument of Peel, never failed to attract a full attendance of members on both sides of the House, Mr Wilmot Horton's proposals regarding emigration, the only real remedy for the evils of the unhappy country, and involving the fate of six millions, were coldly listened to, and generally got quit of by the House being counted out.

118. But it was not merely by sins of omission that the Legislature, at this period, left unhealed the wounds, and unrelieved the miseries, of Ireland. Their deeds of commission were still more disastrous in their effects. The contraction of the currency, and consequent fall of the prices of rural produce fifty per cent, fell with crushing effect upon a country wholly agricultural, and a people who had no other mode of existence but the sale of that produce. This had gone on now for nearly three years; and its effect had been, not only to suck the little capital which they possessed out of the farm-

ers, but in many instances to produce a deep-rooted feeling of animosity between them and their landlords, which was leading to the most frightful disorders.* All the agrarian outrages which have in every age disgraced Ireland have arisen from one cause—the contest for pieces of land, the dread of being ejected from them, and jealousy of any stranger's interference. It is no wonder it is so; for to them it is a question, not of change of possession, but of life or death. The ruinous fall in the price of agricultural produce of all sorts had rendered the payment of rents, at least in full, wholly impossible, and had led, in consequence, to measures of severity having been in many instances resorted to. Distraintings had become frequent; ejections were beginning to be resorted to, and the landlords were fain to introduce a set of Scotch or English farmers, who might succeed in realising those rents which they had enjoyed in former days, but saw no longer a chance of extracting from their Celtic tenantry.

119. This was immediately met by the usual system of resistance on the part of the existing occupants of the soil; and on this occasion it assumed a more organised and formidable appearance than it had ever previously done. Over the whole extent of the three disturbed provinces a regular system of nocturnal outrage and violence was commenced, and carried on for a long time with almost entire impunity. Houses were entered in the night by bands of ruffians with their faces blackened, who carried off arms and ammunition, and committed outrages of every description; the roads were beset by armed and mounted

* “I request your attention to the suggestions which I have submitted for the more effectual restraint of this system of mysterious engagements, formed under the solemnity of secret oaths, binding his Majesty's liege subjects to act under authorities not known to the law, nor derived from the State, for purposes undefined, not disclosed in the first process of initiation, nor until the infatuated novice has been sworn to the vow of unlimited and lawless obedience.”—Marquess WELLESLEY to Mr Secretary PEEL, Jan. 29, 1823; *Life of Wellesley*, iii. 360.

bodies of insurgents, who robbed every person they met, and broke into every house which lay on their way; and to such a length did their audacity reach, that they engaged, in bodies of five hundred and a thousand, with the yeomanry and military forces, and not unfrequently came off victorious. Even when, by concentrating the troops, an advantage was obtained in one quarter, it was only at the expense of losses in another; for the "Rockites," as they were called, dispersed into small bodies, and, taking advantage of the absence of the military, pursued their depredations at a distance. No less than two thousand men assembled in the mountains to the north of Bandon, and their detachments committed several murders and outrages; and five thousand mustered together, many of them armed with muskets, near Macroom, and openly bade defiance to the civil and military forces of the country.

120. These frightful and alarming outrages commanded the early and vigilant attention of the Lord-Lieutenant. Not content with sending immediate succour in men and arms to the menaced districts, he prepared and laid before Government several memorials on the measures requisite to restore order in the country, in which, as the first step, a great increase in the police establishment of the country was suggested.* At the same time the greatest exertions were made to reconcile parties, and efface party distinctions at the Castle of Dublin. Persons of respectability of all parties

* One authentic document may convey an idea of the general state of Ireland, with the exception of the Protestant province of Ulster, at this period. "The progress of this diabolical system of outrage, during the last month, has been most alarming; and we regret to say that we have been obliged, from want of adequate force, to remain almost passive spectators of its daring advances, until at length many have been obliged to convert their houses into garrisons, and others have sought refuge in the towns. We cannot expect individuals to leave their houses and families exposed, while they go out with patrolling parties; and to continue in such duty for any length of time, is beyond their physical strength, and inconsistent with their other duties."—(Memorial of twenty-eight Magistrates of County Cork.) *Annual Register*, 1823, p. 9.

shared in the splendid hospitality of the Lord-Lieutenant; Orange processions and commemorations were discouraged; the dressing of King William's statue in Dublin, a party demonstration, was prohibited; and every effort made to show that Government was in earnest in its endeavours to appease religious dissensions, and heal the frightful discord which had so long desolated the country. But the transition from a wrong to a right system is often more perilous than the following out of a wrong one. You alienate one party without conciliating the other; so much more deep is recollection of injury than gratitude for benefits in the human breast. Marquess Wellesley's administration, so different from anything they had ever experienced, gave the utmost offence to the Orange party, hitherto in possession of the whole situations of influence and power in the country. To such a length did the discontent arise, that the Lord-Lieutenant was publicly insulted at the theatre of Dublin, and the riot was of so serious a kind as to give rise to a trial at the next assizes.

121. Dreadful but necessary examples were made, in many of the disturbed districts, of the most depraved and hardy of the depredators. So numerous had been the outrages, that although the majority of them had been perpetrated with impunity, yet great numbers of prisoners had been made—prisoners against whom the evidence was so clear that their conviction followed of course. In Cork, no less than 366 persons awaited the special commission sent down in February to clear the jail, of whom thirty-five received sentence of death. Several of these were left for immediate execution. Similar examples were made in Limerick, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, where the assizes were uncommonly heavy; and by these dreadful but necessary examples the spirit of insubordination was, by the sheer force of terror, for the time subdued. One curious and instructive fact appeared from the evidence adduced at these melancholy trials, and that was, that the principal leaders and most daring actors in their

horrid system of nocturnal outrage and murder, were the persons who had been cast down from the rank of substantial yeomen, and reduced to a state of desperation by the long-continued depression in the price of agricultural produce.*

122. But ere long a more dreadful evil than even these agrarian outrages broke out in this unhappy land; and the south and west of Ireland was punished by a calamity the natural consequence, in some degree, of its sins, but aggravated to a most frightful extent by a visitation of Providence. The disturbed state of the country during the whole of 1822 had caused the cultivation of potatoes to be very generally neglected in the south and west, partly from the numbers engaged in agrarian outrages, partly from the terror inspired in those who were more peaceably disposed. In addition to this, the potato crops in the autumn of 1822 failed, to a very great degree, over the same districts; and though the grain harvest was not only good, but abundant, yet this had no effect in alleviating the distresses of the peasantry, because the price of agricultural produce was so low, and they had been so thoroughly impoverished by its long continuance, that they had not the means of purchasing it. Literally speaking, they were starving in the midst of plenty. The consequence was, that in Connaught and Munster, in the spring of 1823, multitudes of human beings were almost destitute of food; and the nocturnal disturbances ceased, not so much from the terrors of

the law, as from the physical exhaustion of those engaged in them. What was still worse, the sufferings of the present had extinguished the hopes of the future; and the absorption of three-fourths of the seed-potatoes, in many places, in present food, seemed to pre-
sage a still worse famine in the succeeding year. In these melancholy and alarming circumstances, the conduct of Government was most praiseworthy, and was as much distinguished by active and well-judged benevolence as it had previously been by impartial administration, and the energetic repression of crime. Five hundred thousand pounds were placed at the disposal of the Irish Government by the English Cabinet; and roads, bridges, harbours, and such objects of public utility, were set on foot wherever they seemed practicable. But this melancholy calamity called forth a still more striking proof of British kindness and generosity, and showed how thoroughly Christian charity can obliterate the fiercest divisions, and bury in oblivion the worst delinquencies of this world. England forgot the sins of Ireland; she saw only her suffering. Subscriptions were opened in every church and chapel of Great Britain; and no less than £350,000 was subscribed in a few weeks, and remitted to Dublin, to aid the efforts of the local committees, by whom £150,000 had been raised for the same benevolent purpose. By these means the famine was stayed, and the famishing multitude was supported, till a favourable crop, in the succeeding year, restored the usual means of subsistence.*

* "The authors of the outrages consisted of three classes: 1. Many farmers had advanced their whole capital in improvements upon the land. These men, by the depression of farming produce, had been reduced from the rank of substantial yeomen to complete indigence, and they readily entered into any project likely to embroil the country; and by the share of education which they possessed, unaccompanied by any religious sentiments, became at once the ablest and least restrained promoters of mischief. 2. The second consisted of those who had been engaged in the Rebellion of 1798, and their disciples. 3. The third consisted of the formidable mass of ignorance and bigotry which was diffused through the whole south of Ireland."—*Annual Register*, 1822, pp. 30, 31.

* "The distress for food, arising principally from the want of means to purchase it, continues to prevail in various districts; and the late accounts from the south and west are of the most afflicting character. Colonel Patrickson, whose regiment (the 43d) has recently relieved the 57th in Galway, reports the scenes which that town presents to be truly distressing. Hundreds of half-famished wretches arrive almost daily from a distance of fifty miles, many of them so exhausted by want of food that the means taken to restore them fail of effect from the weakness of the digestive organs, occasioned by long fasting."—Sir D. BAIRD to Sir H. TAYLOR, 24th June 1822; *Memoirs of Lord Wellesley*, iii. 343, 344.

In June 1822 there were in Clare alone

123. These awful scenes, in which the visitations of Providence were mingled with the crimes and punishment of man—and both were met, and could be softened only, by the unwearied energy of Christian benevolence—excited, as well they might, the anxious attention of Government and the British Parliament. Whatever the remote causes of so disastrous a state of things might be, it was evident that nothing but vigorous measures of repression could be relied on in the mean time. Justice must do its work before wisdom commenced its reform. Unfortunately only the first was energetically and promptly done; the last, from political blindness and party ambition, was indefinitely postponed. Lord Londonderry (Lord Castlereagh) introduced into the Lower House two bills, one for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act until the 1st August following. This was strongly resisted by the Opposition, but agreed to by a large majority, the numbers being 195 to 68. The Insurrection Act, which authorised the Lord-Lieutenant, upon application of a certain proportion of the magistrates of a district, to declare it by proclamation in a state of insurrection—and in that event gave extraordinary powers of arrest to the magistrates of all persons found out of their houses between sunset and sunrise, and subjected the persons seized, in certain events, to transportation—was next brought forward, and passed by a large majority, the numbers being 59 to 15. Two other bills were also passed, the one indemnifying persons who had seized gunpowder without legal authority since 1st November, and the other imposing severe restrictions on the importation of arms and ammunition. The lawless state of the country, and the constant demand of the nocturnal robbers for arms, rendered these measures absolutely necessary in this as they have been in every other disturbed period of Irish history, and the powers thus conferred were

immediately acted upon by the Lord-Lieutenant. A still more efficient measure of repression was adopted by a great increase of the police, who were brought to that state of vigour and efficiency which they have ever since maintained.

124. The Catholic claims were in this session of Parliament again brought forward by Mr Canning, in the form of a motion to give them seats in the House of Peers, and enforced with all the eloquence of which he was so consummate a master.* They were as strongly opposed by Mr Peel, who repeated his solemn assurances of indelible hostility to the claims of that body. The progressive change in the public mind on this question was evinced in the increasing majority in the Commons, which this year rose to 12, the numbers being 235 to 223, the

* On this occasion Mr Canning made a very happy use of the late imposing ceremony of the coronation, the splendour of which was still fresh in the minds of his auditors. "Do you imagine," said he, "it never occurred to the representatives of Europe that, contemplating this imposing spectacle, it never occurred to the ambassadors of Catholic Austria, of Catholic France, or of states more bigoted, if any such there be, to the Catholic religion, to reflect that the moment this solemn ceremony was over, the Duke of Norfolk would become deprived of the exercise of his privileges among his fellow-peers—stripped of his robes of office, which were to be laid aside, and hung up until the distant (be it a very distant!) day, when the coronation of a successor to his present and gracious sovereign should again call him forth to assist at a similar solemnisation? Thus, after being exhibited to the peers and people of England, to the representatives of princes and nations of the world, the Duke of Norfolk, highest in rank among the peers, the Lord Clifford, and others like him, representing a long line of illustrious and heroic ancestors, appeared as if they had been called forth and furnished for the occasion, like the lustrous and banners that flamed and glittered in the scene; and were to be, like them, thrown by as useless and temporary formalities: they might, indeed, bend the knee and kiss the hand; they might bear the train and rear the canopy; they might perform the offices assigned by Roman pride to their barbarian forefathers, '*Purpurea tollant aulea Britanni*.' But with the pageantry of the hour their importance faded away as their distinction vanished: their humiliation returned, and he who headed the procession to-day could not sit among them as their equal to-morrow."—CANNING'S Speech, 30th April 1822; *Parl. Deb.*, vii. 232, 233.

99,639 persons subsisting on daily charity; in Cork, 122,000; in Limerick, 20,000, out of a population not at that period exceeding 67,000.—*Ann. Reg.* 1822, p. 40.

largest the Catholics had yet obtained in Parliament. The bill, as was anticipated, was thrown out, after a keen debate, in the House of Lords, by a majority of 42, the numbers being 171 to 129. But as the Cabinet was divided upon the subject, and its ablest members spoke in favour of the Catholic claims, and as the House of Commons, by having the command of the public purse, have the real command of the country, these divisions were justly considered by the Catholic party as decisive triumphs in their favour, and as presaging, at no distant period, their admission into both branches of the Legislature.

125. Another question—that of parliamentary reform—made a still more important stride in this session of Parliament; and the increasing numerical strength of the majority, as well as weight of the names of which it was composed, indicated in an unequivocal manner the turn which events were ere long to take on that vital question. Several important petitions had been presented on the subject, both from boroughs and *counties*, and Lord John Russell was intrusted with the motion. He dwelt in a peculiar manner on the increasing intelligence, wealth, and population of the great towns, once obscure villages, which were unrepresented, and the impossibility of permanently excluding them from the share to which they were entitled in the legislature. Mr Canning as decidedly opposed him, resting his defence of the constitution on the admirable way in which it had practically worked, and the incalculable danger of substituting for a system which had arisen out of the wants, and moulded itself according to the wishes of the people, one more specious in theory—one which, on that very account, would in all probability be found on trial to be subject to some fatal defect in practice. As the arguments on this all-important question will be fully given in a future volume, they need not be here anticipated; but the peroration of Mr Canning's splendid reply deserves a place in history, as prophetic of the future career both of the noble mover and of the country.

126. "Our lot is happily cast in the temperate zone of freedom—the clime best suited to the development of the moral qualities of the human race, to the cultivation of their faculties, and to the security as well as improvement of their virtues—a clime not exempt, indeed, from variations in the elements, but variations which purify while they agitate the atmosphere which we breathe. Let us be sensible of the advantages which it is our happiness to enjoy. Let us guard with pious care the flame of genuine liberty—that fire from heaven of which our constitution is the holy depository; and let us not, for the chance of rendering it more intense and more brilliant, impair its purity or hazard its extinction. That the noble lord will carry his motion this evening, I have no fear; but with the talents which he has already shown himself to possess, and with, I hope, a long and brilliant parliamentary career before him, he will no doubt renew his efforts hereafter. Although I presume not to expect that he will give any weight to observations or warnings of mine, yet on this, probably the last opportunity I shall have of raising my voice on the question of parliamentary reform,* while I conjure the House to pause before it consents to adopt the proposition of the noble lord, I cannot help adjuring the noble lord himself to pause before he again presses it upon the country. If, however, he shall persevere, *and if his perseverance shall be successful*, and if the results of that perseverance shall be such as I cannot help anticipating, his be the triumph to have precipitated these results, be mine the consolation that, to the utmost and the latest of my power, I have opposed them." The motion was thrown out by a majority of 105 only—the numbers being 269 to 164.†

* Mr Canning at this period expected to proceed immediately to India, as Governor-General—a prospect which was only changed by his being soon after appointed Foreign Secretary.

† Lord John Russell on this occasion brought forward a very curious and important statement in regard to the newspapers published in the three kingdoms in 1782, 1790, and 1821, which clearly indicated the necessity of a con-

127. Sir James Mackintosh continued his benevolent and important efforts this year for the reformation of our criminal law, and contrasted with great effect the state of our code, which recognised two hundred and twenty-three capital offences, with that of France, which contained only six. In this country, the convicts in the first five years after 1811 were five times greater in proportion to the population than in France; in the second five years they were ten times greater. "This increase," he added, "though in part it might be ascribed to the distress under which the country had groaned, and continued to groan, was also in part caused by the character of our penal code." The motion to take the subject into serious consideration next session was carried by a majority of 117 to 101. There can be no doubt that this was a step in the right direction, and paved the way for those important changes in the criminal law of England which Mr Peel soon after introduced. But the result has shown that it was a mistake to ascribe the superior rapidity in the increase of crime in Great Britain, as compared to France, to the severity of our penal laws; for the same disproportion has continued in a still greater degree since the punishment of death was taken away, practically speaking, from all offences except deliberate murder. The truth is, that, like the disturbed state of Ireland, the increase of crime arose mainly from the general distress which had prevailed, with very few exceptions, since the peace; and the errors on this subject afford only another illustration of the truth which so many passages of contemporary history illustrate, that the great causes determining the comfort, conduct, and tranquillity of the

working classes are to be found in those which, directly or indirectly, affect the wages of labour.

128. But these material distresses had increased, and were increasing, with a rapidity which outstripped all calculation, and had now reached a height which compelled investigation, and threatened to bear down all opposition. The great fall in the price of the whole articles of agricultural produce, which had gone on without intermission from the monetary bill of 1819, and had now reached 50 per cent on every product of rural labour, had, at length, spread to every other species of manufacture. All, sharing in the influence of the same cause, exhibited the same effect. The long continuance of the depression, and its universal application to *all* articles of commerce, excluded the idea of its being owing to any glut in the market, or any excess in trading in particular lines of business, and furnished a valuable commentary on the predictions of Mr Ricardo and Mr Peel, that the change of prices could not by possibility exceed 3 per cent.* This subject accordingly engaged the repeated and anxious consideration of both Houses of Parliament; it was made the topic of repeated and luminous debates of the very highest interest and importance, and it forced at length a change of the utmost moment in our monetary system, which for the next three years entirely changed our social condition, and induced another set of dangers, the very reverse of those under which the nation for the three preceding years had been labouring.

129. This important debate was opened by Mr Brougham on the 8th February, who in a powerful speech demonstrated the extreme distress of the agricultural class, in connection with the heavy load of poor-rates and local taxes with which they were exclusively burdened. The motion he

cession to the great towns, where their principal readers were to be found. It was as follows:—

	1782.	1790.	1821.
England,	50	60	135
Scotland,	8	27	31
Ireland,	3	27	56
London—Daily, . .	9	14	16
„ Twice a-week, .	9	7	8
„ Weekly,	0	11	32
British Islands, . .	0	0	6

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1822, p. 69.

* AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT PER QUARTER
IN EACH YEAR, FROM 1818 TO 1822.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
1818,	83	8	1821,	54	5
1819,	72	3	1822,	43	3
1820,	65	10			

—*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, 148.

made for the consideration of the burdens peculiarly affecting agriculture was negatived by a majority of 212 to 108; but this was brought about only by Lord Londonderry, on the part of the Government, engaging to introduce some measures for the relief of that interest. On the 15th of the same month his lordship redeemed his pledge, by introducing the measures of relief proposed by Government, which were, the repeal of the annual malt-tax, which produced £1,000,000 a-year, and the advance of £4,000,000 in Exchequer bills to the landed proprietors on security of their crops, until the markets improved. In the course of his speech on this subject Lord Londonderry remarked, and satisfactorily proved, that no diminution of taxation to any practicable amount could afford any adequate relief to the agricultural classes; and it was no wonder it was so, for the utmost extent of any such relief, supposing it conceded, could not have amounted to more than six or seven millions yearly, whereas their difficulties arose from a depression in the value of their produce, which could not be estimated at less than sixty or seventy millions.

130. Lord Londonderry's plan was laid before Parliament, with the report of the committee on agricultural distress, which had been agreed to early in the session without opposition, and was replete with valuable information and suggestions.* The leading resolutions proposed were, that whenever the average price of wheat shall be under 60s. a quarter, Government shall be authorised to issue £1,000,000 on Exchequer bills to the landed proprietors on the security of their crops;

* The committee reported that the prices of wheat for six weeks preceding 1st April 1822, the date of their report, had been—

March 16,	s. d.
„ 9,	45 11
„ 2,	46 10
Feb. 23,	46 11
„ 23,	47 7
Highest price in 1822,	50 7

“And that the quantity sold, both of wheat and oats, between 1st November and 1st March, has, under these prices, very considerably exceeded any quantity sold in the preceding twenty years. That it is impossible to carry protection farther than monopoly,

that importation of foreign corn should be permitted whenever the price of wheat shall be at and above 70s. a quarter; rye, pease, or beans, 46s.; barley, 35s.; and oats, 25s.: that a sliding-scale should be fixed, that for wheat being under 80s. a quarter, 12s.; above 80s. but under 85s., 5s.; and above 85s., only 1s. Greatly lower duties were proposed for colonial grain, with the wise design of promoting the cultivation and securing the fidelity of their dependencies. They were as follows: For colonial grain—wheat at and above 59s., rye, &c., 39s., barley 30s., and oats 20s.; subject to certain moderate rates of duty. Mr Huskisson and Mr Ricardo proposed other resolutions, which were, however, negatived; and Lord Londonderry's resolutions, with the exception of the first, regarding the Exchequer bills, which was withdrawn, were agreed to by large majorities in both Houses, and passed into law.

131. The great debate of the session, however, came on on 11th June, when Mr Western moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the effect of the Act 59 Geo. III., c. 14 (the Bank Cash-Payments Bill), on the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the United Kingdom. The motion was negatived, after a long debate, by a majority of 194 to 30. This debate was remarkable for one circumstance—Lord Londonderry spoke against the motion, with the whole Ministers, and Mr Brougham in support of it. It led, as all motions on the same subject have since done, to no practical result, as the House of Commons has constantly refused to entertain any change in the monetary

and this monopoly *the British grower has possessed for more than three years*, which is ever since February 1819, with the exception of the ill-timed and unnecessary importation of somewhat more than 700,000 quarters of oats, which took place during the summer of 1820. It must be considered farther, that this protection, in consequence of the increased value of our currency, and the present state of the corn market, combined with the prospect of an early harvest, may in all probability remain uninterrupted for a very considerable time to come.”—*Commons' Report on Agriculture*, 1st April 1822; *Annual Register*, 1822, pp. 438, 441.

policy adopted in 1819 ; but it is well worthy of remembrance, for it elicited two speeches, one from Mr Huskisson in support of that system, and one from Mr Attwood against it, both of which are models of clear and forcible reasoning, and which contain all that ever has or ever can be said on that all-important subject.

132. Mr Huskisson argued—"The change of prices which has undoubtedly taken place is only in a very slight degree to be ascribed to the resumption of cash payments. To that measure we were in duty bound, as well as policy, for all contracts had been made under it. Even if it had been advisable not to revert to a sound currency, the irrevocable step has been taken, and the widest mischief would ensue from any attempt to undo what has been done. It is said, on the other side, that it would be for the benefit of all classes that the value of money should be gradually diminished, and that of all other articles raised. What is this but the system of Law the projector, of Lowndes, and of many others? But it is one to which, it is to be hoped, this country will never lend its sanction. It is, in truth, the doctrine of debtors ; and still more of those who, already being debtors, are desirous of becoming so in a still greater degree.

133. "The foundation of the plan on the other side is, that the standard of value in every country should be that which is the staple article of the food of its inhabitants ; and therefore wheat is fixed upon, as it is the staple article of the food of our people. At that rate, potatoes should be the standard in Ireland, rice in India, maize in Italy. To what endless confusion in the intercourse of nations would this lead ! Who ever heard of a potato standard ? It does not, in the slightest degree, obviate the objection, that you propose to make the currency, not of wheat, but of gold, as measured by that standard. How can a given weight of gold, of a certain fineness, and a certain denomination, which in this country is now the common measure of all commodities, be itself liable to be varied in weight, fineness, or denomination,

according to the exchangeable value of any other commodity, without taking from gold the quality of being money, and transferring it to that other commodity ? All that you do is, in fact, to make wheat the currency, and gold its representative, as paper now is of gold. But to say that one commodity shall be the currency, and another its standard, betrays a confusion of ideas, and is, in fact, little short of a contradiction in terms.

134. "Again, it is said we ought to measure the pressure of taxation by the price of corn ; and we are reminded that, as in 1813 wheat was at 108s. 7d., and the taxes £74,674,000, 13,733,000 quarters of wheat were sufficient for their payment ; while in the present year, the price being 45s., nearly double that amount of quarters are necessary to pay the reduced taxes of £54,000,000. But observe to what this system of measuring the weight of taxes by the price of wheat, or any other article save gold itself, would lead. The year 1817 was a prosperous year, for the taxes were reduced to £55,836,000, and wheat having risen to 94s. 9d., it follows that 11,786,000 quarters were sufficient for the payment of its taxes. Was this actually the case ? If distress, bordering upon famine—if misery, bursting forth in insurrection, and all the other symptoms of wretchedness, discontent, and difficulty, are to be taken as symptoms of pressure upon the people, then is the year 1817 a year which no good man would ever wish to see the like again. On the other hand, the years 1815 and 1821, being the years of the severest pressure of taxation, according to this new mode of measuring its amount, are among the years when the labouring parts of the community have had least reason to complain of their situation.

135. "The proposition now boldly made is for a depreciation of the standard of the currency. How strange must be the condition of this country, if it can only prosper by a violation of national faith, and a subversion of private property ; by a measure reprobated by all statesmen and all historians ; the wretched and antiquated

resource of barbarous ignorance and arbitrary power, and only known among civilised communities as the last mark of a nation's weakness and degradation! Would not such a measure be a deathblow to all public credit, and to all confidence in private dealings between men? If you once, in an age of intelligence and enlightenment, consent, under the pressure of temporary difficulty, to lower the standard, it will become a precedent which will immediately be resorted to on every future emergency or temporary pressure, the more readily as credit, and every other more valuable resource, on which the country has hitherto relied, will be at an end. If the House entertain such a proposition by vote, the country will be in alarm and confusion from one end of it to another. All pecuniary transactions will be at an end; all debtors called on for immediate payment; all holders of paper will instantly insist for coin; all holders of gold and silver be converted into hoarders! Neither the Bank, nor the London bankers, nor the country bankers, could survive the shock! What a scene of strife, insolvency, stagnation of business, individual misery, and general disorder, would ensue! All this would precede the passing of the proposed bill; what would it be after it had become a law?"

136. "The fall of prices," said Mr Attwood in reply, "has not been confined to any one article, nor has it been of passing nature, as all are which arise from over-production or a glut in the market. It has been uniform and progressive since the Monetary Act of 1819 was passed, embracing all commodities, extending over all periods. Who ever heard of a fall in prices, arising from over-production, enduring for three years? It is invariably terminated in six or eight months, by the production being lessened. In the present instance all the leading articles of commerce have undergone a similar reduction, and in all it has continued without abatement, during that long period. Wheat, which in the year 1818 was 84s., is now selling at 47s., showing a reduction of 37s., or 45 per

cent. Iron, in 1818, was £13 the ton; it is now £8, being a fall of 40 per cent. Cotton, in 1818, was 1s. the pound; it is now 6d., being a fall of 50 per cent. Wool, which in 1818 was selling at 2s. 1d., now sells for 1s. 1d., being a reduction of 50 per cent. These are the great articles of commerce, and the average of the fall upon them is 45 per cent, being exactly the reduction on the price of grain. This is recommended to the consideration of those who tell us of over-production and an excessive cultivation of corn-land. Mr Tooke has compiled a table exhibiting the fall between May 1818 and May 1822, and the fall is the same in all the articles, with the exception of indigo. The fall, therefore, is not peculiar to agriculture; it is universal, and has embraced every article of industry, every branch of commerce. How trade or production could by possibility be carried on with a profit while a fall of such magnitude was going forward, it is for the supporters of the opposite system to explain.

137. "This fall of prices must have been produced by one of two causes: either the quantity of all commodities has increased, or the quantity of all money has diminished. One of these must of necessity have occurred, for the proportion is altered. Are we to believe that great changes have suddenly taken place in the productive powers of nature, or the resources of art, so as to account for this sudden and universal fall of prices? Is it likely that production in all branches of industry, agricultural and manufacturing, would go on for three years constantly increasing in the face of a constantly diminishing price? The thing is evidently out of the question. It is the quantity of money that must have been reduced. That this has really been the case is sufficiently proved by authentic documents, which show distinctly where the deficiency is to be found.

138. "The circulation of the country rests entirely upon that of the Bank of England; and its notes in circulation, immediately preceding the

Act of 1819, and the fall of prices, were, at an average, from twenty-nine to thirty millions. That was the amount in circulation for the last half of 1817 and first of 1818. If we take the circulation in the middle of each quarter, which Mr Harman states is the fairest mode of striking the average, it will appear that the diminution of the circulation has been nearly a third.* Nothing can be more regular, gradual, and uniform than the contraction of the currency immediately preceding and accompanying the great reduction in the rate of prices. It was altogether a forced and systematic contraction. It did not take place in consequence of the fall of prices; it preceded it. It worked silently but unceasingly through every branch of industry, till it had reduced them all to the same miserably low level. It was not effected by means of any lessened demand for bank-notes; on the contrary, it took place in the midst of a constantly increasing demand for them, when population was rapidly augmenting, general peace prevailed, and the growing commerce and transactions of men were daily rendering more necessary an enlargement of the circulating medium by which they were to be carried on. The requisitions made to the Bank by the mercantile community were less at the time of its greatest circulation, in the last half of 1817, than they had been at any subsequent period when the circulation had been

* AMOUNT IN CIRCULATION OF ALL NOTES.

August 16, 1817,	. . .	£30,100,000
November 13,	. . .	29,400,000
February 1818,	. . .	28,700,000
May	„ . . .	28,000,000
August	„ . . .	26,600,000
November	„ . . .	26,000,000
February 1819,	. . .	25,600,000
May	„ . . .	23,900,000
August	„ . . .	26,000,000
November	„ . . .	24,000,000
February 1820,	. . .	24,000,000
May	„ . . .	23,900,000
August	„ . . .	24,400,000
November	„ . . .	23,400,000

Amount of £5 Notes and upwards.

November 1817,	. . .	19,600,000
„ 1818,	. . .	16,900,000
„ 1819,	. . .	15,100,000
„ 1820,	. . .	15,300,000
„ 1821,	. . .	14,800,000
May 1822,	. . .	14,600,000

so fearfully contracted. The Bank is now under greater advances to merchants with a circulation of only £23,000,000 than it was when its circulation was £30,000,000. The reduction in the circulation, therefore, has taken place in consequence of no decline in the demands of the mercantile community, but solely and entirely from the forced but yet regular and persevering measures of the Bank directors to reduce its circulation, first in preparation for, and next in consequence of, the Cash Payments Bill of 1819.

139. “The reduction of prices has been in a much greater proportion than the contraction of the currency. The bank-notes have been diminished by about a fourth, but prices of every article have fallen a *half*. This is a very important fact, for it indicates how powerfully—much more so than could have been expected—a reduction in the amount of the currency affects prices, and through them the resources of all the producing classes in the community. The same is observable in regard to grain, or meat, or any other article in universal and daily use: a failure of the crop to the extent of a fourth or fifth doubles prices, and often more. It is not difficult to discover the cause of this anomaly. The bank-notes do work far beyond their amount in value: they conduct and turn over the whole transactions of the country. The payment of taxes and dividends, and all the innumerable transactions between man and man, are done by their means. A diminution of their number, by lessening credit and the means of purchase or speculation over the whole community, affects prices far more extensively than the nominal amount of this diminution, for it affects the power of buying among all the persons through whose hands the notes pass in their circulation through the community.

140. “In addition to this, there are a great many payments which do not fall with a diminution on the circulating medium of the community. The great and burdensome charges of the nation remain the same, however much

the currency may be contracted and prices fall. The taxes, the interest of mortgages and bonds, jointures to widows, provisions to children, poor-rates, life insurances, and the like, undergo no diminution. Nay, there are several articles of consumption, as salt, tea, malt, sugar, and some others of equal importance, in which the tax bears so great a proportion to the price of the article, that its price cannot fall in any perceptible degree from a diminution in the demand. These heavy fixed burdens, and extensive articles of consumption, require the same amount of bank-notes for their discharge or payment under a reduced as amidst a plentiful circulation. Thus the whole effects of the reduction in the circulating medium are run into, and act upon, the sale of those articles of commerce in which a reduction of price is practicable; and as they are not half the entire expenditure of the nation, the effect upon them is proportionally greater. It is like a man with a fixed income, say £1000 a-year, who is burdened with fixed payments to the extent of £600, being deprived of one-half of the remainder, or £200. Though that reduction is only of a *fifth* of his entire income, it will draw after it a reduction of that part of his expenditure over which he has a control to the extent of *a half*; and if he does not draw in to that amount, he will very soon become bankrupt.

141. "The repayment of the Bank advances by Government has been the measure on which this reduction in the quantity of money, and the consequent increase in its value, was founded. Since 1817, no less than £15,000,000 has been repaid to the Bank by Government. When the Bank got these repayments, they did not re-issue them again, as they had been accustomed to do in former days, but they retained them in their coffers, and thereby withdrew them from circulation. These proceedings have produced a regular progressive reduction of prices, irrespective altogether of any excess in the production. If the Bank were to advance again this £15,000,000, or any considerable part of it, to Govern-

ment, and were enabled to do so by the necessary alteration in the Act of 1819, the effect would be an immediate return to the scale of prices which existed in 1818 and during the war.

142. "Such is the evil under which we are now labouring, and which will suffer no abatement so long as the causes which produced it continue in operation. We have been occupied with changes in our pecuniary system, and it is precisely since they were commenced that our difficulties have been experienced. To enhance the value of money, to raise the price of gold, we have lowered that of all other commodities, while at the same time we have left the great payments of the nation raised from the sale of these commodities! Strange, indeed, would it be if such a system was not to have produced the general and long-continued distress which we see around us. The reduction effected in the amount of money in circulation has been nearly one-half of that employed in supporting agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry. Hence these classes are unable to obtain much more than half the return they obtained for their industry before the alteration took place, and yet all their great money engagements remain the same! This is the origin of that state of things which in its result leaves the landowner without rent, the merchant without profit, the labourer without employment or wages, which revolutionises property, and disorganises all the different relations and interests of society."

143. Dr Arnold said that Sir Robert Peel "would yield to pressure on everything *except the currency*." It is not surprising it was so; for determination to adhere on that one point necessarily drew after it concession on every other. The distress produced by the general fall of all prices 50 per cent had become such among the producing classes, that no combination of the leaders of the opposite parties, and no efforts on the part of Ministers, were able any longer to avert its effects. It was in the loud and fierce demand for a reduction of taxation that the

public voice, in the House of Commons, first made itself heard in an unmistakable manner. Several ominous divisions, presaging total defeat in the event of any further resistance to the demands of the country in this particular, took place in the early period of the session. A motion by Mr Calcraft, for the progressive diminution of the salt-tax, by taking off a third in each of the next three years, was only thrown out by a majority of *four*, the numbers being 169 to 165. This near approach to a defeat was the more remarkable, that Lord Londonderry and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had loudly declared that this tax was essential to the maintenance of the Sinking Fund, and that its repeal would be the signal for the entire abandonment of that fund. This doubtful conflict was soon followed by decided defeats. On the very next day, on a motion made by Sir John Osborne for a reduction of two of the junior lords of the Admiralty, Ministers were left in a minority of 54, the numbers being 182 to 128. This was soon after followed by another defeat, on the motion of Lord Normanby for the reduction of one of the two joint Postmasters-general, which was only thrown out by a majority of 25, the numbers being 184 to 159. The same motion, put in a different form, was, in a subsequent period of the session, carried against Ministers by a majority of 15, the numbers being 216 to 201.

144. These disasters were sufficient to convince Ministers that, however ignorant they might be of the real source of their difficulties, and however tenacious they certainly were of the Monetary Bill of 1819, the distresses of the country had become such that relief, in some form or another, was indispensable; and that, if they would not give it in the form of measures calculated to raise the remuneration of industry, they *must* give it in the form of a reduction of its burdens. The effect of the shake they had received soon appeared in the financial measures which, in a subsequent period of the session, they brought forward. Although, in February, Lord

Londonderry had declared that the retention of the salt-tax was indispensable to the upholding of the Sinking Fund to the level of £5,000,000, which the House had solemnly pledged itself, in 1819, to maintain inviolate, he was yet compelled to bring forward, on 24th May, a motion for its reduction from 15s. a bushel to 2s., which occasioned a loss to the revenue of £1,300,000 a-year. This was followed by a reduction of the war-tax on leather, which occasioned a further loss of £600,000 a-year. The tonnage-duty and Irish hearth-tax were also abandoned, which produced between them £400,000 yearly. These great reductions, together with the annual malt-tax, which brought in £1,500,000 a-year, and which Government had announced their intention of abandoning at an early period of the session, amounted to £3,500,000 a-year, being half a million more than the amount of the new taxes, imposed in 1819, to keep up the Sinking Fund to £5,000,000 yearly. There can be no doubt that the taxes thus removed were judiciously selected, as they were those which bore most heavily on the labouring classes of the community; and still less that their distress had become such as to render a considerable reduction of the taxes pressing on them indispensable; for, measured in quarters of wheat, their true standard, the poor-rates of England, were now *twice* as heavy as they had been in 1812.* But the necessity of removing these taxes, and thereby abandoning the very foundation of the Sinking Fund, afforded the most decisive evidence both how widespread the distress had become, and how entire a revolution it had already induced in the financial system and policy of the country.

145. The budget was brought forward on 1st July, and its leading fea-

* POOR-RATES PAID IN MONEY AND QUARTERS OF WHEAT.

Year.		Quarters of Wheat.
1811.	£6,656,105	1,440,445
1814.	5,418,846	1,702,255
1821.	6,959,249	2,557,763
1822.	6,358,702	2,940,440

—HUGHES, vi. 495. ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. xcvi., Appendix.

ture was the reduction of the Sinking Fund from £13,000,000 to £7,500,000; by appropriating £5,500,000 to the current service of the year. This signal and calamitous departure from the form even of our former policy, in this vital particular, was sought to be justified by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on various grounds; but it was evident that it was imposed upon him by sheer necessity, and was a direct abandonment of the solemn resolution to maintain a real surplus of £5,000,000 over the expenditure, which Parliament had unanimously adopted only three years before; for, as the nominal Sinking Fund was reduced to half its former amount, it was plain that the real redemption of debt was virtually abandoned. The expenditure of the present year, however, as the great reduction of taxation made in the course of it had not taken effect, was nearly £5,000,000 below the income, leaving that sum applicable to the diminution of debt—a striking and melancholy proof of what the resources of the country really were at this period, had the ruinous contraction of the currency not imposed upon the present and all future governments the necessity of remitting the indirect taxes, by which alone the Sinking Fund could be maintained. It is not surprising it was so. A hundred millions a-year is not cut off from the remuneration of productive labour, in a country the source from which its entire wealth must be drawn, without producing

lasting effects upon its financial situation and ultimate destiny.*

146. Two measures, the one of the most unquestionable, the other of very doubtful wisdom, were brought forward during this session of Parliament, and carried into effect. The first of these was the reduction of the navy 5 per cents to 4 per cent. About £156,000,000 stood in this species of stock; consequently, any reduction in the interest payable on it was a very great relief to the national finances. The condition proposed to the holders was, that for every £100 of their existing stock they should be inscribed for £105 in a new stock bearing 4 per cent interest. Those who signified their dissent before 1st March 1823 were to be paid off. So high were the Funds, however, that those who took advantage of this were only 1373, and the stock they held amounted to £2,605,978—not a fiftieth part of the entire stock; so that the measure was carried into execution with the most complete success. The entire saving, to the nation, including that effected by a similar saving on the Irish 5 per cents, was no less than £1,230,000 a-year—a very great sum, and which affords the clearest proof of the justice of the observations made in a former work,† as to the impolicy of the system which Mr Pitt so long pursued, of borrowing the greater part of the public debt in the 3 instead of the 5 per cents; for if the whole debt had been borrowed in the latter form, the reduc-

* INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE YEAR 1822.

Income—Net.	
Customs,	£12,923,420
Excise,	28,976,344
Stamps,	6,880,494
Taxes,	7,517,643
Post-Office,	2,049,326
Lesser Payments,	1,451,341
Total Taxes,	£59,798,568
Loans,†	11,872,155
Grand Total,	£71,670,724

Expenditure.	
Charges of Collection,	£5,688,091
Interest on Funded Debt,	29,490,897
Interest on Unfunded do.,	1,430,596
Naval and Military Pensions,	1,400,000
Civil List and Expenses,	1,057,000
Army,	7,698,973
Navy,	4,915,642
Navy Pensioners,	246,000
Ordnance,	1,007,821
Miscellaneous,	2,105,797
Lesser Payments,	529,961
Surplus applicable to Debt,	4,915,529

Grand Total, £60,102,741

—Parliamentary Paper in *Annual Register*, 1823, pp. 215-217.

† The loans went to discharge Exchequer bills.

‡ Vide *History of Europe*, chap. xli. § 62. The difference of the interest paid in the 3 and the 5 per cents seldom exceeded a *quarter* per cent.—*Ibid.*, chap. xli. § 64, note.

tion effected in the annual interest this year would not have been £1,200,000, but above £6,000,000 sterling.

147. The next great financial measure of the session, upon which a more doubtful meed of praise must be bestowed, was that, as it was commonly called, for the equalisation of the *Dead Weight*. This was a measure by which the burden of the naval and military pensions, most justly bestowed upon our gallant defenders during the late war, was equalised for more than a generation to come, by being spread, at an equal amount, over the present and the future. This burden amounted to nearly £5,000,000 a-year; and although, as the annuitants expired, its amount would diminish, and at the end of forty or fifty years would be a mere trifle, yet that prospect proved but a poor resource to the present necessities of a needy Chancellor of the Exchequer. In these circumstances, when the difficulties of Government to make head against present exigencies were so great, the expedient was thought of, of granting a fixed annuity, for forty-five years *certain*, to parliamentary commissioners, who, in consideration of that, were to undertake the burden of the varying existing annuities. The effect of this, of course, was to diminish in a great degree the burden in the outset, and proportionally augment it in the end.

148. Government in the first instance received £4,900,000 from the commissioners, and paid out only £2,800,000, thereby effecting a present saving of £2,100,000. But this was gained by authorising the commissioners to sell as much of the fixed sum of £2,800,000 a-year, which was directed to be paid to them out of the Consolidated Fund, as might be necessary to enable them to meet the excess of present payments over the income received; and of course it had the effect of rendering the dead weight as much heavier than it otherwise would have been at the close of the period, as it had been lightened at its commencement. This project received the sanction of both branches of the Legislature, as did a supplementary measure

throwing the burden of superannuated allowances on the holders of offices under Government, by stopping off their salaries a sum adequate to insuring for its amount, which effected a saving of £370,000 a-year. These two measures effected a reduction of present expenses to the amount of nearly £2,500,000 a-year, but, like the reduction of the 5 per cents, by increasing the burden of the nation in future times; for the first, at this moment, is adding above £1,500,000 to the annual charges of the nation above what it otherwise would have been; and the last had added seven millions, by the 5 per cent bonus given to the holders of stock, to the amount of the national debt.

149. Amid so many measures which attracted general attention, and had become indispensable, from the necessitous state of the public exchequer, one of the greatest importance was quietly introduced into the Legislature. Ministers had not the manliness to confess they had been wrong in the course they had adopted in regard to the bill compelling cash payments in 1819, or perhaps they were aware that the influence of the moneyed interest in the House of Commons was too strong to render it possible for them openly and avowedly to recede from that system. But they did so almost secretly, perhaps unconsciously, in the most effective way. Lord Londonderry alone had the sagacity to perceive, and the courage to avow, the real nature of the measure introduced, and the evils it was intended to obviate. "He did not treat it," said Sir JAMES GRAHAM, a statesman subsequently well known, "as a question of fluctuation of prices, of want of means of consumption, or of superabundant harvest. The noble marquess (Londonderry) said plainly and directly, 'This is a question of currency: *the currency of the country is too contracted for its wants, and our business is to apply a remedy.*'"

150. The remedy applied was most effectual, and entirely successful, so far as the evils meant to be remedied were concerned. By the Act of 1819 it had been provided that the issuing of small notes by the Bank of England or coun-

try banks should cease on 1st May 1823, and it was the necessity of providing against this contingency which was one great cause of the contraction of the currency. On 2d July, however, Lord Londonderry introduced a bill permitting the issue of £1 notes to continue for *ten years longer*, and declared the £1 notes of the Bank of England a legal tender everywhere except at the Bank of England. This, coupled with the grant of £4,000,000 Exchequer bills, which Government were authorised to issue in aid of the agricultural interest, had a surprising effect in restoring confidence and raising prices; and by doing so, it repealed, so long as it continued in operation, the most injurious parts of the Act of 1819. It will appear in a subsequent chapter how vast was the effect of this measure, what a flood of temporary prosperity it spread over the country, and in what a dismal catastrophe, from the necessity still retained of paying all the notes at the Bank itself in gold, it ultimately terminated. Yet so ignorant were the Legislature of the effects of this vital measure, and so little attention did it excite, that the second reading of it was carried in a house of forty-seven members only in the Commons; and while so many hundred pages of *Hansard* are occupied with debates on reduction of expenditure and similar topics, which at the utmost could only save the nation a few hundred thousands a-year, this measure, which restored at least eighty millions a-year to the remuneration of industry in the country, does not in all occupy two pages, and can only be discovered by the most careful examination in our parliamentary proceedings.

151. Six very important acts were passed this session of Parliament at the instance of Mr Wallace, the President of the Board of Trade, for removing the shackles which fettered the trade and navigation of the country, and improving their facilities. These acts opened a new era in our commercial legislation—the era of unrestricted competition and free trade in shipping. As such they are highly deserving of

attention; but their provisions will come with more propriety to be considered in a subsequent chapter, when taken in connection with the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM in maritime affairs, then introduced by Mr Huskisson. At present, it is sufficient to observe the *date* of the commencement of the new system being the same with that of so many other changes in our social system and commercial policy, and when the system of cheapening of articles of all sorts had rendered a general reduction of all the charges, entering how remotely soever into their composition, a matter of absolute necessity.

152. Parliament rose on the 6th August, and the King proceeded shortly after on a visit to Edinburgh, which he had never yet seen. He embarked with a splendid court at Greenwich on board the Royal George yacht on the 10th August, and arrived in Leith Roads in the afternoon of the 15th. No sovereign had landed there since Queen Mary arrived nearly three hundred years before. The preparations for his Majesty's reception, under the direction of Sir Walter Scott, were of the most magnificent description, and the loyal spirit of the inhabitants of Scotland rendered it interesting in the highest degree. The heartburnings and divisions of recent times were forgotten; the Queen's trial was no more thought of; the Radicals were silent. The ancient and inextinguishable loyalty of the Scotch broke forth with unexampled ardour; the devoted attachment they had shown to the Stuarths appeared, but it was now transferred to the reigning family. The clans from all parts of the Highlands appeared in their picturesque and varied costumes, with their chieftains at their head; the eagle's feather, their well-known badge, was seen surmounting many plumes; two hundred thousand strangers from all parts of the country crowded the streets of Edinburgh, and for a brief period gave it the appearance of a splendid metropolis.

153. The entry of the Sovereign into the ancient city of his ancestors was extremely striking. The heights of

the Calton Hill, and the cliffs of Salisbury Crags, which overhang the city, were lined with cannon, and ornamented with standards; and from these batteries, as well as the guns of the Castle, and the ships in the roads, and Leith Fort, a royal salute was fired as the monarch touched the shore. The procession passed through an innumerable crowd of spectators, who loudly and enthusiastically cheered, up Leith Walk, and by York Place, St Andrew Square, and Waterloo Place, to Holyrood House, where a levée and drawing-room were held a few days after. On the night following, the city was illuminated, and the guns of the Castle, firing at ten at night, realised the sublimity without the terrors of actual warfare. At a magnificent banquet given to the Sovereign by the Magistrates of Edinburgh in the Parliament House, at which the Lord Provost acted as chairman, and Sir Walter Scott as vice-chairman, the former was made a baronet, with that grace of manner and felicity of expression for which the King was so justly celebrated. A review on Portobello Sands exhibited the gratifying spectacle of 3000 yeomanry cavalry, collected from all the southern counties of Scotland, marching in procession before their Sovereign. Finally, the King, who during his residence in Scotland had been magnificently entertained at Dalkeith Palace, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, embarked on the 27th at Hopecloun House, the beautiful residence of the Earls of Hopetoun, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Henry Raeburn, the celebrated Scottish artist, and arrived in safety in the Thames on the 30th, charmed with the reception he had met with, and having left on all an indelible impression of the mingled dignity and grace of his manners, and felicity of his expressions.

154. His return was accelerated by a tragical event, which deprived England of one of her greatest statesmen, and the intelligence of which arrived amidst these scenes of festivity and rejoicing. Lord Londonderry, upon whose shoulders, since the retirement

of Lord Sidmouth, the principal weight of government, as well as the entire labour of the lead in the House of Commons, had fallen, had suffered severely from the fatigues of the preceding session, and shortly after exhibited symptoms of mental aberration. He was visited in consequence by his physician, Dr Bankhead, at his mansion at North Cray in Kent, by whom he was cupped. Some relief was experienced from this, but he continued in bed, and the mental disorder was unabated. It was no wonder it was so: Romilly and Whitbread had, in like manner, fallen victims to similar pressure on the brain, arising from political effort. On the morning of the 12th August, Dr Bankhead, who slept in the house, being summoned to attend his lordship in his dressing-room, entered just in time to save him from falling. He said, "Bankhead, let me fall on your arms—'tis all over," and instantly expired. He had cut his throat with a penknife. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of insanity. His remains were interred on the 20th in Westminster Abbey, between the graves of Pitt and Fox. The most decisive testimony to his merits was borne by some savage miscreants, who raised a horrid shout as the body was borne from the hearse to its last resting-place in the venerable pile; a shout which, to the disgrace of English literature, has since been re-echoed by some whose talents might have led them to a more generous appreciation of a political antagonist, and their sex to a milder view of the most fearful of human infirmities.*

* "Oh, Castlereagh! thou art a patriot now;
Cato died for his country, so didst thou:
He perished rather than see Rome enslaved,
Thou cutt'st thy throat that Britain might
be saved.

So he has cut his throat at last! He—Who?
The man who cut his country's long ago."
—BYRON'S Works, xvii. 246.

"The news of Lord Londonderry's death struck the despots of Europe aghast upon their thrones—news which was hailed with clasped hands and glistening eyes by aliens in many a provincial town of England, and with imprudent shouts by conclaves of patriots abroad. There are some now, who in mature years cannot remember without emotion what they saw and heard that day.

155. Chateaubriand has said, that while all other contemporary reputations are declining, that of Mr Pitt is hourly on the increase. The same is equally true of Lord Londonderry; the same ever has, and ever will be, true of the first and greatest of the human race. Their fame with posterity is founded on the very circumstances which, with the majority of their contemporaries, constituted their unpopularity; they are revered, because they had wisdom to discern the ruinous tendency of the passions with which they were surrounded, and courage to resist them. The reputation of the demagogue is brilliant, but fleeting, like the meteor which shoots athwart the troubled sky of a wintry night; that of the undaunted statesman, at first obscured, but in the end lasting like the fixed stars, which, when the clouds roll away, shine for ever the same in the highest firmament. Intrepidity in the rulers of men is the surest passport to immortality, for it is the quality which most fascinates the minds of men. All admire, because few can imitate it.

“Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadria,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.”

156. Never was there a human being to whom these noble lines were more applicable than to Lord Londonderry. His whole life was a continual struggle with the majority in his own or foreign lands; he combated to subdue and to bless them. He began his career by strenuous efforts to effect the Irish

They could not know how the calamity of one man—a man amiable, winning, and generous in the walk of daily life—could penetrate the recesses of a world but as a ray of hope in the midst of thickest darkness. This man was the screw by which England had riveted the chains of nations. The screw was drawn, and the immovable despotism might now be overthrown. There was abundant reason for the rejoicing which spread through the world on the death of Lord Londonderry, and the shout which rang through the Abbey when his coffin was taken from the hearse was natural enough, though neither decent nor humane.”—Miss MARTINEAU, i. 287, 288.

Union, and rescue his native country from the incapable legislature by which its energies had so long been repressed. His mature strength was exerted in a long and desperate conflict with the despotism of revolutionary France, which his firmness, as much as the arm of Wellington, brought to a triumphant issue; his latter days in a ceaseless conflict with the revolutionary spirit in his own country, and an anxious effort to uphold the dignity of Great Britain, and the independence of lesser states abroad. The uncompromising antagonist of Radicalism at home, he was at the same time the resolute opponent of despotism abroad. If Poland retained, after the overthrow of Napoleon, any remnant of nationality, it was owing to his persevering and almost unaided efforts; and at the very time when the savage wretches who raised a shout at his funeral were rejoicing in his death, he had been preparing to assert at Verona, as he had done to the Congresses of Laybach and Troppau, the independent action of Great Britain, and her non-accordance in the policy of the Continental sovereigns against the efforts of human freedom.

157. His policy in domestic affairs was marked by the same far-seeing wisdom, the same intrepid resistance to the blindness of present clamour. He made the most strenuous efforts to uphold the Sinking Fund, that noble monument of Mr Pitt's patriotic foresight: had those efforts been successful, the whole national debt would have been paid off by the year 1845, and the nation *for ever* have been freed from the payment of thirty millions a-year for its interest.* He resisted with a firm hand, and at the expense of present popularity with the multitude, the efforts of faction during the seven trying years which followed the close of the war, and bequeathed the constitution, after a season of peculiar danger, unshaken to his successors. The intrepid friend of freedom, he was on that very account the resolute oppo-

* Vide *History of Europe*, chap. xli. sect. 24, where this is demonstrated, and the calculation given.

ment of democracy, the insidious enemy which, under the guise of a friend, has in every age blasted its progress and destroyed its substance. Discerning the principal cause of the distress which had occasioned these convulsions, his last act was one that bequeathed to his country a currency adequate to its necessities, and which he alone of his Cabinet had the honesty to admit was a departure from former error. Elegant and courteous in his manners, with a noble figure and finely-chiselled countenance, he was beloved in his family circle and by all his friends, not less than respected by the wide circle of sovereigns and statesmen with whom he had so worthily upheld the honour and the dignity of England.

158. Three years only had elapsed since the great monetary change of 1819 had been carried into effect, and already it had become evident that that was the turning-point of English history, and that an entire alteration would ere long be induced in its external and internal policy. Changes great, decisive, and irremediable, had already occurred, or were in progress. The cutting off of a hundred millions a-year from the remuneration of industry, agricultural and manufacturing, while the public and private debts remained the same, had changed the whole relations of society, altered all the views of men. Reduction in expenditure, when so great a chasm had been effected in income, was the universal cry. In 1819, the House of Commons had solemnly resolved that the Sinking Fund should under no circumstances be reduced below £5,000,000 a-year, and laid on £3,000,000 of indirect taxes to bring it up to that amount; but already the system was abandoned, taxes to the amount of £3,500,000 had been repealed in a single year, and the doctrine openly promulgated by Government, which has since been so constantly acted upon, that the nation should instantly receive the full benefit of a surplus income in a reduction of taxation, instead of a maintenance of the Sinking Fund. The fierce demand for a reduction of expenditure, which made itself

heard in an unmistakable manner even in the unreformed House of Commons, had rendered it indispensable to reduce the land and sea forces of the State to a degree inconsistent with the security of its vast colonial dependencies, and the maintenance of its position as an independent power.

159. Changes still more important in their ultimate effects were already taking place in the social position and balance of parties in the State. The distress in Ireland—a purely agricultural state, upon which the fall of 50 per cent in its produce fell with unmitigated severity—had become such that a change in the system of government in that country had become indispensable; and the altered system of Lord Wellesley presaged, at no distant period, the admission of the Roman Catholics into the Legislature, and the attempt to form a harmonious legislature out of the united Celt and Saxon—the conscientious servant of Rome, and the sturdy friend of Protestant England. The widespread and deep distress of the manufacturing classes, and the inability of the Legislature to afford them any relief, had rendered loud and threatening the demand for reform in those great hives of industry, while the still greater and more irremediable sufferings of the agriculturists had shaken the class hitherto the most firmly attached to existing institutions, and diffused a very general opinion that things could not be worse than they were, and that no alleviation of the evils under which the country laboured could be hoped for till the representation of the people was put on a different footing. Lastly, the general necessity of cheapening everything, to meet the reduced price of produce, had extended itself to freights, and several acts had already passed the Legislature which foreshadowed the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and the abandonment of the system under which England had won the sceptre of the seas, and a colonial empire which encircled the earth. The dawn of the whole future of England is to be found in these three years.

160. The Marquess of Londonderry was the last minister in Great Britain

of the rulers who really governed the State; that is, of men who took counsel only of their own ideas, and imprinted them on the internal and external policy of their country. Thenceforward statesmen were guided on both sides of the Channel, not by what they deemed right, but what they found practicable; the ruling power was found elsewhere than either in the cabinet or the legislature. Querulous and desponding men, among whom Chateaubriand stands foremost, perceiving this, and comparing the past with the present, concluded that this was because the period of greatness had passed, because the age of giants had been succeeded by that of pigmies; and that men were not directed, because no one able to lead them appeared. But this was a mistake: it was not that the age of great men had ceased, but the age of great causes had succeeded. Public opinion had become irresistible—the press ruled alike the cabinet and the legislature on important questions; where the people were strongly roused, their voice had become omnipotent; on all it gradually but incessantly acted, and in the end modified the opinions of government.

161. The *Vox Populi* is not always, at the moment, the *Vox Dei*: it is so only when the period of action has passed, and that of reflection has arisen—when the storms of passion are hushed, and the whisperings of interest no longer heard. When the still small voice of experience speaks in persuasive tones to future generations of men, it will be discovered, whether the apparent government of the many is more beneficial in its effects than the real government of a few; but this much is certain, that it is their *apparent* government only. Men seek in vain to escape from the first of human necessities—the necessity of being governed—by establishing democratic institutions. They do not change the direction of the many by the few: by the establishment of these they only change the few who direct. The oligarchy of intellect and eloquence comes instead of that of property and influence; happy if it is in reality more

wise in its measures and far-seeing in its policy than that which it has supplanted. But it is itself directed by the leaders of thought: the real rulers of men appear in those who direct general opinion; and the responsibility of the philosopher or the orator becomes overwhelming when he shares with it that of the statesman and the sovereign.

162. No doubt can remain, upon considering the events in the memorable years 1819 and 1820 in Europe, that they were the result of a concerted plan among the revolutionists in Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and England; and that the general overthrow of governments, which occurred in 1848, had been prepared, and was expected, in 1820. The slightest attention to dates proves this in the most decisive manner. The insurrection of Riego at Cadiz broke out on 1st January 1820—that at Corunna on 24th February in the same year—the King was constrained to accept the Constitution on 7th March; Kotzebue was murdered in Germany on 21st March; the revolution of Naples took place on 7th March; that of Piedmont on 7th June; the Duke de Berri was assassinated on 13th March; *émigrés* in Paris, which so nearly overturned the Government, broke out on 7th June, the military conspiracy on 19th August; the assassination of the English Cabinet was fixed for 19th February by the Cato Street conspirators; the insurrection at Glasgow took place on 3d April. So many movements of a revolutionary character, occurring so near each other in point of time, in so many different countries, demonstrates either a simultaneous agency of different bodies acting under one common central authority, or a common sense of the advent of a period in an especial manner favourable to the designs which they all had in contemplation. And when it is recollected that the Chambers of France had, by the operation of the *coups d'état* of 5th September 1816 and March 1819, been so thoroughly rendered democratical that the dethronement of the King and establishment of a republic, by vote of the legislature, was with confidence anti-

icipated when the next fifth had been elected for the Chamber of Deputies, and that distress in Great Britain had become so general, by the operation of the monetary law of 1819, that insurrectionary movements were in preparation in all the great manufacturing towns, and had actually broken out in several,—it must be confessed, that a more favourable time for such a general outbreak could hardly have been selected.

163. And yet, although these revolutionary movements were obviously made in pursuance of a common design, and for a common purpose, yet the agents in them, and the parties in each state to which their execution was intrusted, were widely different. In Great Britain, they were entirely conducted by the very lowest classes of society; and although they met with apologists and defenders more frequently than might have been expected in the House of Commons, and from a portion of the press, yet no person of respectability or good education was actually implicated in the treasonable proceedings. The *whole* respectable and influential classes were ranged on the other side. But the case was widely different on the Continent. The French

revolutionists embraced a large part of the talent, and by far the greater part of the education, of the country; and it was their concurrence, as the event afterwards proved, which rendered any insurrectionary movement in that country so extremely formidable. In Spain and Portugal the principal merchants in the seaport towns, the most renowned generals, and almost the whole officers in the army, were engaged on the revolutionary side, and their adhesion to its enemies in the last struggle left the throne without a defence. In Italy, the ardent and generous youth, and almost all the highly educated classes, were deeply imbued with Liberal ideas, and willing to run any hazard to secure their establishment; and nearly the whole of the young men educated at the German universities had embraced the same sentiments, and longed for the period when the Fatherland was to take its place as the first and greatest of representative governments. Such is the difference between the action of the revolutionary principle upon a constitutional and a despotic monarchy, and such the security which the long enjoyment of freedom affords for the continuance of that blessing to future times.

CHAPTER XI.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF VILLÈLE
IN 1819 TO THE CONGRESS OF VERONA IN 1822.

1. ALTHOUGH France and England, since the peace of 1815, had pursued separate paths, their governments had never as yet been brought into collision with each other. Severally occupied with domestic concerns, oppressed with the burdens of striving to heal the wounds of war, their governments were amicable, if not cordially united, and nothing had as yet occurred which threatened to bring them into a state

of hostility with each other. But the Spanish revolution ere long had this effect. It was viewed with very different eyes on the opposite sides of the Channel. Justly proud of their own constitution, and dating its completion from the Revolution of 1688, which had expelled the Stuarts from the throne—for the most part ignorant of the physical and political circumstances of the Peninsula, which rendered a

similar constitution inapplicable to its inhabitants, and deeply imbued with the prevailing delusion of the day, that forms of government were everything, and differences of race nothing—the English had hailed the Spanish revolution with generous enthusiasm, and anticipated the entire resurrection of the Peninsula from the convulsion which seemed to have liberated them from their oppressors. These sentiments were entirely shared by the numerous and energetic party in France which aimed at expelling the Bourbons, and restoring a republican form of government in that country. But for that very reason, opinions diametrically opposite were entertained by the supporters of the monarchy, and all who were desirous to save the country from a repetition of the horrors of the first great convulsion. They were unanimously impressed with the belief that revolutionary governments could not be established in Spain and Italy without endangering to the last degree the existing institutions in France; that the contagion of democracy would speedily spread across the Alps and the Pyrenees; and that a numerous and powerful party set upon overturning the existing order of things, already with difficulty held in subjection, would, from the example of success in the neighbouring states, speedily become irresistible.

2. This divergence of opinion and feeling, coupled with the imminent danger to France from the convulsions in the adjoining kingdoms, and the comparative exemption of Great Britain from it, in consequence of remoteness of situation and difference of national temperament, must inevitably, under any circumstances, have led to a difference in the policy of the two countries, and seriously endangered their amicable relations. But this danger was much increased in France and England at this period, in consequence of the recent events which had occurred in the Peninsula, and the character of the men who were then placed, by the prevailing feeling in the two countries, at the head of affairs. Spain and Portugal were the theatre of

Wellington's triumphs; they had been liberated by the arms of England from the thralldom of Napoleon; they had witnessed the first reverses which led to the overthrow of his empire. The French beheld with envy any movement which threatened to increase an influence from which they had already suffered so much; the English, with jealousy any attempt to interrupt it. In addition to this, the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs on the opposite sides of the Channel, when matters approached a crisis, were of a character and temperament entirely in harmony with the ideas of the prevailing influential majority in their respective countries, and both alike gifted with the genius capable of inflaming, and destitute of the calmness requisite to allay, the ferment of their respective people.

3. GEORGE CANNING, who was the Foreign Minister that was imposed upon the King of England, on Lord Londonderry's death, by the general voice of the nation, rather than selected by his choice, and who took the lead, on the British side, in the great debate with France which ensued regarding the affairs of the Peninsula, was one of the most remarkable men that ever rose to the head of affairs in Great Britain. Of respectable but not noble birth, he owed nothing to aristocratic descent, and was indebted for his introduction to Parliament and political life to the friendships which he formed at college, where his brilliant talents, both in the subjects of study and in conversation, early procured for him distinction.* It is

* George Canning was born in London on 11th April 1770. He was descended from an ancient family, which, in the time of Edward III., had commenced with a mayor of Bristol, and had since been one of the most respected of the county of Warwick. His father, George Canning, the third son of the family, was called to the bar, but being a man more of literary than legal tastes, he never got into practice, and died in 1771 in very needy circumstances, leaving Mrs Canning, an Irish lady of great beauty and accomplishments, in such destitution that she was obliged for a short time to go on the stage for her subsistence. Young Canning was educated at Eton out of the proceeds of a small Irish estate bequeathed to him by his grandfather, and there his talents and assiduity soon procured for him distinction. He joined there

seldom that oratorical and literary talents, such as he possessed, fail in acquiring distinction at a university, though still greater powers and more profound capacity rarely do attain it. Bacon made no figure at college; Adam Smith was unknown to academic fame; Burke was never heard of at Trinity College, Dublin; Locke was expelled from an English university. On the other hand, there has been scarcely a great orator or a distinguished minister in England for a century and a half whose reputation did not precede him from the university into Parliament. The reason is, that there is a natural connection between eminence in scholarship and oratorical power, but not between that faculty and depth of thought; both rest upon the

same mental faculties, and cannot exist without them. Quickness of perception, retentiveness of memory, a brilliant imagination, fluent diction, self-confidence, presence of mind, are as essential to the debater in Parliament as to the scholar in the university. Both are essentially at variance with the solitary meditation, the deep reflection, the distrust of self, the slow deductions, the laborious investigation, the generalising turn of mind, which are requisite to the discovery of truth, and are invariably found united in those destined ultimately to be the leaders of opinion. The first set of qualities fit their possessors to be the leaders of senates, the last to be the rulers of the thought of nations.

4. When Mr Canning first entered

several of his schoolfellows in getting up a literary work, which attained considerable classical eminence, entitled the *Microcosm*. Mr Canning was its avowed editor, and principal contributor. In 1788, in his eighteenth year, he left Eton, already preceded by his literary reputation, and was entered at Christ Church, Oxford. The continued industry and brilliant parts which he there exhibited gained for him the highest honours, and, what proved of still more importance to him in after life, the friendship of many eminent men, among whom was Lord Hawkesbury, who afterwards became Earl of Liverpool. On leaving Oxford he entered Lincoln's Inn, but rather with the design of strengthening his mind by legal argument than following the law as a profession. He there formed an acquaintance with Mr Sheridan, which soon ripened into a friendship that continued through life.

His literary and oratorical distinction was much enhanced by the brilliant appearances he made in several private societies in London, and this led to his introduction into public life. Mr Pitt, having heard of his talents as a speaker and writer, sent for him, and in a private interview stated to him that, if he approved of the general policy of Government, arrangements would be made to procure him a seat in Parliament. Mr Canning declared his concurrence in the views of the minister, acting in this respect on the advice of Mr Sheridan, who dissuaded him from joining the Opposition, which had nothing to offer him. Mr Canning's previous intimacies had been chiefly with the Whigs; and, like Pitt and Fox, he had hailed the French Revolution at its outset with unqualified hope and enthusiasm. He was returned to Parliament in 1793 for the close borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, entering thus, like all the great men of the day, public life through the portals of the nomination boroughs.

His first speech was on the 31st January

1794, in favour of a loan to the King of Sardinia; and it gave such promises of future talent that he was selected to second the Address. In spring 1796 he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and on 1st March 1799 delivered a speech against the slave-trade, which has deservedly obtained a place in his collected speeches. At this time he became the most popular contributor to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, of which Mr Gifford was the editor. His pieces are chiefly of the light, sportive, or satirical kind, and contributed to check, by the force of ridicule, the progress of French principles in the country. In 1799 he delivered two brilliant speeches in favour of the union with Ireland, which led to his afterwards becoming the warm and consistent advocate of the Catholic claims in Parliament; and in 1801 went out of office with Mr Pitt. He did not oppose Mr Addington's administration, but neither did he support it, and wisely discontinued almost entirely his attendance in Parliament during its continuance. In July 1800 he married Miss Joan Scott, daughter and co-heiress of General Scott, who had made a colossal fortune chiefly at the gaming-table. This auspicious union greatly advanced his prospects. Her fortune, which was very large, made him independent, her society happy, her connections powerful; for her eldest sister had recently before married the Marquess of Titchfield, eldest son of, and who afterwards became, Duke of Portland.

In spring 1803, Mr Canning took a leading part in the series of resolutions condemnatory of the conduct of Ministers, which led to the overthrow of Mr Addington's administration, and, on the return of Mr Pitt to power, was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, an office which he held till the death of that great man, in December 1805. On the accession of the Whigs to office he was of course displaced, and became an active member of that small but indefatigable band of opposi-

Parliament, the native bent of his mind, and the aspirations which naturally arise in the breast of one conscious of great intellectual power and destitute of external advantages, inclined him to the Liberal side. But as its leaders were at that period in opposition, and Mr Canning did not possess an independent fortune, they generously advised him to join the ranks of Mr Pitt, then in the midst of his struggle with the French Revolution. He did so, and soon became a favourite *élève* of that great man. It was hard to say whether his poetry in the *Anti-Jacobin*, or his speeches in Parliament, contributed most to aid his cause. Gradually he rose to very high eminence in debate—a distinction which went on continually increasing till he obtained

tion which resisted Mr Fox's administration. Such was the celebrity which he thus acquired, that when the Tories returned to power, in April 1807, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and for the first time became a Cabinet Minister.

In this elevated position he not only took the lead in conducting the foreign affairs of the country, but was the main pillar of administration in resisting the attacks with which it was assailed, particularly on the Orders in Council and the Copenhagen expedition. The breaking out of the Spanish war in May 1808, and the active part which Great Britain immediately took in that contest, gave him several opportunities for the display of his eloquence in the generous support of Liberal principles and the independence of nations, of which through life he had been the fervent supporter. To the vigour of his counsels in the cabinet, and the influence of his eloquence in the senate, is, in a great degree, to be ascribed the energetic part which England took in that contest, and its ultimately glorious termination. He conducted the able negotiation with the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon, when, after the interview at Erfurth in 1808, they jointly proposed peace to Great Britain; and the complicated diplomatic correspondence with the American Government relative to the affair of the Chesapeake, and the many points of controversy concerning maritime rights which had arisen with the people of that country. In all these negotiations his despatches and state papers were a model of clear, temperate, and accurate reasoning. Subsequent to this he became involved in a quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, arising out of the failure of the Walcheren expedition in 1809, and Mr Canning's attempts to get him removed from the Ministry, which terminated in a duel, and led to the retirement of both from office at the very time when the dangers of the country most imperatively called for

the entire mastery of the House of Commons, and commanded its attention to a degree which neither Mr Burke, Mr Pitt, nor Mr Fox had done. The reason was, that his talents were more completely suited to the peculiar temper and average capacity of that assembly; they neither fell short of it, nor went beyond it. Less philosophical than Burke, less instructive than Pitt, less impassioned than Fox, he was more attractive than any of them, and possessed in a higher degree the faculty, by the exhibition of his varied powers, of permanently keeping alive the attention. He neither disconcerted his audience by abstract disquisition, nor exhausted them by statistical details, nor terrified them by vehemence of declamation. Alternately

their joint services. He did not, however, on resigning, go into opposition, but continued an independent member of Parliament; and it was after this that he made his celebrated speech in support of the Bullion Report—a speech which displays at once the ease with which he could direct his great powers to any new subject, however intricate, and the decided bias which inclined him to Liberal doctrines.

At the dissolution of Parliament, in the close of 1812, Mr Canning stood for Liverpool, on which occasion he made the most brilliant and interesting speeches of his whole career; for they had less of the fencing common in Parliament, and more of real eloquence in them than his speeches in the House of Commons. In 1814 he was sent into a species of honourable banishment as ambassador at the court of Lisbon, from whence he returned in 1816; and in the beginning of 1817 he was appointed President of the Board of Control on the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. In the spring of 1820 he sustained a severe loss by the death of his eldest son George, who expired on the 31st March. Overwhelmed with this calamity, and desirous to be absent during the discussions on the Queen, he took but little part in public affairs during 1821 and 1822, during which years he resided chiefly in France and Italy; but the capacity he evinced as President of the Board of Control, coupled with a secret desire on the part of the Prince-Regent to get him removed from the Cabinet, pointed him out as the fit person to be appointed Governor-General of India, which situation he had agreed to accept, and even attended the farewell dinner of the East India directors on his appointment, when the unexpected death of Lord Londonderry, and the general voice of the public, on the 20th August, in a manner forced him upon the Government as Foreign Secretary.—*Memoir of Mr Canning*, i. 29. *Life and Speeches*, vol. i.

serious and playful, eloquent and fanciful, sarcastic and sportive, he knew how to throw over the most uninteresting subjects the play of fancy, and the light of original genius. Whatever the subject was, he touched it with a felicity which no other could reach. He never rose without awakening expectation, nor sat down without exciting regret. Gifted by nature with a poetic fancy and a brilliant imagination, an accomplished scholar, and a felicitous wit, he knew how to enliven every subject by the treasures of learning, the charms of poetry, and the magic influence of allusion. At times he rose to the very highest strains of eloquence; and if the whole English language is searched for the finest detached passages of splendid oratory, they will be found in the greatest number in his collected speeches.

5. If Mr Canning's reach of thought and consistency of conduct had been equal to these brilliant qualities, he would have been one of the very greatest statesmen, as unquestionably he was one of the first orators, that England ever produced. But unfortunately this was very far from being the case; and he remains a lasting proof that, if literary accomplishment is one of the most important elements in oratorical power, it is very far from being the same in statesmanlike wisdom. Perhaps they cannot coexist in the same mind. Mr Burke himself, the greatest of political philosophers, was by no means an equally popular speaker—his voice seldom failed to clear the House of Commons. Mr Canning had too much of the irritability of genius in his temper, of the fervour of poetry in his thought, of the restlessness of ambition in his disposition, to be, when intrusted with the direction of affairs, either a safe or a judicious statesman. Passionately fond of popularity, accustomed to receive its incense, and reap *at once* the rewards of genius by the admiration which his brilliancy in conversation, his versatility in debate, awakened, he forgot that immediate applause is in general the precursor, not of lasting fame, but of dangerous innovation and

permanent condemnation. He mistook the cheers of the multitude for the voice of ages. He forgot the reproof of the Greek philosopher, when his pupil was intoxicated with the applause of the mob: "My son, if you had spoken wisely, you would have met with no such approbation." Hence he yielded with too much facility to the bent of the age in which he was called to power; he increased, instead of moderating, its fervour. His career as a statesman, in mature life, is little more than a contrast to his earlier speeches as a legislator. He was the first of that school, unfortunately become so numerous in later times, who sacrifice principle to ambition, and climb to power by adopting the principles which they have spent the best part of their life in combating. Unbounded present applause never fails to attend the unlooked-for and much-prized conversion. Time will show whether it is equally followed by the respect and suffrages of subsequent ages.

6. Mr Canning rose to power in England, by embodying, in the most effective and brilliant form, the spirit and wishes of his country at the time: as Napoleon said of himself, "*Il marchait toujours avec l'opinion de cinq millions d'hommes.*" By a singular coincidence, another man, of similar talents and turn of mind, at the same time was elevated by the influence of the ruling party at the moment in France to the direction of its foreign affairs, and, equally with his English rival, embodied the ideas and wishes of the ruling majority on the other side of the Channel. VISCOUNT CHATEAUBRIAND has attained to such fame as a writer, that we are apt to forget that he was also a powerful statesman; that he ruled the foreign affairs of his country during the most momentous period which had elapsed since the fall of the Empire; and achieved for its arms a more durable, if a less brilliant, conquest than the genius of Napoleon had been able to effect. Like Mr Canning, he was a type of the "literary character." Mr Disraeli could not, in all history, dis-

cover two men whose productions and career evince in more striking colours its peculiarities, its excellencies, and defects. His imagination was brilliant, his disposition elevated, his soul poetical. Descended of an ancient and noble family—bred in early life in a solitary château in Brittany, washed by the waves of the Atlantic, the gloomy imagery which first filled his youthful mind affixed a character upon it which subsequently was rendered ineffaceable by the disasters and sufferings of the Revolution.* He

* FRANÇOIS RÉNÉ DE CHATEAUBRIAND was born on 4th September 1769, the same year with Marshal Ney, and which Napoleon declared was his own. His mother, like those of almost all eminent men recorded in history, was a very remarkable woman, gifted with an ardent imagination and a wonderful memory, qualities which she transmitted in great perfection to her son. His family was very ancient, going back to the tenth century; but, till immortalised by François René, they had lived in unobtrusive privacy on their paternal acres. After receiving the rudiments of education at home, he was sent at the age of seventeen into the army; he was engaged in the campaign of 1792, under the Prince of Condé, and the Prussians under the Duke of Brunswick, against Dumourier. He there, as he was marching along in his uniform as a private, with his knapsack on his back, accidentally met the King of Prussia. Struck with his appearance, the King asked him where he was going: "Wherever danger is to be found," was the reply of the young soldier. "By that answer," said the King, touching his hat, "I recognise the noblesse of France." His regiment soon after revolted, in consequence of which he resigned his commission, and came to Paris, where he witnessed the storming of the Tuileries on 10th August 1792, and the massacres in the prisons on 2d September. Many of his nearest relations, in particular his sister-in-law, Madame de Chateaubriand, and his sister, Madame Rosambo, were executed along with Malesherbes, shortly before the fall of Robespierre. Obligated now to leave France to avoid death himself, he escaped to and took refuge in England, where he lived for some years in extreme poverty and obscure lodgings in London, supporting himself entirely by his pen, and, like Johnson, often scarce able, even by its aid, to earn his daily meal. He there wrote his first and least creditable work, the *Essai Historique*, many passages in which prove that even his ardent spirit had for a time been shaken by the infidelity and dreams of the Revolution.

But he soon awakened to better feelings, and regained amidst suffering his destined and glorious career. Tired of his obscure and monotonous life, and disconcerted by the issue of a love affair in England, he set out for America, with the Quixotic idea—indicative,

had the spirit of chivalry in his soul, but not the gaiety of the troubadour in his heart. Generous, high-minded, and disinterested in the extreme, he was so inured in youth to the spectacle of woe, that it was stript of most of those terrors which render it so appalling to less experienced sufferers. Like the veteran who has seen his comrades for years fall around him, the image of death had been so often before his eyes that it had ceased to affect his imagination. He was ever ready at the call of duty, or the impulse of chi-

however, of a mind as aspiring as that of Columbus—of discovering by land the long-sought north-west passage to the Pacific. He failed in that attempt, for which, indeed, he was possessed of no adequate means; but he saw the Falls of Niagara, dined with Washington; and in the solitudes of the Far West inhaled the spirit, while his eye painted on his mind the scenery, of savage nature. Many of the finest descriptions and allusions which adorn his works are drawn from the scenes which then became impressed on his memory; and, combined with those of the East, which he afterwards visited, constitute not the least charm of his writings. Finding that there was nothing to be done in the way of geographical discovery, with his limited means, in America, he returned to England in 1798, from whence, on the pacification of France, on the fall of the Directory and accession of Napoleon, he returned to Paris, and began his literary career.

He was now in the thirty-second year of his age, and the mingled ardour, information, and poetic fervour of his mind appeared in their full perfection in the works which he gave to the public. *Atala and René*, a romance, of which the scene was laid in and the characters drawn from America, exhibited in the most brilliant form the imagery, ideas, and scenery of the Far West, seen through the eyes of chivalrous genius; while the *Genie de Christianisme* presented, on a larger scale, and in an immortal work, the combined fruits of study, observation, and experience, in illustrating the blessings which Christianity has conferred upon mankind. Such was the celebrity which these works almost immediately acquired, that they attracted the attention of Napoleon, who was anxious to enlist talent of all kinds in his service. He sent for Chateaubriand accordingly, and offered him the situation of Minister to the Republic of the Valais, as a first step in diplomatic service. He at once accepted it; but ere he had time to set out on his proposed mission, the murder of the Duke d'Enghien occurred, and while all Europe was in consternation at that dreadful event, he had the courage, while yet in Paris, to brave the Emperor's wrath by resigning his appointment.

His friends trembled for his life in the first burst of Napoleon's fury; but he was shel-

valrous feeling, to imperil his life or his fortune even in behalf of a cause which was obviously hopeless. "Fais ce que tu dois, adviennne ce que pourra," was his maxim, as it ever has been, and ever will be, of the really great and noble in every age and country. He evinced this intrepidity alike in braving the hostility of Napoleon in the zenith of his power, on occasion of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, in opposing the Government of the Restoration, when it sought, in its palmy days, to impose shackles on the freedom of thought; and in adhering to it with noble constancy amidst a nation's defection, when it was laid

tered by the Princess Eliza; and having made his escape from Paris, he turned his steps to the East, the historic land on which, from his earliest years, his romantic imagination had been fixed. He visited Greece and Constantinople, the isles of the Ægean and the stream of the Jordan, Jerusalem and Cairo, the pyramids, Thebes, and the ruins of Carthage. From this splendid phantasmagoria he drew the materials of two other great works, which appeared soon after his return to Paris; *Les Martyrs*, which embodied the most striking images which had met his eye in Greece and Egypt, and the *Itineraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, which gave the entire details of his journey. The wrath of Napoleon having now subsided, as it generally did after a time, even when most strongly provoked, he was allowed to remain at Paris, which he did in privacy, supporting himself by literary contributions to the few reviews and journals which the despotism of the Emperor permitted to exist, and by the sale of his acknowledged works, until 1814, when, as the approach of the Allies gave rational hopes of the restoration of the Bourbons, he composed in secrecy, and published within a few days after their entry into Paris, his celebrated pamphlet, *Buonaparte et les Bourbons*, which had almost as powerful an effect as the victories of the Allies in bringing about the restoration of the exiled family.

On the accession of Louis XVIII. parties were too much divided, and the influence of Talleyrand was too paramount, to allow of his being admitted into the Government; but, with his usual fidelity to misfortune, he accompanied Louis during the Hundred Days to Ghent, where he powerfully contributed by his pen to keep alive the hopes of the Royalists, and hold together the fragments of their shipwrecked party. On the second restoration the real or supposed necessity of taking Fouché into power made him decline any office under Government, although he was, at the earnest request of the Count d'Artois, created a peer of France in 1815. Subsequently the principles and policy of M. Decazes and the Duke de Richelieu were

in the dust on the accession of Louis Philippe.

7. Chateaubriand's merits as an author—by far the most secure passport he has obtained to immortality—will be considered in a subsequent chapter, which treats of the literature of France during the Restoration. It is with his qualities as an orator and a statesman that we are here concerned, and they were both of no ordinary kind. Untrained in youth to parliamentary debate, brought for the first time, in middle life, into senatorial contests, he had none of the facility or grace of Mr Canning in extempore debate. This was of the less consequence

so much at variance with those which he professed, and had consistently maintained through life, that he not merely kept aloof from the Government, but became an active member of the Royalist Opposition, which, as usually happens in such cases, occasionally found themselves in a strange temporary alliance with their most formidable antagonists on the Liberal side. As they were in a minority in both Chambers, their only resource was the press, of the freedom of which Chateaubriand became an ardent supporter, as well from the consciousness of intellectual strength as from the necessities of his political situation. This added as much to his literary fame as it diminished his favour with Government. Power has an instinctive dread, under all circumstances, of the unrestrained exercise of intellectual strength. He only obtained, under the semi-Liberal administration of the first years of the Restoration, the temporary appointment of an embassy to Prussia; and it was not till the Royalists in good earnest succeeded to power, on the downfall of the Duke de Richelieu's second administration, that he was appointed ambassador to London, in the beginning of 1822—a situation which, in the following year, was exchanged for that of Minister for Foreign Affairs, which brought him into direct collision with Mr Canning, in one of the most interesting and momentous periods of the history of France and England. He held that situation only for two years: he had too much of the pride of intellect in his mind, of the irritability of genius in his disposition, to be a practicable minister under another leader. His noble and disinterested conduct in refusing the portfolio of Foreign Affairs on the accession of Louis Philippe, and preferring exile and destitution to power and rule obtained by the sacrifice of principle and honour, will form an interesting, and, for the honour of human nature, redeeming episode in a subsequent volume of this History.—*Memoirs d'Outre-Tombe*, par M. le Vicomte de CHATEAUBRIAND, vol. i. to viii.; and *Biographie des Hommes Vivants*, ii. 144-149.

in France, that the speeches delivered at the tribune were almost all written essays, with scarcely any alteration made at the moment. But, independently of this, his turn of mind was essentially different from that of his English rival. It was equally poetical, brilliant, and imaginative, but more earnest, serious, and impassioned. The one was a high-bred steed, which, conscious of its powers, and revelling in their pacific exercise, canters with ease and grace over the greensward turf; the other, a noble Arab, which toils have inured to privation, and trained to efforts over the sterile desert, and which is any day prepared to die in defence of the much-loved master or playmates of its childhood. Many of his orations or political pamphlets contain passages of surpassing vigour, eloquence, and pathos; but we shall look in vain in them for the light touch, the aerial spirit, the sportive fancy, which have thrown such a charm over the speeches of Mr Canning.

8. As a practical and consistent statesman, we shall find more to applaud in the illustrious Frenchman than the far-famed Englishman. It was his good fortune, indeed, not less than his merit, which led to his being appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in France at the time when its external policy was entirely in harmony with his recorded opinions through life. Mr Canning's evil star placed him in the same situation, when his policy was to be directly at variance with those of his. But, unlike Canning, Chateaubriand showed on other occasions, and on decisive crises, that he could prefer consistency, poverty, and obloquy, to vacillation, riches, and power. His courageous defence of the liberty of the press alone prevented his obtaining a minister's portfolio during the ministry of the Duke de Richelieu. His generous adherence to the fallen fortunes of Henry V. caused him to prefer exile, poverty, and destitution, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he was offered on the accession of Louis Philippe. He was in general to be found in direct opposition to the ruling majority, both in numbers and in-

fluence, around him—a sure sign of a powerful and noble mind. Power came for a brief season to him, not he to power; he refused it when it could be purchased only at the expense of consistency.

9. Yet with all these great and lofty qualities, Chateaubriand was far from being a perfect character, and many of his qualities were as pernicious to him as a statesman as they were valuable to him as a romance or didactic writer. He had far too much of the irritability of genius in his temper—that unfortunate peculiarity which is so often conspicuous where the force of intellect is not equal to the brilliancy of imagination, and which so generally disqualifies imaginative writers from taking a permanent lead in the government of mankind. He had a great store of historical knowledge at command, but it was of the striking and attractive more than the solid and the useful kind; and there is no trace, either in his speeches or writings, of his having paid any attention to statistics, or the facts connected with the social amelioration of mankind. In that respect he was decidedly inferior to Mr Canning, who, although not inclined by nature to that species of information, was yet aware of its importance, and could at times, when required, bring out its stores with the happiest effect. Above all, he was infected with that inordinate vanity which is so peculiarly the disgrace of the very highest class of French literature, and which, if it at times sustained his courage in the most trying circumstances, at others led him into the display of the most puerile weaknesses, and renders his memoirs a melancholy proof how closely the magnanimity of a great can be connected with the vanities of a little mind.

10. M. DE VILLÈLE, who was the head of the new and purely Royalist Ministry which succeeded the second one of the Duke de Richelieu, and who played so important a part in the subsequent history of the Restoration, was a very remarkable man. He had no natural advantages, either of rank,

family, or person.* What he became he owed to the native vigour of his mind, and the practical force of his understanding, and to them alone. Diminutive in figure, thin in person, and in his later years almost emaciated, with a stoop in his shoulders and a feeble step, he was not qualified, like Mirabeau or Danton, to overawe popular assemblies by a look. His voice was harsh — even squeaking; and a nasal twang rendered it in a peculiar manner unpleasant. The keenness of his look, and penetration of his eye, alone revealed the native powers of his mind. When speaking, he generally looked down, and was often fumbling among the papers before him — the most unfortunate habit which a person destined for public speaking can possibly acquire. But all these disadvantages, which, in the case of most men,

would have been altogether fatal, were compensated, and more than compensated, by the remarkable powers of his mind. Thought gave expression to his countenance, elocution supplied the want of voice, earnestness made up for the absence of physical advantages. Intelligence revealed itself in spite of every natural defect. His auditors began by being indifferent; they soon became attentive; they ended by being admirers. A clear and penetrating intellect, great powers of expression, its usual concomitant, a just and reasonable mind, and an enlightened understanding, were his chief characteristics. He did not carry away his audience by noble sentiments and eloquent language, like Chateaubriand; nor charm them by felicitous imagery and brilliant ideas, like Caning; but he succeeded in the end in

* JOSEPH DE VILLELÉ was born at Toulouse in 1773, of an ancient Languedoc family. He entered, at a very early age, the service of the marines, and, under M. de St Félix, served long in the Indian seas. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, the crew of the vessel in which he was revolted against their officers, who held out faithfully for their captive king, and in consequence he was brought, with M. de St Félix, a prisoner into the Isle of France, where the latter escaped and was sheltered by a courageous friend, while the revolutionary authorities in the island put a price on his head. M. de Villèle was acquainted with the place of his retreat, and as this was known, he was seized, thrown into prison, and threatened with instant death if he did not reveal it; but neither menaces nor offers could prevail upon him to be unfaithful to his friend. Meanwhile M. de St Félix, informed of his danger, voluntarily quitted his retreat, and surrendered himself to the revolutionary authorities, by whom he was brought to trial along with M. de Villèle. The latter, however, defended himself with so much courage, ability, and temper, that he excited a general interest in his behalf, which led to his acquittal. As he could not rejoin his vessel, which was entirely under the guidance of revolutionary officers, he remained in the island, where his amiable manners, and the universal esteem in which he was held among its inhabitants, procured for him the hand of the daughter of a respectable planter, and with it a considerable fortune. He fixed his residence in consequence there; made himself acquainted with its local affairs; and from the attention which he bestowed upon them, and the ability he displayed, he was elected a member of the colonial legislature, and obtained nearly its entire direction.

He returned to France in 1807, with a moderate fortune, and fixed his residence at his

paternal estate of Marville, near his native town of Toulouse, where he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, without losing sight of the colonial interests, of which he had become so entire a master. In 1814, when the Bourbons were first restored, he evinced the strength of his Royalist principles by the publication of a pamphlet, in which he protested against the Charter as an unwarrantable encroachment on the rights of the crown. His conduct subsequently, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, was so courageous, that it attracted the notice of the Duke d'Angoulême, who recommended him to the King for the situation of mayor of Toulouse, which he accordingly obtained. His conduct in that capacity was so firm, temperate, and judicious, that it procured for him the esteem of all classes of citizens, and led to his being chosen, in a short time after, to represent that city in the Chamber of Deputies. He did not rise, like a meteor, to sudden eminence there, but slowly acquired confidence, and won the ascendancy which is never in the end denied to men who save their more indolent but not less impassioned associates the labour of thinking and the trouble of study. He did not shine by his eloquence or fervour at the tribune, but by degrees won respect and confidence by the information which his speeches always displayed, the moderation by which they were distinguished, and the thorough acquaintance which they evinced with the pressing wants and material interests of the dominant middle class of society. It was easy to see how much he had profited by the salutary misfortunes which had rendered him for so many years a planter in the Isle of France. Thenceforward his biography forms part of the history of France.—*Biographie des Hommes Vivants*, v. 511, 513; and LAMARTINE'S *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 9, 11.

not less forcibly commanding their attention, and often more durably directed their determinations. The reason was, that he addressed himself more exclusively to their reason: the considerations which he adduced, if less calculated to carry away in the outset, were often more effective in prevailing in the end, because they did not admit of a reply. He was a decided Royalist in principle; but his loyalty was that of the reason and the understanding, not the heart and the passions, and, therefore, widely different from the unreflecting violence of the *ultras*, or the blind bigotry of the priests. He was a supporter of the monarchy, because he was convinced that it was the form of government alone practicable in and suited to the necessities of France; but he was well aware of the difficulties with which it was surrounded, from the interests created by, and the passions evolved during, the Revolution; and it was his great object to pursue such a moderate and conciliatory policy as could alone render such a system durable.

11. His penetrating understanding early perceived that, in this view, the most pressing of all considerations was the management of the finances. Aware that it was the frightful state of disorder in which they had become involved which had been the immediate cause of the Revolution, he anticipated a similar convulsion from the recurrence of similar difficulties, and saw no security for the monarchy but in such a prudent course as might avoid the embarrassments which had formerly proved so fatal. He perceived not less clearly that, as the territorial aristocracy had been destroyed, and the Church shorn of its whole temporal influence, during the Revolution, it was neither by the sentiments of honour which thrilled the hearts of the nobility, nor the pious devotion which conciliated the power of the Church in the olden time, that attachment to the throne was now to be secured. The land, divided among six millions of little proprietors, the majority of whom could not read, had ceased to maintain an influential body in the

State; literary talent, all-powerful in directing others, had no separate interests save that of consequence and place for its possessors, and its energies were directed to the support of the wishes of the really ruling class in society. It was in the burgher class that power was now in reality vested; and it was by attention to their interests and wishes that durability, either for any administration or for the monarchy itself, was to be secured. Economy in expenditure, diminution of burdens, were the great objects on which they were set; no argument was so convincing with them, no appeal so powerful, as that which promised a reduction of taxation. Penetrated with these ideas, M. de Villèle, from the outset of his parliamentary career, devoted himself, in an especial manner, to the subject of finance; and by his close attention to it, and the store of statistical information which his vast powers of application enabled him to accumulate, and his retentive memory to bring forth on every occasion, he soon acquired that superiority in debate which ultimately led to his being placed at the head of the Government. He was, in every sense, the man of the age; but he was the man of that age only. He had no great or enlarged ideas: he saw the present clearly, with all its necessities; but he was blind to the future, with its inevitable accessories. His mind had, in the highest perfection, the powers of the microscope, but not of the telescope. He fell skilfully in with, and worked out admirably, present ideas; but he was not their director, and never could have become the ruler of ultimate thought.

12. M. de Villèle was the life and soul of the new Ministry, but he had several coadjutors, who, though not of equal capacity, were yet important in their several departments. M. de Corbière, in the important situation of Minister of Finance, displayed qualities, not only of the most suitable, but the most marketable kind. Though of good family, he was essentially bourgeois in his character; he had its virtues, its industry, its perseverance,

but at the same time its contracted views, selfishness, and jealousy. The aristocracy was not less the object of his animosity, than it was of the most democratic shopkeeper in the Faubourg St Antoine. His morals were austere, his probity universally known; his manners harsh, his conversation cynical; respected by all, he was beloved by none; but he was a favourite with the Liberal deputies, and possessed great weight in the Chamber, because he was the enemy of their enemy—the noblesse. No contrast could be more striking than the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Mathieu de Montmorency, exhibited. Born of the noblest family in France, inheriting from his historic ancestors their courage, their elevation of mind, and grace of manner, he had united to these qualities of the olden time the liberal ideas and enlarged views of modern society. Carried away, like so many of the young noblemen of the day, by the deceitful colours of the Revolution, he had at first been the warm supporter of its doctrines; and when their fatal tendency had been demonstrated by experience, he fled from France, and consoled himself on the banks of the Lemman Lake with the intellectual conversation of Madame de Staël, the fascinating grace of Madame Récamier. Latterly, he had become devout, and was the steady supporter of the *Parti-Prêtre*; but he did not possess the habits of business or practical acquaintance with affairs requisite for his office, and was more fitted to shine in the saloons than the cabinet of the Foreign Office. M. de Peyronnet, the Minister of Justice, had been a barrister who had distinguished himself by his courage at the side of the Duchess of Angoulême at Bordeaux in 1815, and by his ability in pleading the cause of Madame Du Cayla, when claiming her children and fortune from her inexorable husband. His talent was remarkable, his fidelity to the royal cause undoubted, his zeal great, his firmness equal to any emergency. But his prudence and capacity were not equal to his resolution; and it was already feared, what the result too clearly proved

to be the case, that he might ruin the royal cause while wishing to save it. Finally, Marshal Victor, Duke de Belluno, in the important situation of Minister at War, presented a combination of qualities of all others the most important for a ministry of the Restoration. A plebeian by birth, a soldier of fortune who had raised himself by his courage and capacity, a marshal of Napoleon, he conciliated the suffrages of the Liberals; a resolute character, a determined minister, a faithful Royalist, a man of intrepidity and honour, he carried with him the esteem and respect of the aristocratic party.

13. The first difficulty of the new Ministry was with the laws regarding the press; and this, situated as they were, was a difficulty of a very serious kind. The administration of the Duke de Richelieu had been overthrown, as is usually the case with a legislature divided as that of France was at that period, by a coalition of extreme Royalists and extreme Liberals, who for the moment united against their common enemy, the moderate Centre. But now that the victory was gained, it was not so easy a matter to devise measures which should prove acceptable to both. The first question which presented itself was that of the press, the eternal subject of discord in France, and, like that of Catholic emancipation in England, the thorn in the side of every administration that was or could be formed, and which generally proved fatal to it before any considerable period had elapsed. It was the more difficult to adjust any measure which should prove satisfactory, that the former Ministry had been mainly overthrown by the press, and M. Chateaubriand, who held a distinguished place in the new appointments, had always been the ardent supporter of its liberty, and owed his great popularity mainly to his exertions in its behalf. Nevertheless, it was obviously necessary to do something to check its licentiousness; the example of successful revolution in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, was too inviting not to provoke imitation in France; and it was well known to the Govern-

ment that the secret societies, which had overturned everything in those countries, had their affiliated branches in France. It was foreseen also, what immediately happened, that the great majority of the journals, true to the principle of Mr Tierney "to oppose everything, and turn out the Ministry," would speedily unite in a fierce attack upon the new administration. The necessity of the case prevailed over the dread of being met by the imputation of inconsistency, or the lingering qualms of the real friends of freedom of discussion; and a law was brought forward, which, professing to be based on the Charter, in reality tended to abridge the liberty of the press in several most important particulars.

14. By this law, which was brought forward by M. de Peyronnet on the 2d January, it was enacted that no periodical journal could appear without the King's authority, excepting such as were in existence on the 1st January 1822; the delinquencies of the press were declared to fall exclusively under the jurisdiction of the royal courts, which decided without a jury; they were authorised to suspend, and, in serious cases, suppress, any journal which published a series of articles contrary to religion or the monarchy; the pleadings were permitted to be in private, in cases where the court might be of opinion that their publication might be dangerous to order or public morality. In the event of serious offences against the law, during the interval of the session of the Chambers, the King was authorised to re-establish the censure by an *ordonnance*, countersigned by three ministers; but this power was to be transitory only, and was to expire, if, within a month after the meeting of the Chambers, it was not converted into a law. There can be no doubt that these provisions imposed very great restrictions upon the press, and, by withdrawing the offences regarding it from the cognisance of juries, rendered the punishment of them more expeditious and certain. Still, as it did not re-establish the censorship, and left untouched publications exceeding twenty leaves, it did not infringe upon

the most valuable part of public discussion, that which was meant to influence the understanding, however galling it might be felt by that which was most dangerous, being addressed to the passions.

15. The "Gauche" in the Chambers, the Liberals in the country, rose up at once, and *en masse*, upon the project of a law being submitted to the deputies. "It is the slavery of the press, the entire suppression of its freedom, which you demand. Better live in Constantinople than in France, under such a government." Nothing could exceed the violence with which the project was assailed, both by the Opposition in the Chambers and the press in the country. M. de Serres on this occasion rejoined the ranks of the Liberals, from which he had so long been separated: he distinguished himself by an eloquent speech against that part of the project which proposed to withdraw offences against the laws of the press from the cognisance of juries. "The mask has fallen," said he; "we are presented with a law destructive of the liberty of the press—one which, under pretence of saving our institutions, in reality subverts them. The proposed law strikes at the root of representative government, for it goes to destroy intelligence in those who are to exercise it. What is the present condition of society? Democracy overwhelms us like a spring-tide. Legitimate monarchy has nothing to fear from a power which places the press under its safeguard; it is our adversaries who have exposed it to its real danger, by holding out its liberty as inconsistent with monarchical institutions. The press is a social necessity which it is impossible to uproot. The proposed law tends to destroy its utility by subjecting it to arbitrary restrictions. In vain, however, do you attempt this: its power will resist all your attacks, and only become the more dangerous from being directed against the throne, not the ministers who abuse its powers." "We wish the Charter," replied M. Castelbajac in a voice of thunder, "but still more we wish the King: we wish for liberty,

but it is liberty without licence: unrestrained freedom of discussion is another word for anarchy: the law presented to us is peculiarly valuable, for it brings back this difficult subject to the principles of the Charter. Respect religion, the laws, the monarch—such are the laws which order demands; the liberty of the press can only be maintained by the laws which prevent its abuse. Such repression is the soul of real freedom." It is doubtful how, under ordinary circumstances, this difficult matter might have been determined; but the example of the ruin of monarchy in the adjoining states proved all-powerful with the majority in both Houses—the majority, however, a curious circumstance, being greater in the Commons than the Peers. In the former it was 82, the numbers being 219 to 137; in the latter 41, they being 124 to 83.

16. This victory on the part of the administration was immediately followed by a general organisation of secret societies over all France, and the turning of the energy of democratic ambition into the dangerous channel of occult conspiracy. Ever since the second Restoration and the Royalist severities of 1815, these societies, as already mentioned, had existed in France, and many of the leading men of Opposition were initiated in them; but the events of this stormy year gave them redoubled activity and importance. The example of Government overturned, and the Liberals universally installed in power in Spain and Italy, was sufficient to turn cooler heads than those of the ardent republicans of France. The *Carbonari* of Italy established corresponding societies over all the country, with the same signs, the same oaths, the same objects, the same awful denunciations of vengeance, in the event of the secrets of their fraternity being revealed. The existence of these societies, which were the chief means by which the revolutions of 1820 were brought about, was strenuously denied at the time, on both sides of the Channel, while the designs of the conspirators were in progress; but they have been fully revealed since

1830, when they were entirely successful. Every one was then forward to claim a share in the movement which had placed a new dynasty on the throne, and which none then dared call treason. Louis Napoleon was a member of the Carbonari Society.

17. This most perilous and demoralising system was first introduced from Italy into France in the end of 1820, and the autumn of the succeeding year was the time when it attained its highest development, and when it became a formidable power in the State. Nothing could be conceived more admirable for the object to which it was directed, or better calculated to avoid detection, than this system. It was entirely under the direction of a central power, the mandates of which were obeyed with implicit faith by all the initiated, though who composed it, or where it resided, was unknown to all save a very few. Every person admitted into the ranks of the Carbonari was to provide himself with a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of ball-cartridge. All orders, resolutions, and devices were transmitted verbally; no one ever put pen to paper on the business of the association. Any revelation of the secrets or objects of the fraternity was punished with death, and they had bravoës ready at any time to execute that sentence, which was pronounced only by the central committee, or to assassinate any person whom it might direct. The members were bound by the most solemn oaths to obey this invisible authority, whatever it might enjoin, without delay, hesitation, consideration, or inquiry. The association borrowed the illusions of the melodrama to add to the intensity of its impressions: it had, like the German, its *Geheim-gericht* nocturnal assemblages, its poniards directed against the breast, its secret courts of justice, its sentences executed by unknown hands. It was chiefly among the students at colleges, the sub-officers in the army, and the superior classes of mechanics and manufacturers, that this atrocious system prevailed, and it had reached its highest point in the end of 1821. It has since

spread across the Channel; and those who are acquainted with the machinations of the Ribbonmen in Ireland, and the worst of the trades-unions in Great Britain, will have no difficulty in recognising features well known to them, perhaps by dear-bought experience.

18. M. Lafayette,* Manuel, and d'Argenson were at the head of these secret societies in France, and they had attained such an extent and consistency in the end of 1821 that it was thought the time for action had arisen, the more especially as the revolutions of Spain and Naples, which were mainly their work, had strongly excited men's minds, and the accession of the Royalist Ministry in France threatened danger if the execution of their measures was any longer delayed. It was determined to make an outbreak in several different places at once, in order to distract the attention of Government, and inspire a belief of the conspiracy having more extensive ramifications than it really had. Saumur, Thouars, Bédort, Nantes, Rochelle, and Toulon were the places where it was arranged insurrections should take place, and to which the ruling committee at Paris transmitted orders for immediate risings. So confident were they of success, that General Lafayette set out from Paris to Bédort, to put himself at its head,

* "Cette fois, M. Lafayette, pressé sans doute par les années qui s'accumulaient, et craignant que la mort ne lui ravit, comme à Moïse, la terre promise de la liberté, avait manqué à son rôle de tribun légal, à son caractère, à son serment civique de député, à ses habitudes d'opposition en plein jour; et il avait consenti, au risque de la sécurité de sa vie, et de sa conscience, à devenir le moteur, le centre, et le chef d'une ténébreuse conspiration. Toutes les sociétés secrètes des ennemis des Bourbons, et le Carbonarisme qui les résumait toutes en ce moment, parlaient de ses menées, et aboutissaient à lui." —LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 26. See also, to the same effect, CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 308. The chiefs of this dark conspiracy were General Lafayette and his son, M. Manuel, Dupont de l'Enre, M. d'Argenson, Jacques Kochler, Comte Thiard, General Taragré, General Corbineau, M. de Lascelles, and M. Merithou. General Lafayette was by all acknowledged to be the head and soul of the conspiracy. —LAMARTINE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, vii. 29, 30.

and only turned back when near that town, on hearing that it had broken out, and failed of success. Bédort, in effect, was so filled with conspirators, and they were so confident of success, that they at length were at no pains to conceal their designs, and openly armed themselves with sabres and pistols, and mounted the tricolor cockade. The vigour and vigilance of the governor, however, and the fidelity of the garrison, caused the attempt to miscarry. M. de Tournal, the governor, was shot by one of them; but the rest, including M. de Corcelles and Carrel, fled on the road to Paris, and met General Lafayette a few leagues from the gate, just in time to cause him to turn back to his chateau of La Grange, near that capital. Such was the energy with which the Carbonari removed all traces or proofs of the conspiracy, that Colonel Pailhis Tellier, and two or three others, who had been caught in the very act, alone were brought to justice, and escaped with the inadequate punishment of three years' imprisonment.

19. A more serious insurrection broke out, towards the end of February, at Thouars, where General Berton was at the head of the conspirators. In the night of the 23d February he set out from Parthenay, and surprised Thouars, where he made prisoners the brigade of gendarmerie, and published a proclamation, declaring the establishment of a provisional government, composed of Generals Foy, Demarcay, and Lafayette, M. Benjamin Constant, Manuel, and d'Argenson, at Paris. He next attempted an attack upon Saumur; but in that he was foiled by the intrepidity of the mayor, at the head of a body of young Royalists at the military school, and the commander of the castle. Obligated to retreat, the insurgents soon lost heart, and dispersed; and Berton himself sought refuge in the marshes of Rochefort, where he was at length arrested, along with several of his accomplices. Their guilt was self-evident: they had made themselves masters of Thouars, and proclaimed a provisional government.

Six of the leaders, including Berton and a physician, Caffé, were sentenced to death; but the lives of all were spared, at the intercession of the Duchess d'Angoulême, excepting the two last. Caffé anticipated the hands of justice by committing suicide in prison; but Berton was brought to the scaffold, and died bravely, exclaiming with his last breath, "Vive la France! Vive la liberté!"

20. Still more important consequences followed a conspiracy at Rochelle. It originated at Paris, on the instigation of General Lafayette, who directed a young and gallant man, named Bories, a sub-officer in the 45th regiment, to proceed from Pau, with some of the privates of his regiment, whom he had enrolled in the ranks of the Carbonari, to that city, in order, with the aid of the affiliated there, to get up a revolt. They were betrayed, however, before the plot could be carried into execution, by one of their accomplices, at the very time when they were concerting with the emissaries of General Berton a joint attack upon Saumur. Most important articles of evidence were found upon them, or from the information to which their apprehension led; among others, the cards cut in two, and the poniards, marked with their number in the *vente* or lodge, which had been put into their hands by Lareche, an agent of Lafayette. From the declarations of these prisoners, and others apprehended with them, a clue was obtained to the whole organisation of the Carbonari in France, ascending, through various intermediate stages, to the central committee in Paris, presided over by Lafayette himself. These revelations were justly deemed of such importance that the trial of the accused was transferred to the capital, and conducted by M. Marchangy, the King's Advocate, himself. The oath taken by the affiliated bound them to face any peril, even death itself, in support of liberty, and to abandon, at a moment's warning, their own brothers by blood to succour their brethren among the Carbonari.* The object of the association

was to overturn the existing government in every country, and establish purely republican forms of government. To carry it into complete effect, there was a central committee of three persons at Paris, whose mandates were supreme, and which all the inferior lodges throughout the kingdom were bound instantly, and at all hazards, to obey; and subordinate committees of nine members, whose mandates were equally supreme within their respective districts. A more formidable conspiracy never was brought to light, or one more calculated, if successful, to tear society in pieces, and elevate the most ambitious and unscrupulous characters to its direction. It is melancholy to think that Lafayette, d'Argenson, Manuel, and the leaders of the Liberal party in the legislature, were at the head of such a perilous and destructive association.*

de tenir avant toute chose à la liberté; d'affronter la mort en toutes les occasions pour les Carbonari; d'abandonner au premier signal le trésor de mon propre sang, pour aider et secourir mes frères."—*Annuaire Historique*, v. 777.

* "Il existe à Paris un grand comité d'orateurs, qui entretient des correspondances avec tous les départements. Il y a dans chaque département un comité de neuf membres, dont l'un est président.

"Ce comité correspond avec ceux de l'arrondissement, et avec le grand comité. Il y a dans chaque arrondissement un comité composé de cinq membres, dont l'un est président.

"Les chevaliers de l'ordre doivent être pris : 1. Parmi les jeunes gens *instruits* des villes et des campagnes. 2. Les étudiants de collèges, et des écoles de droit, de médecine et d'autres. 3. Les *anciens militaires* réformés, retraités ou à demi-solde. 4. Les possesseurs de biens nationaux. 5. Les gros propriétaires dont les opinions sont parfaitement connues. 6. Ceux qui professent les arts libéraux, avocats, médecins, et autres. 7. Les sous-officiers de l'armée active, rarement les officiers, à moins qu'ils n'aient donné des preuves non équivoques de leur manière de penser.

"Le récipiendaire sera instruit verbalement de l'existence de la société, du but qu'elle se propose, ensuite il prêter le serment suivant :

"Je jure d'être fidèle aux statuts de l'ordre des chevaliers de la liberté. Si je viens à les trahir, la mort sera ma punition.

"C. signifie chevalier; V., vente; V. H., haute vente; V. C., vente centrale; V. P., vente particulière; P., Paris; B. C., bon cousin."—*Procès de Bories, &c.*, No. ix. *Annuaire Historique*, v. 801, 802.

* The oath was in these terms: "Je jure

21. Bories and his associates made a gallant defence when brought to trial; and the former melted every heart by the noble effort which he made, when the case had obviously become desperate, to draw to himself the whole responsibility of the proceedings, and exculpate entirely his unhappy associates. "You have seen," said he, in the conclusion of his address to the jury, "whether the evidence has produced anything which could justify the severity of the public prosecutor in my instance. You have heard him yesterday pronounce the words, 'All the powers of oratory will prove unavailing to withdraw Bories from public justice;' the King's Advocate has never ceased to present me as the chief of the plot: well, gentlemen, I accept the responsibility—happy if my head, in falling from the scaffold, can save the life of my comrades." The trial, which took place at Paris, lasted several days, during the course of which the public interest was wound up to the very highest pitch, and every effort was made, by crowds surrounding the court-house, anonymous threatening letters to the jury, and other means, to avert a conviction. But all was unavailing; Bories, Gouben, Pommier, and Rautre, were convicted, and sentenced to death. They received the sentence with calmness and intrepidity. Determined to make a great example of persons deeply implicated in so widespread and dangerous a conspiracy, Government was inexorable to all applications for mercy. An effort was made, with the approbation of Lafayette, to procure their escape by corrupting the jailer; he agreed, and the money was raised, and brought to the prison gates: but the persons in the plot were seized by the police at the very moment when it was counting out. As a last resource, twelve thousand of the Carbonari of Paris bound themselves by an oath to station themselves behind the files of gendarmes who lined the streets as the accused were led to execution, armed with poniards, and to effect their deliverance by each stabbing one of the executors of the law. They were on the streets,

accordingly, on the day of execution, and the unhappy men went to the scaffold expecting every moment to be delivered. But the preparations of Government were so complete that the conspirators were overawed; not an arm was raised in their defence; and the assembled multitude had the pain of beholding four gallant young men, the victims of deluded enthusiasm, beheaded on the scaffold, testifying with their last breath their devotion to the cause for which they suffered.

22. It is impossible to read the account of four young men suffering death for purely political offences, under a Government founded on moderation and equity, without deep regret, and the warmest commiseration for their fate. Yet must justice consider what is to be said on the other side, and admit the distinction between persons openly levying regular war against their sovereign, who may be perhaps entitled to claim the right of prisoners taken in external warfare, and those who, like these unhappy young men, belong to secret societies, having for their object to overturn Government by murder, and sudden and unforeseen outbreaks, veiled in their origin in studious obscurity. It is the very essence of such secret societies to be veiled in the deepest darkness, and to accomplish their objects by assassination, fire-raising, and treason. Every man who enters into them surrenders his conscience and freedom of action to an unseen and unknown authority, whose mandates he is bound instantly to obey, be they what they may. He is never to hesitate to plunge a dagger in the heart of his king, his father, his wife, his benefactor, or his son, if the orders of this unseen authority require him to do so. Such institutions convert the society which they regulate into a disciplined band of bravoos, ready to murder any man, burn any house, fire any arsenal, or commit any other atrocious act that may be enjoined. It is impossible to hold that death is too severe a penalty for the chiefs who establish in any country so atrocious and demoralising a conspiracy; and the example of the Ribbonmen in Ireland, and some of

the trades-unions in Great Britain, too clearly prove to what abominable excesses, when once established, they inevitably lead. The only thing to be regretted is, that these chiefs so often escape themselves, while the penalty of the law falls upon their inferior and less guilty agents. But their guilt remains the same; and it was not the less in this instance that those chiefs were Lafayette, Manuel, d'Argenson, Benjamin Constant, and the other leaders of the Liberal party in France, whose declamations were so loud in the legislature in favour of the great principles of public morality.*

23. The insurrections at Béfort, Thouars, and La Rochelle, were not the only ones that Lafayette and the Carbonari committee projected, and tried to carry into execution during this eventful year. A few days after the outbreak at Béfort had failed, Colonel Caron, a half-pay officer, deeply implicated in their designs, with the aid of Roger, another discontented ex-military man, attempted to excite an insurrection in a regiment of dragoons stationed at Colmar. It in effect received him with cries of "Vive Napoléon II." and Caron led them from village to village for some time trying to excite an insurrection; but they everywhere failed, and the regiment

which had revolted, seeing the affair was hopeless, ended by arresting him, and delivering him over to the police, who were all along privy to the design. He was brought, after the manner of Napoleon, before a military council, by whom he was condemned, and shot in one of the ditches of the citadel of Colmar. Similar attempts, attended with no better success, were made about the same time at Marseilles and Toulon, but they were all frustrated by the vigilance of the police and military, and terminated in similar judicial tragedies, which every friend of humanity must deeply regret, but which were absolutely necessary to extinguish the mania for secret societies and conspiracies which had so long been the scourge of France, and had been encouraged in so flagitious a manner by the Liberal leaders in the Chamber of Deputies, and Lafayette, Manuel, and Kochlin, the central chiefs at Paris. Happily the failure of these conspiracies, and the executions, had the desired effect, and France, during the remaining years of the Restoration, was freed from a political disease of all others the most fatal to public morality and the ultimate interests of general freedom.

24. The interest excited by these events diminished the importance of

* It is fully admitted now by the French historians of both parties, that these men were the chiefs of the Carbonari in France, and that the statements of M. Marchangy on the subject, in the trial of the Rochelle prisoners, were entirely well founded: "Le réquisitoire de M. de Marchangy restera comme un monument de vérité historique et de courage; son tableau du carbonarisme n'était point un roman, comme on le disait alors, mais de l'histoire, comme on l'avoue aujourd'hui." Il avait parfaitement pénétré dans le mystère des sociétés secrètes; il en avait compris la portée et les desseins."—CAREFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 312. "Le voile longtemps épais par la dissimulation parlementaire des orateurs de 1822 à 1829, qui couvraient des conspirations actives du nom d'opposition loyale et inoffensive, s'est déchiré depuis 1830. Les meneurs, les plans, les complots, les instigateurs, les acteurs, les sièges, les victimes de ces conspirations ont apparu dans toute la franchise de leurs rôles. Les casernes, les sociétés secrètes, les prisons, les échafauds mêmes, ont parlé. Sous cette opposition à haute voix, et à visage découvert, qui luttait contre les ministres, en

affichant le respect et l'inviolabilité de la royauté des Bourbons, on a vu quelles trames obstinées et implacables s'ourdissaient pour la renverser, les unes au profit de Napoléon II., les autres au profit de la république, celles-ci au profit des prétoriens subalternes, celles-là au profit d'un Prince étranger, d'autres au profit d'un Prince de la Maison Royale, d'autres enfin au hasard de toutes les anarchies pouvant élever ou engloûtir de téméraires dictateurs comme M. de La Fayette. *Nous-mêmes nous avons reçu d'acteurs principaux, une partie de ces mystérieuses confidences. Nous empruntons le reste à des historiens initiés par eux-mêmes ou leur parti à ces conspirations, où ils furent confidents, instruments, ou complices: surtout à un historien consciencieux, exacte, et pour ainsi dire juridique, M. de Vaulabelle, témoignage d'autant moins récusable que ses jugements sur la Restauration sont plus sévères, et que son opinion et ses sentiments conspiraient involontairement avec les opinions et les sentiments des conspirateurs, pour lesquels il réclame la gloire et la reconnaissance devant la postérité.*"—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 21, 22.

the parliamentary proceedings in this year: it was useless to attempt legislative measures when the Liberal leaders were every day expecting the Government to be overturned, and a republican regime established, of which they themselves were to be installed as the primary leaders. Thus, after the grand discussion on the restriction of the press, which lasted six weeks, had terminated, the parliamentary history of France, during the remainder of the session, exhibits nearly a blank. The budget alone called forth an animated discussion, and the statement which the Finance Minister brought forward on this subject proved that the country was in as prosperous a condition, so far as its material interests were concerned, as it was in a disturbed one as regards its political feelings and passions. From these details it appeared that the revenue of the year 1823 was estimated at 909,130,000 francs (£36,450,000), and the expenditure at 900,475,000 francs (£36,025,000), leaving a surplus of above 8,000,000 francs, or £320,000. The vote of the supplies for 8000 Swiss in the army was the subject of impassioned invective on the part of the Liberal Opposition: they dreaded a repetition, on a similar crisis, of the fidelity of 10th August 1792. The revenue of 1822 was 915,591,000 francs (£36,600,000); the expenditure 882,321,000 francs (£35,960,000), leaving a surplus of 33,270,000 francs (£1,320,000) disposable in the hands of Government. To what object they destined this large surplus was obvious from the magnitude of the sums voted for the army, which amounted to 250,000,000 francs (£10,000,000) from a supplementary credit for 13,000,000 francs (£520,000), put at the disposal of the Minister of Finance, and a levy of 40,000 men for the army, authorised by an ordonnance on 20th November.

25. The annual election of the fifth of the Chamber, in the autumn of this year, indicated the great change which the law of the preceding had made in the constituency, and the increased ascendancy of property and superior education which the *classifying* the electors into colleges of the arrondissements and the departments, and the throwing those paying the highest amount of direct taxes in the department into the latter, and forming it of them exclusively, had occasioned. In the colleges of arrondissements, the Royalists gained twenty-eight seats, the Liberals seventeen; in the colleges of departments, the former had twenty-four, the latter only five.* Thus, upon the whole, the gain was thirty to the monarchical party. So considerable an acquisition, and, still more, the fact of the majority being decided in both colleges, proves that the result was owing to more than the change, great as it had been, in the Electoral Law; and that the example of successful revolutions in the two adjoining peninsulas, and the numerous plots which had broken out in various parts of their own country, had brought a large portion of the holders of property, who formerly were neutral, or inclined to be Liberal, to vote with the monarchical party.

26. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances in the parliamentary contests, and the indication they afforded of the state of opinion in the wealthier classes, in whom the suffrage was exclusively vested, the tone of general feeling was very much opposed to this; and the results of the elections tended only to augment the discontent generally felt in the towns, at least in the middle classes of society. These important classes, who alone had emerged unscathed from the storms of the Revolution, were extremely ambitious of

* The election showed the following results :-

	Voted.	Total Electors.
Voted in the Colleges d'Arrondissement,	13,804	16,990
For Royalist candidates,	9,058	—
For Liberal,	5,751	—
Voted in Colleges de Département,	3,158	4,426
For Royalist candidates,	2,418	—
For Liberal,	740	—

enjoying the powers and the freedom of self-government, and felt proportionate jealousy of an administration which was based on aristocratic influences, and closely connected with the ultra party in the Church. It was the latter circumstance which, more than any other, tended to depopularise the Government of the Restoration, and in its ultimate results induced its fall. The reason was, that it ran counter to the strongest passion of the Revolution, and the one which alone had survived in full vigour all its convulsions. That passion was the desire of *freedom of thought*—the first wish of emancipated man—the source of all social improvement, and all advances in science, literature, or art, but the deadly enemy of that despotism of opinion which the Romish Church had so long established, and sought to continue over its votaries. The Royalists committed a capital mistake in allying themselves with this power—the declared and inveterate enemy of all real intelligence, and therefore the object of its unceasing and unmeasured hostility. Those best acquainted with the state of France during the Restoration are unanimous in ascribing to this circumstance the increasing unpopularity of Government during its later years, and its ultimate fall.* And—markworthy circumstance!—at the very same time, it was in the support of the clergy, and the identity of feeling between them and the vast majority of the educated classes of society, that the British Government found their firmest bulwark against the efforts of the revolutionists—a clear proof that there is no real antagonism, but, on the contrary, the closest national alliance, between the powers of thought and the feelings of devotion, and that it was the ambition and despotism of the Church of Rome that alone set them at variance with each other. The French Revolution, in all its phases, was mainly a reaction against the revocation of the

Edict of Nantes; and had Louis XIV. not sent half a million of innocent Protestants into exile, his descendants would not have been now suppliants in foreign lands.

27. While France and England were thus with difficulty struggling with the fresh outbreak of the revolutionary passions which had resulted from the overthrow of the government in Spain, the monarch of that country was sinking fast into that state of impotence and degradation which in troublous times is the invariable precursor of final ruin. After the humiliation experienced in the affair of the guards at Madrid, which has been recounted in a former chapter, the King perceived that a vigorous effort had become necessary to vindicate his fallen power, and he resolved to make it in person. He came suddenly, accordingly, into the hall of the Council of State, when its members (a sort of permanent Cortes) were assembled, and in a long and impassioned speech detailed the series of humiliations to which his Liberal Ministry had subjected him. He painted his authority set at nought, his complaints disregarded, his dignity sacrificed. He recounted the long course of suffering which he had undergone, and concluded with declaring that the limits of human endurance had been reached, and that he was resolved to deliver himself from his oppressors. Stupified at this sudden outbreak, the Council directed the Ministers to be called in, that they might be heard in their defence; but when they arrived, instead of vindicating themselves, they commenced an attack upon the King, recapitulated all his violent and illegal acts, and even accused him of having violated his oath, and conspired to overturn the constitution. Furious at this unexpected resistance to his authority, the monarch rushed out of the hall, and signed an order for the immediate arrest of his Ministers. But his attendants and family represented to him in such strong colours the extreme peril of such a step, of which no one could foresee the consequences, that

* "Religieux par nature, je dis avec douleur, ce qui fit le plus de mal à la Restauration, ce fut précisément cette idée qu'on parvint à inculquer au peuple, que les Bourbons s'identifiaient avec le clergé."—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 322.

the order, before it could be executed, was revoked, and the Ministers remained in power. But as the King's secret intention had now been revealed, the seeds of irreconcilable jealousy had been sown between him and his Cabinet; and the executive, torn by intestine divisions, ceased to be any longer the object either of respect or apprehension to the ambitious Liberals, who were rapidly drawing to themselves the whole power and consideration in the State.

28. The result soon appeared. The session of the Cortes opened on 1st March 1821, and the King, who had adopted from his Ministers his opening speech, added to it several sentences of his own composition. In the first part of it he astonished the Royalists by an unequivocal approbation of the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont, blamed the King of Naples for having gone to the congress of sovereigns at Laybach, and openly condemned the threatened invasion of the Neapolitan States by the Austrian forces. The Liberals were in transports; they could scarcely believe their own ears; the sovereign seemed at last to have identified himself in good earnest with the cause of revolution, and loud applause testified the satisfaction of the majority at the sentiments which had proceeded from the throne. But what was their surprise when, after this concession to the democracy, the King suddenly began on a new key, and, raising his voice as he came to the sentences composed by himself or his secret advisers, recapitulated the repeated attempts made to represent him as insincere in his career as a constitutional sovereign, the insults to which, in his person and his government, he had so often been subjected—"insults," he added, "to which he would not be subjected if the executive power possessed the energy which the constitution demands, and which, if continued, will involve the Spanish nation in unheard-of calamities." The audience were bewildered by these unexpected words; the Ministers felt themselves struck at; they recollected the former scene in the Council of

State, and, deeming themselves secure of victory if they held out, in the same evening they, in a body, tendered their resignations.

29. With so little foresight or consideration were the King's measures pursued, that though it might have been anticipated that a resignation of Ministers would follow such an outbreak, no arrangements whatever had been made for appointing their successors. For several days the country remained without a government, during which the capital was in the most violent state of agitation; the clubs resounded with declamations, the journals were in transports of indignation, and the hall of the Cortes was the scene of the most violent debates. They carried, by a large majority, a resolution, that the late Ministers had deserved well of the nation, and, in proof of their gratitude, settled on each of them a pension of 60,000 reals (£600) a-year. To allay the tempest he had so imprudently conjured up, the King requested the Cortes to furnish him with a list of the persons whom they deemed fit for the situation; but they refused to do so, alleging that the responsibility of choosing his ministers rested with the sovereign. At length he made his choice, and he was compelled to select them among the Liberal leaders. Among them was Don Ramon Felix, who had long been imprisoned (since 1814) for his violent conduct, who was appointed Minister of the Transmarine Provinces; and Don Eusebio Bardaxi, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Cortes at Cadiz, was reinstated in the same office.

30. It was now evident that the King had not in reality the choice of his Ministers; and in order to conciliate the majority, he addressed a message of condolence to them on the overthrow of the revolution in Naples and Piedmont, which soon after ensued, and promised the fugitives from these countries a safe asylum in Spain, where, in effect, great numbers of them soon after arrived, and were very hospitably received. These external events produced a very deep impression in Spain; for the hopes of the Liberals had been

unbounded upon the first outbreak of these convulsions, and their depression was proportionally great upon their overthrow. They produced, as usual in such cases, a fresh burst of the revolutionary passion over the whole country. Terror, as it had done in France when the advances of the Duke of Brunswick into Champagne induced the massacre in the prisons of Paris, produced cruelty; and the actions of the secret societies occasioned a measure so extraordinary, and of such extent, that nothing in the whole annals of history is to be compared to it.

31. At once, and at the same moment, in all places, a vast number of individuals, of both sexes, and of all ranks and classes of society, chiefly on the east coast of Spain, who were suspected of a leaning to the monarchical party, were arrested, chiefly during the night, hurried to the nearest seaport by bands of armed men acting under the orders of self-constituted societies, and put on shipboard, from whence they were conveyed, some to the Balearic Islands, and some to the Canaries, according to the caprice of the imperious executors of the popular will. There was no trial, no legal warrant of arrest, no conviction, no condemnation. With their own hands, of their own authority, under their own leaders, the people executed what they called justice upon their enemies. Several hundred persons—many of them of high rank—were in this manner torn from their families, hurried into exile, without the hope of ever returning, chiefly from Barcelona, Valencia, Corunna, Carthagena, and the neighbourhood of these towns. With such secrecy was the measure devised, with such suddenness carried into execution, that no resistance was anywhere either practicable or attempted; and the unfortunate victims of this violence had scarcely awakened from the stupor into which they had been thrown by their seizure, when they found themselves at sea, on board strange vessels, surrounded by strange faces, and sailing they knew not whither! The annals of the Roman proscriptions, of Athenian cruelty, of French atrocity,

may be searched in vain for a similar instance of general, deliberate, and deeply-devised popular vengeance.

32. Deeds of violence on the side of the populace seldom fail to find apologists. The illegal seizure and deportation of such a number of persons at the same time in various parts of Spain was a public and notorious event, which could not be concealed; while the secrecy with which it had been devised, and the suddenness with which it had been executed, indicated the work of occult and highly dangerous societies, and the direction of an efficient central authority. It was accordingly made the subject of discussion in the Cortes, but the turn which the debate took was very curious, and eminently characteristic of the slavish cowardice which successful revolutionary violence so often induces. No blame whatever was thrown on the authors or executors of this atrocious proceeding; not one of them was even accused, though they were as well known as the commanders of the provinces where the violence had occurred. The whole blame was thrown on the judges and civil authorities in the provinces, whose supineness or dilatory conduct in bringing the enemies of the people to justice had obliged them, it was said, to take the affair into their hands. All that was done, to avert similar acts of violence by self-constituted authorities in future, was to pass two laws, worthy to be placed beside those constituting the revolutionary tribunal at Paris in point of atrocity. By the first of these the punishment of *death* was decreed against all persons who should be convicted of offences against either religion or the constitution; and by the second, those charged with such offences were to be arrested by the armed force, and brought before a council of war chosen *out of the corps which had ordered the arrest*. This judgment was to be pronounced in six days, to be final and without appeal, and carried into execution, if confirmed by the military governor of the province, within forty-eight hours. And the only reparation made to the transported victims was, that Govern-

ment, when they learned the places to which they had been conveyed, secretly brought some of them back, one by one, to their own country.

33. As the military force of Spain was entirely in the hands of the Liberals—at least so far as the officers were concerned—and it had been the great agent which brought about the Revolution, these sanguinary laws, in effect, put all at the mercy of the revolutionists, by whom, as by the Jacobin clubs at Paris, death to any extent, and under no limitation, might with impunity be inflicted on their political opponents or personal enemies. But the proceedings of the courts-martial, summary and final as they were, appeared too slow for the impatient wrath of the populace; and an instance soon occurred in which they showed that, like the Parisian mob, they coveted the agreeable junction, in their own persons, of the offices of accuser, judge, and executioner. A fanatic priest, named Vinuesa, had published at Madrid a crazy pamphlet recommending a counter-revolution. For this offence he was brought before the court intrusted with the trial of such cases at Madrid, and sentenced to ten years of the galleys—a dreadful punishment, and the *maximum* which law permitted for crimes of that description. But this sentence, which seemed sufficient to satisfy their most ardent passions, was deemed inadequate by the revolutionists. “Blood, blood!” was the universal cry. On the day following, an immense crowd assembled in the Puerto del Sol, the principal square of Madrid, where a resolution was passed that they should themselves execute the sentence of death on their victim. This was at noon; but so deliberate were the assassins, and so secure of impunity, that they postponed the execution of the sentence till four o’clock. At that hour they reassembled, after having taken their *siesta*, and proceeded to the prison-doors. Ten soldiers on guard there made a show of resistance, but it was a show only. They soon submitted to the mandates of the sovereign people, and withdrew. The doors of the pri-

son were speedily broken open; the priest presented himself, with a crucifix in his hand, and in the name of the Redeemer prayed for his life. His entreaties were disregarded; one of the judges of the Puerto del Sol advanced, and beat out his brains with a sledge-hammer as he lay prostrate before them on the pavement of his cell.

34. Barbarous and uncalled-for as this murder was, it has too many parallel instances in cruelty, aristocratic and democratic, in all ages and in all countries. But what follows is the infamy of Spain, and of the cause of revolution, and of them alone. Having despatched their victim in prison, the mob proceeded, with loud shouts, to the house of the judge who had condemned him to ten years of the galleys, with the intention of murdering him also; but in this they were disappointed, for he had heard of his danger, and escaped. In the evening the clubs resounded with songs of triumph at this act of popular justice; the better class of inhabitants trembled in silence; the violent revolutionists were in ecstasies. Martinez de la Rosa had the courage in the Cortes to denounce the atrocious act, but a great majority drowned his voice and applauded it. The press was unanimous in its approbation of the glorious deed. To commemorate it for all future times, an *order of chivalry* was instituted by the assassins, entitled *the Order of the Hammer*, which was received with general applause. Decorations consisting of a little hammer, for those who were admitted into it, were prepared, and eagerly bought up by both sexes; and to the disgrace of Spain be it said, the insignia of an order intended to commemorate a deliberate and cold-blooded murder were to be seen on the breasts of the brave and the bosoms of the fair.

35. This cruel act, and still more the general approbation with which it was received in the clubs, and by the press of Madrid, opened the eyes of the better and more respectable classes over the whole country to the frightful nature of the abyss into which all the nation, under its present rulers,

was hurrying. A reactionary movement broke out in Navarre, at the head of which was the curate Merino, already well known and celebrated in the war with Napoleon. He was soon at the head of eight hundred men, with which, after having been successful in several encounters, he was marching on Vittoria, when he was met and defeated at Ochandiano by the captain-general of the province. Four hundred prisoners were made, and sent to Pampeluna; the chiefs—nearly all priests or pastors—were immediately executed. Taking advantage of the consternation produced by these events, the King ventured on the bold step of appointing Don Pablo Murillo, the celebrated general under Wellington in the war with Napoleon—the undaunted antagonist of Bolivar in that of South America—to the situation of captain-general at Madrid. Murillo was very unwilling to undertake the perilous mission, but at length, at the earnest solicitation of the King, who represented that he was his last resource against the revolution, he agreed to accept it.

36. The knowledge of Murillo's firm and resolute character had for some time a considerable effect in overawing the factions in the capital; for though the army was the focus of the revolution, such was known to be his ascendancy with the troops, that it was feared, under his orders, they would not hesitate to act in support of the royal authority. But unhappily his influence did not extend over the Cortes, and the proceedings of that body were daily more and more indicative of the growing ascendancy of an extreme faction, whose ideas were inconsistent, not merely with monarchical, but with any government whatever. The clubs in Madrid, as they had been during the first Revolution at Paris, were the great centres of this violent party, and it was through them that the whole press had been ranged on the democratic side. Fatigued with

a perpetual struggle with their indefatigable adversaries in the Cortes, the galleries, the clubs, and the press, the moderate party in the legislature at length gave way, and submitted to almost everything which their adversaries chose to demand of them. So far did this yielding go, that they consented to pass a law which entirely withdrew the clubs from the cognisance both of the Government and the magistrates; forbade any persons in authority to intrude upon the debates; and by declaring the responsibility of the president for what there took place, in effect declared the irresponsibility of every one else. So obvious was the danger of this law, that the King, in terms of the constitution, and relying on the support of Murillo, refused his sanction. A few days after he did the same with a law which passed the Cortes, tending to deprive the chief proprietors of a considerable part of their seigniorial rights.

37. The finances were daily falling into a more deplorable condition—the necessary result of the unsettled state of the kingdom, and the extreme terror regarding the future which pervaded all the more respectable classes, from the violence of the Cortes and the absence of any effective control upon their proceedings. Though a half of the tithes of the clergy had been appropriated to the service of the state, and half only left for the support of the Church, the budget exhibited such a deficit that it became necessary to authorise a loan of 361,800,000 reals (£3,600,000), being more than half the whole revenue of the state; but such was the dilapidated state of public credit, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Liberals, only a fourth part of the sum was subscribed by the end of the year.* Insurrections were constantly breaking out in the provinces, which were only suppressed by the armed force, and a great effusion of blood. No sooner were they

* The expenditure was 756,214,217 reals, or £7,560,000
 The revenue, . . . 675,000,000 „ or 6,750,000
 Deficit. . . . 81,214,217 „ or £810,000

put down in one quarter than they broke out in another; and the country, as in the war with Napoleon, was infested by guerilla bands, who plundered alike friend and foe. In the midst of this scene of desolation and disaster, the King, on 30th June, closed the sitting of the Cortes, with a speech composed by his Ministers, in which he pronounced the most pompous eulogium on the wisdom, justice, and magnanimity of their proceedings, the flourishing state of the finances, and the general prosperity which pervaded all parts of the kingdom.

38. The event soon showed how far these praises of the revolutionary regime were well founded. Ever since the murder of the priest Vinuesa, it had been the practice of the mobs in Madrid to assemble every evening under the windows of such persons as were suspected of anti-revolutionary principles, and there sing the *Tragala Perro*, the *Marseillaise* of the Spanish revolution, accompanied in the chorus with strokes of a hammer on a gong, to put them in mind of that tragic event. In the beginning of August, an unhappy prisoner, charged with anti-revolutionary practices, and condemned to the galleys, was lying imprisoned in a convent, awaiting the execution of his sentence, along with the soldiers apprehended some months before on the charge of assaulting the people, whilst dispersing the mob who insulted the King in his carriage, as narrated in a former chapter. It was determined in the club of the Fontana d'Oro that they should all be executed summarily in prison; and bands were already formed for this purpose, when Murillo appeared with a body of troops, and dispersed the assassins. This prompt vindication of the law occasioned the most violent ebullition of wrath in the clubs, and it was resolved to act more decidedly and with greater force on the next occasion. Accordingly, on the 20th August an immense crowd assembled around the convent where the soldiers were confined, singing the *Tragala Perro*, and beating the hammers as usual; and when the guard interfered, and tried to make

them disperse, they were surrounded and overpowered. Informed of the danger, Murillo hastened to the spot with a strong body of troops, and, drawing his sword, charged the mob, who immediately dispersed.

39. This fresh act of vigour completed the exasperation of the Liberals at the intrepid general who had coerced their excesses. Next morning the clubs resounded with declamations against the bloody tyrant who had dared to insult the majesty of the sovereign people; the journals were unanimous in their condemnation of his conduct; seditious crowds uttering menacing cries were formed, and everything indicated an approaching convulsion. Conscious of the rectitude and integrity of his conduct, and desirous of allaying a ferment which threatened in its results to compromise the throne, Murillo anticipated the sentence of the clubs, and resigned his command, declaring, at the same time, he would not resume it till he was cleared of the charges brought against him. This courageous act produced an immediate reaction in public opinion in his favour; and the accusation against him being proved, on examination, entirely groundless, he resumed his functions with general approbation.

40. Meanwhile the secret societies, styled in Spain *Comuneros*, which had gone so far to shake society to its centre in France, had spread equally to the south of the Pyrenees. Violent as the proceedings of the open Liberals in possession of the government at Madrid had been, they were nothing compared to the designs formed by these secret associations, which were, not merely the destruction of the monarchy and of the Cortes, but the establishment of a republic on the basis of an equal division or community of property, and all the projects of the Socialists. The oath taken by these political fanatics bound them, as elsewhere, to obey all the mandates of the chiefs of the association at the peril of their lives, and to put at their disposal their swords, property, and existence.*

* "Je jure de me soumettre sans réserve à tous les décrets que rendra la confédéra-

This tremendous association had its chief ramifications in Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa, Corunna, Valencia, and Carthagena; and it was by their agency that the extraordinary measure of seizing and transporting such a number of persons in these cities had recently been effected. Murillo was well aware of the secrets and designs of these conspirators, and was in possession of a number of important papers establishing them. It was mainly to get these papers out of his hands, as well as on account of his known resolution of character, that the public indignation was so strongly directed against him on occasion of his conduct in repressing the recent disturbances in Madrid.

41. Riego, who, as already mentioned, had been reinstated in his command in Arragon after having been temporarily deprived of it, was closely connected with the clubs in Saragossa, and was suspected by the Government, not without reason, of having lent himself to their extravagant designs. His principal associate was a French refugee named Montarlot, who employed himself at Saragossa in writing proclamations which were sent across the Pyrenees, inviting the French troops to revolt and establish a republic. Government, having received intelligence of the conspiracy, took the bold step of ordering Moreda, the political chief at Saragossa, to arrest Riego. He

tion, et d'aider en toute circonstance, tous les chevaliers *Communeros*, de mes biens, de mes ressources, et de mon épée. Et si quelque homme puissant, ou quelque tyran, voulait, par la force ou d'autres moyens, détruire en tout ou en partie la confédération, je jure en union avec les confédérés de défendre, les armes à la main, tout ce que j'ai juré, et comme les illustres *Communeros* de la bataille de Villalar, de mourir plutôt que de céder à la tyrannie ou à l'oppression. Je jure si quelque chevalier *Communero* manquait en tout ou en partie à son serment, de la mettre à mort, dès que la confédération l'aura déclaré traître; et si je viens à manquer à tout ou partie de mes serments sacrés, je me déclare moi-même traître, méritant que la confédération me condamne à une mort infâme; que les portes et les grilles des châteaux et des tours me soient fermées, et pour qu'il ne reste rien de moi après mon trépas, que l'on me brûle, et que l'on jette mes cendres au vent."—*Engagement des Communeros. Sur la Révolution d'Espagne*—MARTIGNAC, i. 325, 326.

was apprehended accordingly, as he was returning to that city from a tour in the provinces, where he had been haranguing and exciting the people, and conducted a prisoner to Lerida. Immense was the excitement which this event produced among the Liberals over all Spain. His bust was carried at the head of a triumphal procession through Madrid; the clubs resounded with declamations; the press was unanimous in denying his criminality; and to give vent to the public transports, a picture was painted, intended to be carried in procession through the streets, representing Riego in the costume which he wore on occasion of the revolt in the island of Leon, holding in one hand the Book of the Constitution, and overturning with the other the figures of Despotism and Ignorance.

42. The moment was decisive. Anarchy or law must triumph; and the victory of the former was the more to be apprehended, as it was known that the military were undecided, and that some regiments had openly declared they would take part with the insurgents. But in this crisis Murillo was not wanting to himself, or the cause with which he was intrusted. Having assembled the civic guard, he harangued them on the necessity of crushing the advance of the factions; and having previously given orders to the military to stop the procession, he put himself at the head of the national guard to support them. The revolutionists, however, declared that they would proceed with the procession carrying the picture; and when they arrived at the Puerto del Sol, the royal guard stationed there refused to stop them; and the regiment of Saguntum, stationed in another part of the city, broke out of their barracks to advance to their support. All seemed lost; but then was seen what can be done by the firmness of one man. Murillo advanced at the head of the national guard; San Martin, his intrepid associate, seized the picture with his own hands, which he threw down on the ground; and at the same time Murillo charged the head of the procession

with the bayonet. Struck with consternation at the resistance which they had not anticipated, the mob fled and dispersed, and Madrid was for the time delivered from the efforts of the faction which threatened to involve the country in anarchy and devastation.

43. In the midst of these civil dissensions, a fresh scourge broke out in Spain, which threatened to involve the country in the evils, not merely of political troubles, but of physical destruction. The yellow fever appeared in the end of July in Barcelona, and by the middle of August it had made such progress that all the authorities quitted the town, and a military cordon was established within two leagues of the walls around it. In spite of this precaution, or perhaps in consequence of the greater intensity which it occasioned to the malady in the infected districts, the disease soon appeared in various quarters in the rear of the cordon, particularly Tortosa, Mequinenza, and Lerida. By the middle of October, when the fever was at its height, 9000 persons had been cut off by it in Barcelona alone, out of a population not at that period exceeding 80,000 persons, and 300 died every day. So terrible a mortality struck terror through every part of Spain; and the French Government, under pretence of establishing a sanitary cordon, assembled an army of 30,000 men on the eastern frontier of the Pyrenees, but which was really intended chiefly to prevent communication between the revolutionary party in the Spanish towns and the secret societies in France. In the midst of these alarms, physical and moral, two classes of the people alone were insensible to the peril, and hastened, at the risk of their lives, to the scene of danger. The French physicians flocked over of their own accord to the theatre of pestilence, and brought to its alleviation the aid of their science and the devotion of their courage; and the Sisters of Charity appeared in the scenes of woe, and were to be seen, amidst the perils of the epidemic, by the bedside of the sick, and assisting at the extreme unction of the dying. Their exertions

were not unavailing in alleviating individual distress; and the cool weather having set in, the epidemic gradually abated, and by December had entirely disappeared, but not before it had cut off 20,000 persons in Barcelona out of 80,000; and in Tortosa, 6000 out of 12,000 inhabitants.

44. The terrors of the epidemic did not allay for any considerable time the political agitation of Spain. The club of the Fontana d'Oro resounded with declamations, of which the arrest of Riego was the principal subject; and its orators declared "that the political atmosphere would never be purified but by the blood of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants of Madrid." The Government felt itself unable to coerce these excesses: and the extreme democrats in the provinces, seeing the impotence of the executive, erected themselves, with the aid of self-constituted juntas, into separate powers, nearly as independent of the central government at Madrid as they had been during the war with Napoleon. Saragossa continued the theatre of such violent agitations that Moreda, the intrepid officer who had arrested Riego, was obliged, on the summons of the municipality and clubs, to resign his post and retire. At Cadiz, the Government dismissed General Jauregui, and having appointed the Marquis de la Rennion, a nobleman of moderate principles, to the command, the Liberals refused to receive him. The Baron d'Andilla having upon this been substituted in his room, he too was rejected, and General Jauregui, a noted Liberal, who was entirely in their interest, forcibly retained in his post. The municipality and people of Seville, encouraged by this example of successful resistance, revolted also against the central authority; and Manuel de Velasco, the captain-general, and Escovedo, the political chief of the province, addressed the King in the same style as the Liberals at Cadiz, and caused their names to be inscribed in the national guard of the city, "in order to die at their post, if necessary, in defence of their country." Nor was Valencia in a more tranquil condition,

for General Elio, a gallant veteran of the war, the former governor of the province, had been condemned to death by the revolutionary authorities in that city, as having acted in 1814 against the Constitution of 1812, and the sentence having not as yet been executed, the clubs resounded with incessant declamations, demanding his instant execution.

45. Matters had now come to such a pass that the Government at Madrid saw they had no alternative but to take a decided line, or to abdicate in favour of the provincial authorities. They accordingly transmitted orders to Baron d'Andilla to proceed to Cadiz and take the command. But they soon found that their real power was confined to the walls of Madrid. The authorities at Cadiz continued Jauregui in the command, refused to admit the baron within their gates, put the city in a posture of defence, and sent orders to all the towns in Andalusia to stop and arrest him wherever he might appear. The same thing was done at Seville, where General Moreno Davix, sent from Madrid to assume the command, was stopped at Ecija, on his way to that city, and sent back. Meanwhile Meria at Corunna, who had been replaced by General Latré, sent from Madrid, revolted, and having secured the garrison in his interest, expelled Latré, and declared himself independent of the central government. But Latré was not discouraged. He raised the militia of the province of Galicia, which was thoroughly loyal, and, appearing with an imposing force before the gates of Corunna, compelled Meria to surrender and depart to Seguenza, the place assigned for his exile. At the same time troubles broke out in Estremadura, Navarre, and Old Castile, where guerilla bands appeared, ravaged the country, and rendered all collection of the revenue impossible. To such straits was the treasury in consequence reduced, that the Minister of Finance was obliged to open a fresh loan of 200,000,000 reals (£2,000,000) in foreign states, which was only in part obtained, and that at a most exorbitant rate of interest.

64. The distracted state of the coun-

try rendered an early and extraordinary convocation of the Cortes necessary, in the hope of obtaining that moral support from its votes which was sought in vain in the affections of the country. It met accordingly on the 25th November, and the King, in his opening speech, deeply deplored the events at Cadiz, and earnestly invoked the aid of the Cortes to support him in his endeavour to cause the royal authority to be respected.* The Cortes, in reply, appointed two commissioners, one charged with preparing an answer to the royal address, the other, with considering what was to be done to support the royal authority. The reports were presented on the 9th December, and although drawn in the most cautious style, and with the anxious wish to avoid giving offence to the Liberals, they did so most effectually, for they bore that the authorities at Seville and Cadiz should be brought to trial—a resolution which was adopted by the Cortes by a majority of 130 to 48. This decision excited the most violent animosity in the clubs, the journals, and the coffee-houses: cries of “Long live Riego! Down with the Ministers! down with the Serviles!” were heard on all sides; and so completely were the majority of the Cortes intimidated by these proceedings, that a few days after an amendment was carried by a majority of 104 to 59, which bore, “that as the Ministers did not possess the moral force requisite to conduct the affairs of the nation, they implored the King to adopt the measures imperatively called for by such a state of public affairs.”

47. This vote of want of confidence

* “C'est dans la plus profonde amertume de mon cœur, que j'ai appris les derniers événements de Cadix, où, sous le prétexte d'amour pour la Constitution, on l'a foulée aux pieds en méconnaissant les droits qu'elle m'accorde. J'ai ordonné à mes secrétaires d'état de présenter aux Cortès, la nouvelle d'un événement aussi fâcheux, dans la confiance interne qu'ils coopéreront avec énergie, d'accord avec mon gouvernement, à faire en sorte que les prérogatives de la couronne, ainsi que les libertés publiques, qui sont une de ses garanties, soient conservées intactes.” —*Discours du Roi*, 25th November 1821. *Moniteur*, 2d December 1821. *Ann. Hist.*, iv. 471, 472.

in Ministers coming so soon after a solemn condemnation of their adversaries, indicated in the clearest manner the prostration of the executive and disastrous state of the monarchy, reeling like a sinking ship alternately before one wind and another. Immense was the general exultation in the great cities at this direct vote of censure on Ministers. The authorities at Cadiz and Seville were so encouraged by it that they carried their audacity so far as openly to bid defiance to the Cortes and the King, and sent an address to the latter, stating that they would receive or execute no order or appointment from the Government till the present Ministers were dismissed. On this occasion the Cortes rescinded virtually their last resolution: their *amour propre* was wounded by this open defiance of their authority; and after a long and stormy debate, in which the leading orators on the Liberal side took part with the Government, it was determined by a majority of 112 to 36 that all those who had signed this seditious address should be prosecuted.

48. Being now supported by the Cortes, and sure of the protection of a part, at least, of the military, the King, had he possessed firmness adequate to the undertaking, had a fair opportunity for asserting the royal authority, and rousing the vast majority of the country to check the urban faction which had turned the revolution into such a downward channel. But he had no consistency in his character, and was as vacillating in his acts as the Cortes in their votes. Hardly was his authority in some degree reinstated by this last vote of the Assembly, than he gave the factions a triumph by dismissing four of his Ministers, the most decided in the intrepid conduct which had lately been pursued. Two others resigned, so that one only remained and continued in the new administration, which was composed entirely of the most moderate of the patriots of 1812. This act of weakness renewed the resistance of Cadiz and Seville, at the very time when the vote of the Cortes had disarmed it. Meanwhile, insurrections

of an opposite character, in favour of religion and the monarchy, broke out, and were daily gaining ground in Navarre, Arragon, Galicia, and Biscay, and the year closed with Spain torn in all quarters—it was difficult to say whether most by the furious democrats of the cities in the south, or the hardy Royalists of the valleys in the north.

49. The action of the secret societies, styled *Communeros* and *Descamisados* ("communists" and "shirtless"), became more violent and dangerous when the elections for the new Cortes, which had to take place in the first month of 1822, drew near. To counteract their influence, which was daily becoming more formidable, Martinez de la Rosa, Toreno, Calatrava, and some of the other moderate Liberals, set up another society, styled "The Society of the Friends of the Constitution," or of "the King." It at first met with some success; but, as usual in times of vehement excitement, it soon declined, and was no more heard of. When the passions are excited, moderation is considered on all sides as a species of common enemy, and nothing has any chance of influence but such associations as, by alighting, inflame them on one side or the other. The evils of a licentious press, of the unrestrained right of presenting petitions to the Cortes, and of the extreme violence in the clubs, at length became so flagrant that the Government submitted three laws for their repression to the legislature. As they proposed to impose very effectual checks on these evils, they were resisted with the whole strength of the anarchists, and gave rise to serious disturbances in Madrid, which still further impaired the royal authority, and proclaimed its weakness.

50. These proposals came to be discussed in the Cortes under very peculiar circumstances. The resignation of the former ministers had been accepted, but their successors had not been appointed—the places were vacant. The leading orators on the Liberal side then conceived hopes that they might be selected as their successors, and to improve their chances of success, they, for the most part, joined

in the debate in favour of the proposed laws. Martinez de la Rosa and Toreno particularly distinguished themselves in this manner, and a motion made by Calatrava, to throw out at once the whole three proposed laws, was rejected by the narrow majority of 90 to 84. This unexpected result inflamed the clubs and the anarchists to the very greatest degree; every means to excite the public mind were instantly adopted without reserve; and so successful were they in rousing the passions of the multitude, that a furious crowd surrounded Toreno as he left the hall of the Assembly after the decisive vote, pursued him with groans and hisses to his own house, which they broke into, and wounded some of the domestics. Toreno escaped by a back door, upon which the crowd proceeded with loud shouts to the house of Martinez de la Rosa, which they were proceeding to attack, when Murillo and San Martin arrived with a body of cavalry, by whom the mob was dispersed, amidst the most violent cries and imprecations. The laws against the offences of the press, and against the seditious petitions, were adopted by considerable majorities. It was observed that the whole deputies from South America, about thirty-eight in number, voted on all these occasions with the Opposition, which swelled their ranks to eighty, or nearly the half of the Cortes. The extraordinary session closed on the 12th February, having, during its long and momentous sittings, effected great changes, exhibited many acts of courage, and, on the whole, done less to pull down the entire fabric of society than might have been expected from the excited state of the public mind when it was elected, and the universal suffrage on which it was founded.

51. The new Cortes was elected under darker auspices, and the incurable vices of the electoral system developed themselves in stronger colours. The kingdom was distracted in all its parts when the elections took place; in some by the triumph of the Liberals, in others by the efforts of the Royalists. The former had been everywhere act-

ive, and in most places successful; the latter had in great part abstained from voting, to avoid all responsibility in the formation of a legislature which they plainly foresaw would terminate only in disaster. In some places, especially Granada, open violence was employed at the elections; the multitude broke into the places of voting, and by force imposed their favourites on the electors. But, in general, open violence did not require to be resorted to; the clubs and universal suffrage rendered it unnecessary. The extreme Liberals got everything their own way. The result was soon apparent. In the whole Cortes there was not one single great proprietor or bishop. The noblesse were represented only by a few nobles of ruined fortunes and extreme democratic opinions: the Duke del Parque, a leading orator at the Fontana d'Oro, was the only grandee in the assembly. The majority was composed of men who had signalled themselves by opposition to the Government during the sitting of the last Cortes,—governors who had taken part with the people, and refused to execute the laws or obey the injunctions of the Government; magistrates who had betrayed their trust, soldiers who had violated their oaths. Among the most dangerous of these characters, who readily found a place in the new legislature, were the monk Rico, who had been proscribed in 1814, and had since been involved in every seditious movement; Manuel Bertrand du Lys, a man of the most violent temper and extreme principles; Galiano, a brilliant orator but rebellious magistrate, who was under accusation as such when he was elected; Burnaga, a leading speaker at the Fontana d'Oro; Escovedo, the chief of the revolt at Seville, also saved from prosecution by his return; finally, Riego, also delivered from trial by being made a member of the legislature, and who was immediately chosen its president. Uniformity of qualification and universal suffrage had done their usual work; they had practically *disfranchised every class except the very lowest intrusted with the electoral right*, which, as the most numerous, gained nearly all the

returns, and the government of the country was intrusted to the uncontrolled direction of the most ignorant, the most dangerous, and the most ambitious class of the community.

52. The first duty of the King, before the new Cortes met, was to fill up the six vacant places in the Administration; and as the temper of the new assembly was not fully known, the moderate party obtained the appointments. Martinez de la Rosa was Prime Minister, and had the portfolio of foreign affairs, and the choice of his colleagues. Aware of the difficulty of conducting the government in presence of a Cortes of which Riego had been chosen president, he long refused the perilous post, and only yielded at length to the earnest solicitation of the King. Don Nicolas Garotti, an ex-professor of law in Valencia, was appointed Minister of Justice, Don José de Alta Mira of the Interior; Don Diego Clorumenos, Director of the Royal Academy of History, Colonial Minister; Don Philippe Sierra-Pambley to the Finances; Brigadier Balanzat, Minister at War; Don Jacinti Romarate for the Marine. These persons all belonged to the Moderate party,—that is, they were the first authors of the revolution, but had been passed in the career of innovation by their successors. It was a circumstance characteristic of the times, and ominous to the nobility, that two of the most important ministers—those of Justice and the Interior—were professors in universities.

53. The Cortes opened on the 1st March; and the opening speech, and reply of the President Riego, were more auspicious than could have been anticipated, and promised returning prosperity to the country. The report of the Finance Minister was the first to dispel these flattering illusions. It exhibited a deficit of 197,428,000 reals (£1,974,000), which required to be cov-

ered by loans; and as no money could be got in the country, they required to be borrowed in foreign states.* They were nearly all got, though at a very high rate of interest, in London; the prospect of high profits, and the belief in the stability of popular institutions, inducing our capitalists to shut their eyes to the obvious risks of lending their money to such unstable governments as those which then ruled in the Peninsula. This circumstance deserves to be especially noted, as the commencement of numberless disasters both to the Peninsula and this country. It gave a large and influential body of foreign creditors *an interest in upholding the revolutionary government in the Peninsula*, because no other one would recognise the loans it had contracted. Their influence was soon felt in the public press both of France and England, which, with a few exceptions, constantly supported the cause of revolution in Spain and Portugal; and to this circumstance more than any other the long and bloody civil wars which distracted both nations, and the entire ignorance which pervaded this country as to their real situation, are to be ascribed.

54. The divergence of opinion between the Cortes and the Government was not long of proclaiming itself. The Cortes insisted that the execution of the royal decrees should be intrusted to the authorities in the Isle of Leon and Seville, who had revolted against the Government. This was resisted by the administration, and the division led to animated and impassioned debates in the legislature. But while these were yet in progress, disorders broke out in every part of the country, which were not only serious in themselves, but presaged, at no distant time, a universal civil war in the Peninsula. The extreme leaders, or “Exaltados,” as they were called, on both sides, were in such a state of excitement that

* The public accounts for the year 1822 were—

Receipts,	664,162,000 reals,	or	£6,641,000
Expenditure,	861,591,000 „	or	8,615,000
Deficit,	197,428,000 „	or	£1,974,000

—Finance Report, March 12, 1822; *Ann. Hist.*, v. 421, 423.

they could not be kept from coming to blows in all the principal towns of the kingdom. At Barcelona, Valencia, Pampeluna, and Madrid itself, bloody encounters took place between the military, headed by the magistrates of municipalities, on the one side, and the peasantry of the country and Royalists, led on by the priests, on the other. "Viva Riego! Viva el Constitucion!" broke out from the ranks on one side; "Viva Murillo! Viva el Rey Absoluto!" resounded on the other. Riego was the very worst person that could have been selected to moderate the Cortes in such a period of effervescence. Himself the leader of the revolution, and the acknowledged chief of the violent party, how was it possible for him to restrain their excesses? "I call you to order," said he to a deputy who was attacking that party in the assembly; "you forget I am the chief of the Exaltados."—"To refuse to hear the petitioners from Valencia," said another, "is to invite the people to take justice into their own hands in the streets." To such a length did the disorders proceed that the Cortes appointed a committee to inquire into them, which reported that the state of the kingdom was deplorable. The King's Ministers were ordered, by the imperious majority in that assembly, to the bar of the Cortes, to give an account of their conduct; the military were as much divided as the people; and under the very eye of the legislature a combat took place between the grenadiers of the Guard, who shouted "Viva Murillo!" and the regiment of Ferdinand VII., who replied "Viva Riego!" which was only ended by a general discharge of musketry by the national guards, who were called out, by which several persons, including the standard-bearer of the Guard, were killed. Intimidated by these disorders, which he was wholly powerless to prevent, the King left Madrid, and went to Aranjuez, from whence he went on to pass Easter at Toledo; and his departure removed the only restraint that existed on the excesses in the capital.

55. The first proceedings of the Cor-

tes related to the trial of various persons on the Royal side, who had taken a part in the late tumults. It was never thought of prosecuting any person on the Liberal. A committee of the Cortes, to whom the matter was referred, reported that the ex-Minister of War, Don Sanchez Salvador, and General Murillo, should be put on their trial; and the resolution was adopted by the assembly as to the former, and only rejected as to the latter by a narrow majority. A new law also was passed, submitting offences of the press to the decision of the juries, which, in the present state of the country, was securing for them alternately total impunity, or subjecting them to vindictive injustice. A bill was also brought in, and passed, for the reduction of the ecclesiastical establishment, which was certainly excessive, notwithstanding all the reforms which had taken place. It was calculated that, when it came into full operation, it would effect a reduction of 73,000 ecclesiastics, and 600,000 reals (£6000) *a-day*. The knowledge that these great changes were in progress, which went to strike so serious a blow at the influence and possessions of the Church, tended to augment the activity and energy of the Royalist party in the provinces. The civil war soon became universal; the conflagration spread over the whole country. Every considerable town was wrapt in flames, every rural district bristled with armed men. In Navarre, Quesada, at the head of six hundred guerrillas, was in entire possession of the country up to the gates of Pampeluna, and although often driven by the garrison of that fortress into the French territory, yet he always emerged again with additional followers, and renewed the war, and united with the Royalists in Biscay. In Catalonia, Misas led a band of peasants, which soon got the entire command of the mountain district in the north; while the Baron d'Erolles, well known in the War of Independence, secretly, in the south of the province, organised a still more formidable insurrection, which, under the personal direction of Antonio Maranon, surnamed the "Trappist," soon

acquired great influence. This singular man was one of the decided characters whom revolution and civil war draw forth in countries of marked native disposition.

56. Originally a soldier, but thrown into the convent by misfortunes, in part brought on by his impetuous and unruly disposition, the Trappist had not with the cowl put on the habits, or become endued with the feelings of the Church. He carried with him into the cloister the passions, the desires, and the ambition of the world. He was now about forty-five years of age—a period of life when the bodily frame is, in strong constitutions, yet in its vigour, and the feelings are steadily directed rather than enfeebled by age. His eye was keen and piercing, his air confident and intrepid. He constantly wore the dress of his order, but beneath it burned all the passions of the world. Arrayed in his monkish costume, with a crucifix on his breast and a scalp on his head, he had pistols in his girdle, a sabre by his side, and a huge whip in his hand. Mounted on a tall and powerful horse, which he managed with perfect address, he galloped through the crowd, which always awaited his approach, and fell on their knees as he passed, and dispensed blessings to the right and left with the air of a sovereign prince acknowledging the homage of his subjects. He never commenced an attack without falling on his knees, to implore the protection of the Most High; and, rising up, he led his men into fire, shouting, “Viva Dio! Viva el Rey!” In April 1822 he was at the head of a numerous band of men, animated by his example, and electrified by his speeches. Monks, priests, peasants, smugglers, curates, landowners, hidalgos, were to be seen, side by side, in his bands, irregularly armed, scarcely disciplined, but zealous and hardy, and animated with the highest degree of religious enthusiasm. Their spirit was not so much that of the patriot as of the crusader; they took up arms, not to defend their homes, but to uphold the Roman Catholic faith. Individually brave, they

met death, whether in the field or on the scaffold, with equal calmness; but their want of discipline exposed them to frequent reverses when brought into collision with regular troops—which, however, were soon repaired, as in the wars of Sertorius, the Moors, and Napoleon, by the unconquerable and persevering spirit of the peasantry.

57. The insurgents, after a variety of lesser successes, had made themselves masters of Cervera, where they had established their headquarters. The Trappist, after sustaining several gallant actions, was driven back into that town by General Bellido, who attacked him with three regiments drawn out of Lerida, and on the 18th May made a general assault on the town. To distract the enemy, he set it on fire in four different places, and in the midst of the conflagration, which spread with frightful rapidity, his troops rushed in. The Trappist made a gallant and protracted defence; but after a conflict of ten hours’ duration, from house to house, and from street to street, his men were driven out with great slaughter, though with heavy loss to the victors. Twelve hundred of the Royalists fell or were made prisoners, among whom were one hundred and fifty monks, and nearly half the number of the Constitutional troops were lost. The Trappist himself escaped with a few followers to the mountains, where his powerful voice soon assembled a second band, not less gallant and devoted than that which had perished amidst the ruins and flames of Cervera.

58. Meanwhile Misas, who had been driven into France, re-entered Spain, drew together several desultory bands to his standard, and carried the war to the very gates of Barcelona. He was attacked, however, by the regular troops in that fortress, driven back to Puycerda, where he was utterly routed, and the remains of his band driven back a second time into France, where they again found an asylum—an ominous circumstance for the republican regime in Spain. But in other quarters the Royalists appeared with indefatigable activity: Galicia was almost

entirely, in its mountain districts, in their hands; Navarre was overrun by their adherents; and in the neighbourhood of Murcia, Jaines, a noted partisan, had again raised his standard and drawn together a considerable number of followers. The King, meanwhile, was at Aranjuez, and on the 30th May, being the day of his fête, an immense crowd of peasants assembled in the gardens of the palace, shouting "El Rey Absoluto!" which was caught up and repeated by the soldiers of the Guard. The national guard upon this was called out by the Liberal authorities, and dispersed the crowd; in the course of which one of them drew his sabre against the Infant Don Carlos, and was with difficulty saved by that prince from the fate which awaited him at the hands of the enraged soldiery. On the same day a still more serious tumult broke out at Valencia, where a great mob assembled, shouting "Long live Elio! — Down with the Constitution!" and proceeded to the citadel where that general still lay in prison, having never been brought to trial. They got possession of the stronghold by the aid of the garrison by which it was held, but were immediately invested there by the national guard and remainder of the garrison of the place, and being without provisions, they were soon obliged to surrender. The victors now proceeded to Elio's dungeon, shouting "Death to Elio!" and his last hour seemed to have arrived; but he was reserved for a still more mournful end. A little gold which he had about him occupied the first attention of the assassins, and meanwhile the address of the commander of the place got him extricated from their hands and conveyed to a place of safety.

59. The intelligence of these events worked the Cortes up to a perfect fury. In the first tumult of passion they passed several decrees indicating their extreme exasperation, and which contributed in a great degree to the sanguinary character which the civil war in the Peninsula soon afterwards assumed, and has unhappily ever since maintained. It was decreed

that "all towns, villages, and rural districts, which should harbour or give shelter to the factious, should be treated as enemies with the whole rigour of military law; that those in which there were factious juntas should be subjected to military execution; that every convent in which the factious were found should be suppressed, *and its inmates put at the disposal of the political authorities.*" Such extreme measures necessarily produced reprisals on the other side, and led to a war where quarter was neither given nor taken. A few days after, a decree was passed putting 20,000 of the militia on permanent duty, and establishing national guards throughout the kingdom on the same footing as in France during the Revolution—that is, with the officers of every grade appointed by the privates. They at the same time summoned the Ministers to their bar to give an account of the state of the kingdom, and supplicated the King in the most earnest terms to change his advisers, and intrust everything to the Liberal party—a demand which he had the address in the mean time to evade.* The wisdom of this determination on his part was soon apparent; for a few days after, on a

* "Que le peuple voie le pouvoir confié à des hommes qui aiment les libertés publiques, que le nation Espagnole voie que le titre et les vertus du véritable patriote sont le seul droit, le seul chemin, pour monter jusqu'à votre Majesté, pour mériter la faveur, et pour obtenir les honneurs qu'elle peut accorder, et que toute la rigueur de la justice et l'indignation du roi retombent sur les méchants qui osent profaner son nom auguste et sacré, pour opprimer la patrie et la liberté. Les Cortès supplieraient V. M. instamment, pour faire cesser les craintes auxquelles nous sommes livrés, et prévenir les maux que nous avons indiqués, de vouloir bien ordonner que la milice nationale volontaire soit immédiatement augmentée et armée dans tout le royaume. En même temps les Cortès espèrent que V. M. fera connaître à tout gouvernement étranger qui, directement ou indirectement, voudrait prendre part à nos affaires domestiques, que la nation n'est pas dans le cas de recevoir des lois; qu'elle a des forces et des ressources pour se faire respecter, et qui si elle a su défendre son indépendance et son roi avec gloire, c'est avec la même gloire et avec de plus grands efforts encore qu'elle saura toujours défendre son roi et sa liberté."—*Adresse des Cortès au Roi, 24th May 1822; Ann. Hist., v. 433, 434.*

representation by the Ministers of the alarming and distracted state of the kingdom, the Cortes themselves saw the necessity of conferring upon them the extraordinary powers which the public exigencies imperiously demanded.

60. In truth the state of the country had now become such, that such a measure could no longer be delayed if the shadow even of peace and tranquillity was to be preserved in the kingdom. The Royalists in the north, far from being discouraged by their reverses, were daily increasing in numbers and audacity, and, sheltered by the mountain ridges which in that quarter intersect Spain in every direction, they had come to extend their ramifications over half the kingdom. Eguia, Nuñez, and Quesada, who had taken refuge in France after the disaster at Cervera, issued from thence a proclamation in the name of the Royalist provisional government, in which they offered 160 reals (32s.) to every Spaniard who should repair, armed and in uniform, to the headquarters of the Army of the Faith at Roncesvalles before the end of the month. This proclamation put every part of Navarre, Biscay, and the north of Catalonia on fire. In a few days Quesada was at the head of fifteen hundred men, with which, ascending the Pass of Roncesvalles, he entered the valley of Bastan; and as General Lopez-Baños, with the regular troops from Pampeluna, which had been considerably reinforced, succeeded in cutting him off from France and Biscay, he boldly threw himself into Arragon, where nearly the whole rural population joined him. Meanwhile a still more important success was gained in Catalonia, where Miralles, Romagosa, and the Trappist, having united their forces, to the

amount of five thousand men, suddenly moved upon La Sue d'Urgel, a fortified town on the frontier, in which were deposited large stores of artillery and ammunition. Encouraged by their partisans within the town, the Royalists in a few days ventured upon an assault by escalade. The attempt was made at dead of night: the Trappist, with a huge cross in one hand and his whip in the other, was the first man of the assaulting columns that ascended the ladders; and, after a sanguinary contest of several hours' duration, the whole forts and town were taken, with sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen hundred muskets, and large stores of ammunition. Great part of the garrison were, in retaliation for the massacre at Cervera, and subsequent decrees of the Cortes prohibiting quarter, put to death without mercy.

61. This great success, by far the most important which had yet attended the Royalist arms, gave an entirely new character to the war, by diffusing universal encouragement among their partisans, and giving them a base of operations, the muniments of war, and a secure place of refuge in case of disaster. It in a manner stilled the passions of the Cortes, which, after voting extraordinary powers to the Ministry to meet the danger, was prorogued, shortly after the intelligence was received, without opposition. Even before the session was closed, however, several quarrels, attended with bloodshed, of sinister augury, had taken place between the royal guards and the national guards of the capital; and the budget exhibited a melancholy proof of the deplorable state of destitution to which the treasury had been reduced by the distrust and convulsions consequent on the Revolution.* Though

* The entire debt of Spain in 1822 was thus disposed of by the finance committee of this session of the Cortes:—

Total debt,	14,020,572,591 reals, or £140,205,725
Extinguished by confiscation of Church and charitable funds by decrees of the Cortes,	8,459,896,260 „ or 84,598,962
Remained,	5,560,676,331 „ or £55,606,763
Of which bore no interest,	2,069,333,613 „ or 20,693,336
Remained bearing interest,	3,491,342,718 „ or £34,913,427

—*Finance Commissioners' Report*, June 21, 1822; *Annuaire Historique*, v. 440, 441.

the army had been reduced to 62,000 men from 80,000, and the expense of the navy from 104,000,000 reals (£1,040,000) to 80,000,000 reals (£800,000), it was found necessary to contract a loan of 102,000,000 reals (£1,020,000), to cover the ordinary expenses calculated on for 1823. The interest of the debt contracted by the Cortes since 1820 amounted to 65,586,000 reals (£655,800), and the interest of the national debt was no less than 148,894,000 reals (£1,488,000), although three-fifths of it had been held as extinguished by Church confiscation, and of what remained no less than 2,069,333,613 reals (£20,693,336) had been set down *without interest*, as having been also provided for by the Church property confiscated to the State, which was estimated at eight milliards of reals, or £80,000,000 sterling.

62. Such a state of the Spanish finances said but little either of the benefits which the nation had derived from the revolutionary regime during the three years it had endured, or of the resources either in warlike preparations or national credit to meet the difficulties with which it was on every side beset. But the march of events was so rapid as to outstrip the convulsions inevitable under such a state of the national finances, and induce a crisis much sooner than might have been expected from the comparatively slow progress of pecuniary embarrassment. On the very day on which the Cortes was prorogued a melancholy event occurred, which brought matters to a crisis. An immense crowd assembled and accompanied the King's carriage from the hall of the Cortes to the palace, part shouting "Viva el Rey *Netto*! Viva el Rey *Absoluto*!" part "Viva Riego! Viva Libertade!" To such a length did the mutual exasperation proceed that it reached and infected the royal guard itself, which was nearly as much divided and inflamed; and as Landabura, an officer of the guard, of decided Liberal feelings, endeavoured to appease the tumult among his men, he was shot in the breast, and instantly expired.

63. This atrocious murder, for such it really was, though disguised under the name of a homicide *in rixa*, excited the most violent feelings of indignation among the Liberals of all classes in Madrid; for however willing to excuse such crimes when committed by, they were by no means equally tolerant of them when perpetrated on, themselves. The whole city was quickly in a tumult; the militia of its own accord turned out, the troops of the line and artillery joined them; the municipality declared its sitting permanent, and everything presaged an immediate and violent collision between the Court and royal guard on the one side, and the Cortes, soldiers of the line, and militia on the other. The night passed in mutual suspense, both parties being afraid to strike the first blow; and next day nothing was done, except an order on the part of the King to have the murderers of Landabura punished, and a decree settling a pension on his widow. Meanwhile the royal guard, against which the public feeling in the metropolis was so violently excited, remained without orders, and knew not how to act. Being more numerous and better disciplined than the regiments in the garrison, and in possession of all the principal posts, it might with ease have made itself master of the park of artillery in the arsenal—an acquisition which would have rendered it the undisputed master of the city. Had Napoleon been at its head, he would at once have done so: the seizure of the park of artillery near Paris by Murat, under his orders, on occasion of the revolt of the Sections in October 1795, determined the contest there in favour of the Directory. But there was no Napoleon in Spain; and the indecision of the Government, by leaving the Guard without orders, exposed them to destruction, and lost the fairest opportunity that ever occurred of reinstating, without foreign aid, the royal authority.

64. Two of the six battalions of which the Guard was composed were on service at the King's palace; the remaining four were in barracks, detached from each other, in the city.

Fearful of being shut up there by the troops of the line and militia, they took the resolution, of their own accord, of leaving the capital and encamping in the neighbourhood—a resolution which was carried into effect, without tumult or opposition, at nightfall on the 1st July. Meanwhile the most energetic preparations were made by the municipality to meet the crisis which was approaching, and a fresh corps, called the “Sacred Battalion,” was formed of volunteers, consisting for the most part of the most desperate and energetic revolutionary characters, who threatened to be even more formidable to their friends than their enemies. The Government and permanent deputation of the Cortes were in consternation, and fearing alike the success of either of the extreme parties now arrayed against each other, they sought only to temporise, and if possible effect an accommodation between them. Murillo, who, as captain-general of New Castile, had the entire command of the military and militia in the province, was the natural chief upon whom it devolved to make head against the insurrection. He was distracted by opposite feelings and duties, for, in addition to his other appointments, the King had recently named him commander of the Guard; and it was not easy to say whether he should attend to his public duties, as the head of the armed force in the capital, or the whisperings of his secret inclinations, which led him to devote himself to the personal service of the King.

65. Riego was clear to attack the Guards instantly, and in person urged that advice on Murillo. “Who are you?” asked the general, with an ironical expression. “I am,” he replied, “the deputy Riego.” “In that case,” replied the general, “you may return to the congress; you have nothing to do here.” Six days passed in fruitless negotiations, in the course of which, however, the Liberals gained a decided advantage; for the Sacred Battalion, during the night of the 3d, got possession of the park of artillery at St Gol, which proved of the utmost importance in the contest which ensued.

The royal treasury, meanwhile, was empty, and so low had the credit of the Government fallen that no one in Madrid would advance it a real. Public anxiety was much increased, during this period of suspense, by the intelligence that a regiment of carabineers had revolted in Andalusia, that several corps of militia had joined it, and that their united force was advancing into La Mancha, to join the insurgent Guards in the capital, amidst cries of “Viva el Rey Absoluto!” Meanwhile the opposite forces were in presence of each other in the neighbourhood of the Royalist camp, and frequent discharges of musket-shots from the outposts at each other kept the public in an agony of apprehension, from the belief that the impending conflict had commenced. In effect, a combined movement was soon found to be in preparation; for early on the morning of the 7th, while it was yet dark, the Guards broke up in silence and the best order, and advanced rapidly to the capital. They effected their entrance, without difficulty, by a barrier which was not guarded, and when within the city divided into three columns. The first advanced to take possession of the park of artillery posted at the gate of St Vincent, the second to the Puerta del Sol, the third to the Place of the Constitution.

66. From the secrecy with which this movement was executed, and the success with which in the first instance it was attended, it was evident that it was the result of a well-laid design; and if it had been carried through with as much resolution as it was planned with ability, it would in all probability have met with success, and might have altered the whole course of the revolution. But one of those panics, so frequent in nocturnal enterprises, seized two of the columns when they came in contact with the enemy, and caused the whole undertaking to terminate in disaster. The corps directed to attack the park of artillery never reached its destination. Assailed by a few musket-shots from the Sacred Battalion as they approached the gate of St Vincent, they turned about, fled

out of the town, and disbanded in the wood of La Monda. The second column was more successful; it gained possession of the Puerta del Sol, after a vigorous resistance from a body of cavalry stationed there to guard the entrance. But instead of moving on to the general point of rendezvous in the Place of the Constitution, it marched to the palace to rally the two battalions of the guard stationed there. The third reached the Place of the Constitution without opposition: but there they found Murillo, Ballasteros, Riego, and Alava, at the head of the militia, and two guns. Though met by a brisk fire, both from the troops and the artillery, they replied by a vigorous and well-sustained discharge of musketry, and forced their way into the square, where they maintained themselves for some time with great resolution. But at length, hearing of the rout of the corps destined for the attack of the artillery, and discouraged by the non-arrival of the corps which had gained the Puerta del Sol, but gone on instead to the palace to obtain the aid of the battalions in guard there, who were under arms ready to succour them, they broke their ranks and retreated in disorder towards the palace, closely followed by Ballasteros, who with his guns kept up a destructive fire on their ranks. At length the whole Guard, with the exception of the corps which had disbanded, found itself united in front of the palace, but in a state of extreme discouragement, and in great confusion. There they were speedily assailed by ten thousand militia, with a large train of artillery, who with loud shouts and vehement cries crowded in on all sides, and had already pointed their guns from all the adjacent streets on the confused mass, when the white flag was hoisted, and intelligence was received that the Guard had surrendered.

67. This ill-conducted attempt to reinstate the royal authority had the usual effect of all such efforts when terminating in miscarriage: it utterly destroyed it. The 7th July 1822 was as fatal to the crown in Spain as the 10th August 1792 had been to that of Louis in France. The permanent com-

mittee of the Cortes, which had been entirely unconnected with these events, immediately took the direction, and tacitly, without opposition, usurped the entire powers of Government. Their first care was that of the Guards, who had laid down their arms without any regular capitulation. The committee compelled the King to impose upon the four battalions which had combated the hard condition of a surrender at discretion; the two at the palace, which had not fought, were to retire from Madrid with their arms, but without ammunition, to distant quarters assigned them, after delivering up the murderers of Landabura. The two last battalions departed in silence, armed and downcast; but the four others, foreseeing in a surrender at discretion only a snare to involve them in destruction, adopted at the eleventh hour the desperate resolution of resistance. Determined to sell their lives dearly, they opened a general volley on the corps of militia which advanced to disarm them, and, instantly levelling bayonets, charged in close column down the street leading to the nearest gate of the city. All opposition was quickly overthrown, and the entire column succeeded in forcing its way out of the town, closely pursued, however, by two squadrons of the regiment of Almanza, some companies of militia, the Sacred Battalion, and a few guns. They sustained great loss during the pursuit, which was continued until nightfall without intermission. A considerable body of them scaled the walls of the *Casa del Campo*, a country palace of the King, and for some time resisted the pursuers; but being destitute of provisions, they were obliged to surrender, to the number of 360 men and 9 officers, at two on the following morning. Such of the remainder as were unwounded escaped. The whole loss of the Guard in these disastrous days was 371 killed, 700 wounded, and 600 prisoners; and the brilliant corps which a few days before seemed to hold the destinies of Spain in their hands, disappeared for ever from its annals. Conducted with more skill, led with greater courage, they might, with half

the loss, have re-established the monarchy and averted the French invasion.

68. The same day which witnessed the destruction of the royal guard at Madrid, was marked by the suppression of the military revolt in the south of Spain. The Royalist carabineers and their adherents were attacked in the neighbourhood of Montero by General O'Donoghue, at the head of a greatly superior body of Constitutional troops, and completely routed. The fugitives escaped to the vicinity of Ciudad Real, where they were again attacked on the 16th, and obliged to surrender. About the same time a conspiracy of a totally different character was discovered and defeated at Cadiz. This had been set on foot by Don Alphonso Gueriera, Don Ramon Ceruti, and a number of others, the chiefs of the ultra-revolutionary party in that city, the object of which was to depose all the constituted authorities, proclaim a republic, and divide among themselves all its places and emoluments. The civil and military authorities in the island of Leon, having received intelligence of the plot, and having put the garrison and militia under arms, apprehended the whole conspirators without opposition on the night of the 9th July.

69. These repeated successes utterly prostrated the royal authority in Madrid, and deprived the King of the shadow of respect which had hitherto belonged to him. The violent party, supported by the clubs, the press, and the secret societies, became omnipotent. For some days the King remained shut up in his palace without ministers; his former ones had resigned, and no one in such a crisis was willing to incur the danger of becoming their successors. At length the absolute necessity of having some government prevailed over the terrors of those offered the appointments, and a new ministry was appointed, consisting, as might be expected in such circumstances, entirely of the leaders of the extreme Liberal party. The King, wholly powerless, agreed to everything demanded of him, provided he were allowed to leave Madrid, and take up his residence at St

Ildefonso, which was agreed to. San Miguel, formerly chief of the staff to Riego during the revolution in the island of Leon, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the lead in the Cabinet; Lopez-Baños, another chief of the Isle of Leon, was appointed Minister at War; and M. Gasco, one of the most violent members of the Opposition in the last Cortes, of the Interior; M. Benicio Navarro, another deputy of the same stamp, received the portfolio of Justice; and M. Mariano Egoa, and Cassay, of the Finances and the Marine respectively. The triumph of the extreme Liberals was complete; their adherents, and those of the most determined kind, filled all the offices of Government.

70. The first care of the new Cabinet was to make an entire change in the royal household, and to banish, or deprive of their commands, all the leading men of the country whose sentiments were not in accordance with their own. Murillo, notwithstanding the determined stand he had made at the head of the Constitutional troops against the royal guard, was deprived of his offices of Captain-general and Political Chief at Madrid, which were bestowed on General Copons, a staunch revolutionist; Quiroga was made Captain-general of Galicia, and Mina of Catalonia. The Duke del Infantado, the Marquis las Amarillas, General Longa, and several other noblemen, who, although Liberals, were known to belong to the Moderate party, were exiled, some to Ceuta, some to the Canaries; and in the palace an entire change took place. The Duke de Montemart, Major d'Uomo, Count Toreno, and the Duke de Belgide, were dismissed; and the Marquis de Santa-Cruz, General Palafox, and Count Onaté, substituted in their room. In a word, the extreme party was everywhere triumphant; the Jacobins of the Revolution, as is usually the case when the malady is not checked, had supplanted the Girondists.

71. It soon appeared what the new Government was to be, and whether the Jacobins of Spain were to be behind their predecessors of France in their thirst for blood. The soldiers of the

Guard who had been implicated in the murder of Landabura had already been condemned to death, but the revolutionists demanded, with loud cries, the head of Colonel Geoffeux, an officer of the Guard, and who, although neither connected with the death of that man nor the revolt of the Guards, as he was with the two battalions which remained at the palace, was known to entertain decided Royalist sentiments, and as such was selected as the object of popular indignation. He was arrested accordingly at Butrago, when on his way back to France, of which he was a native. When taken, his name was not known, and a falsehood might have saved him; but when asked who he was, he at once answered, "Geoffeux, first-lieutenant in the Guard." He was immediately brought back to Madrid, taken before a court-martial, and condemned to death. His character, however, was generally esteemed, his innocence known. His courage on his trial excited universal admiration; sympathy was warmly excited in his behalf, and even the revolutionary municipality was preparing a petition in his favour. The anarchists feared lest their victim should escape; the clubs, the press, the mob in the street, were put in motion, and the innocent victim was led out to death. His courage on the scaffold made even his enemies blush with shame, and shed a lustre on the cause for which he suffered. General Copons, who, as military commander at Madrid, had confirmed the sentence, soon afterwards gave the clearest proof of its illegality by declaring the tribunal which had tried him incompetent in the case of some other officers charged with a similar offence, who were not marked out for destruction—a decision which excited so great a clamour in reference to the former trial, that he was obliged to resign his appointment.

72. Elio was the next victim. This distinguished general and intrepid man had been three years in prison, charged with alleged offences committed when in command at Valencia; but though convicted by the revolutionary tribunal, he had never been executed: so flagrant and obvious was the iniquity

of punishing a military commander for acts done in direct obedience to the orders of Government. The cry for his blood, however, was now so vehement that he was again brought to trial, not on the former charges, but for alleged accession to the riot of 30th May, when an attempt, as already mentioned, had been made by a Royalist mob to effect his liberation from prison. The absurdity of charging him with participation in that affray, when at the time he was a close prisoner, carefully watched under military guard in the citadel, made as little impression on his iniquitous accusers as did his patriotic services and glorious career. No small difficulty was experienced in finding military officers who would descend to the infamy of becoming his judicial murderers. The Count d'Almodavar, the Captain-general, resigned his office to avoid it; Baron d'Andilla, appointed in his stead, feigned sickness to escape. None of the generals or colonels in Valencia would sit on the commission; and they were at last obliged to take for its president a lieutenant-colonel, named Valterra. Every effort was made to suborn or falsify evidence, but in vain. The cannoneers accused of being concerned in the plot for his liberation were offered their lives if they would declare they had been instigated by Elio; none would consent to live on such terms. An alleged letter was produced by the general to his sister, avowing his participation in the offence; it was proved *he had no sister*. The accused had no counsel, but he defended himself with courage and spirit for two hours. Even Valterra long hesitated to sign a conviction wholly unsupported by evidence, but the revolutionists were inexorable. The municipality threatened to make Valterra responsible with his head if he did not instantly sign the conviction; the clubs resounded with declamations; a furious mob surrounded the court-house; he trembled and obeyed. Elio was led out to the scaffold, erected on a public promenade with which he had embellished Valencia during his government. He died with the courage which had marked his life, firm in his religious

and political principles, and praying for the forgiveness of his murderers.

73. Meanwhile, the civil war in the northern provinces assumed a more regular and systematic aspect, by the solemn installation of a regency at Seo d'Urgel on the 14th September, consisting of the Archbishop of Tarragona and the Baron d'Erolles, which appointed ministers to all the offices of state, and professed to administer the government of the state in the name of Ferdinand VII. *during his captivity*. It soon found itself at the head of an imposing force: a considerable park of field artillery had been collected, uniforms and arms in great quantities purchased, officers for a powerful army had repaired to the royal standard, and twenty thousand men were enrolled under their banners. No less than four hundred and fifty towns and villages in the northern provinces had overturned the pillar of the constitution. Already, on the 23d July, Mequinenza had been carried, and the garrison, four hundred strong, massacred with savage cruelty, in revenge for the slaughter at Cervera. Lerida and Vich were threatened, and the whole of Catalonia, with the exception of the fortresses, had fallen into the hands of the Royalists. In Navarre, Quesada had been defeated by Lopez-Baños, who surprised his troops by a nocturnal attack; but he retreated to Roncesvalles, where his dispersed men rejoined his standard; reinforcements poured in from Biscay, and he was soon in a situation to resume the offensive, and establish himself in a fortified camp at Irati, where he maintained himself during the whole remainder of the campaign. The regency issued proclamations in the name of the King, in which they declared null all his acts since he had been constrained to accept the Constitution of 1812, called on the troops to abandon the standard of treason, and engaged to establish a constitutional monarchy based on the ancient laws and customs of the State.*

* The proclamation of the Baron d'Erolles bore: "We, too, wish for a constitution, a fixed law to govern the State; but we do not wish it to serve as a pretext for licence, or to

74. The Government at Madrid was seriously alarmed at these successes of the Royalists in the north; the establishment of a regular government in the name of the King at Seo d'Urgel, in particular, struck them with consternation. They acted with vigour to make head against the danger. Mina, appointed captain-general of the seventh military division, which comprehended the whole of Catalonia and part of Arragon, repaired to his post in the beginning of September, and having drawn together a considerable force at Lerida, advanced towards Cervera on the 7th September. It was high time he should do so, for the Constitutional forces had recently before been defeated in an attempt upon Seo d'Urgel by the Baron d'Erolles, and driven back with great loss into Lerida. The Trappist, who had received orders to penetrate into Navarre in order to effect a junction with Quesada, after sustaining a severe check on the 19th from Zarco del Valle, had succeeded in rallying his troops in the mountains, and joined Quesada on the 23d. Their united force defeated a division of the enemy at Benavarre, commanded by Tabuenca, who was shot in cold blood. From thence they proceeded against Jaca, an important fortress on the frontier commanding one of the chief passes into France; but they failed in the attempt, and retired to the mountains.

75. These alternate victories and defeats, in which success was nearly equally balanced between the contending parties, and cruelty was unhappily practised alike by both, determined nothing. The arrival of Mina, however, speedily altered the face of affairs, and, combined with the destruction of the take crime for its ally. After the example of their ancestors, the people, *legally assembled*, shall enact laws adapted to their manners and to the times in which they live. The Spanish name shall recover its ancient glory, and we shall live, not the vile slaves of factious anarchists, but subject to the laws which we ourselves shall have established. The King, the father of his people, will swear as formerly to the maintenance of our liberties and privileges, and we shall thus have him legally bound by his oath."—*Proclamation of Baron d'Erolles*, 18th August 1822; *Ann. Reg.* 1822, p. 249.

royal guard at Madrid, and the general establishment of the most violent revolutionary authorities in all parts of the country where the Royalists were not in force, caused the balance to incline decisively to the Liberal side. He first laid siege to Castelfolli, a considerable town on the river Bregas, which he took after a siege of six days. Five hundred of the garrison escaped before the assault; the rest were put to the sword after having surrendered. The town was sacked, burned, and totally destroyed. This was done, although Mina himself, in a proclamation after the assault, said, "The defence had been long, firm, and obstinate; the garrison had performed prodigies of valour, and acts of heroism equal to the most noble which history has recorded." This frightful massacre diffused the utmost consternation in Catalonia, which was not a little increased by a proclamation issued immediately after, in which Mina threatened the same fate to all who should still resist the Liberal forces, offering a free pardon to such as should desert with their arms before the 20th of November.*

* "1. Every town or village which shall yield to a band of rebels, amounting in number to less than one-third of its population, shall be sacked and burnt.

"2. Every town or village which shall surrender to a band of rebels, greater in number than one-third of the inhabitants, and the greater part of which inhabitants shall join the insurgents, shall also be sacked and burnt.

"3. Every town or village which shall furnish succour or the means of subsistence to rebels of any kind, who do not present themselves in a force equal to a third of the inhabitants, shall pay a contribution of one thousand Catalanian livres, and the members of the municipality shall be shot.

"4. Every detached house in the country, or in any town or village, which may be abandoned on the approach of the Constitutional troops, shall be sacked, pulled down, or burnt.

"5. The municipal councillors, magistrates, and curés, who shall, being within three hours' march of my headquarters, neglect to send me daily information of the movements of the rebels, shall be subjected to a pecuniary contribution; and if serious disadvantage shall arise from the neglect of this duty, they shall be shot.

"6. Every soldier from the rebel ranks who shall present himself before me, or one of my generals of division, before 20th November next, shall be pardoned.

"MINA."

—*Annual Register*, 1822, p. 251.

The cruel resolution to put all to the sword who were found in arms contending against the Liberal forces, was too faithfully executed. All, whether monks, priests, peasants, or soldiers, were shot in cold blood, after having surrendered.

76. Upon receiving intelligence of the fall of Castelfolli, the Baron d'Erolles hastened to unite himself to the remains of the garrison, with five thousand men whom he had collected in the mountains. Mina advanced to meet him: the opposite forces came in contact between Tora and Sanchaga, and the Royalists were surprised and totally defeated. From thence Mina advanced to Balaguer, and its garrison, one thousand strong, fearing the fate of that of Castelfolli, evacuated the place, and withdrew to the mountains on his approach. Quesada, a few days before, had been worsted in an encounter with Espinoza in Navarre, his corps, three thousand five hundred strong, dispersed in the mountains, and he himself obliged to take refuge in Bayonne. In Old Castile the curate Merino had about the same time been defeated, and his band dispersed near Lerma. The Royalist cause seemed everywhere desperate, and the regency at Urgel, despairing of being able to maintain their ground in Spain, had evacuated that town, and taken refuge in Puycerda, close to the French frontier. The Trappist, after vainly endeavouring to make head against greatly superior forces, now concentrated against him in Catalonia, had been obliged also to take refuge within the French frontier, and had repaired to Toulouse, where he was the object of almost superstitious veneration and dread; and the Baron d'Erolles himself, closely followed by Mina, was obliged to accept battle from his indefatigable pursuer, and being defeated, and his corps dispersed, had also found an asylum within the friendly lines of France. The sole strongholds now remaining to the Royalists in the north of Spain, in the end of November, were the forts of Urgel and Mequinenza, which were immediately invested by Mina; and although the guerilla contest still con-

tinued in the mountains, everything like regular warfare was at an end throughout the Peninsula.

77. These decisive successes on the part of the Spanish revolutionists demonstrated the immense advantages they possessed from the command of the Government, the army, the treasury, and the fortified places, and rendered it more than doubtful whether, with all the support which the rural population could give it, the Royalist cause would ever be able, without external aid, to prevail. Experience had now sufficiently proven, that however individually brave, ardent, and indefatigable the detached corps of the Royalists might be, and however prolonged and harassing the warfare they might maintain in the mountains, they could not venture beyond their shelter without incurring the most imminent hazard of defeat. It was impossible to expect that a confused and undisciplined band of priests, monks, curés, peasants, hidalgos, and smugglers, hastily assembled together, in general without artillery, always without magazines or stores, could make head against regular armies issuing out of fortresses amply supplied with both, and conducted by generals trained in

the campaigns of Wellington. Immense was the impression which these successes produced on both sides of the Pyrenees. There was no end to the exultation of the Liberals, in most of the French and Spanish towns, at victories which appeared to promise a lasting triumph to their cause. Great as they had been, they were magnified tenfold by the enthusiasm of the Liberals in the press of both countries; it was hard to say whether the declamations of their adherents in the Spanish Cortes or the French Chamber of Deputies were the most violent. On the other hand, the Royalists in both countries were proportionally depressed. A ghastly crowd of five or six thousand fugitives from the northern provinces had burst through the passes of the Pyrenees, and escaped the sword of their pursuers only by the protection of a nominally neutral but really friendly territory. They were starving, disarmed, naked, and destitute of everything, and spread, wherever they went, the most heartrending accounts of their sufferings. They had lost all in the contest for their religion and their King—all but the remembrance of their wrongs and the resolution to avenge them.

CHAPTER XII.

CONGRESS OF VERONA—FRENCH INVASION OF SPAIN—DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.

1. THESE events made the deepest impression upon the Government and the whole Royalist party in France. The exultation of the Liberals in Paris, and the open *Io Pæans* sung daily in the journals, filled them with dismay. The conviction was daily becoming stronger among all reflecting men, that however calamitous the progress of the revolution had been to Spain, and however much it threatened the cause of order and monarchy in both

countries, it could not be put down without foreign interference, and that the Royalists, in combating it, would only ruin themselves and their country, but effect nothing against the organised forces of their enemies. The question was one of life or death to the French monarchy; for how was royalty to exist at Paris if cast down at Madrid? The necessity of the case cannot be better stated than in the words of a celebrated and eloquent but

candid historian of the Liberal school. "Whatever," says Lamartine, "may have been the faults of the Government of the Restoration at that period, it is impossible for an impartial historian to disguise the extreme danger against which Louis XVIII. and his Ministers had to guard themselves from the revolutions in the adjoining countries of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, from which the contagion of military revolutions and secret societies had spread into the armies, the last support of thrones. It was not the cause of the French Bourbons which tottered, it was that of all kings and of all thrones. Even more, it was the cause of all the ancient institutions, which were sapped in all the south of Europe by the new ideas and institutions. The north itself—Germany, Prussia, Russia—felt themselves penetrated in their inmost veins by that passion for a renewal of things, that pouring of youthful blood into the institutions, that participation of the people in the government, which is the soul of modern times. Entire nations, which had slept for centuries in their fetters, gave symptoms of returning life, and even on the confines of Asia hoisted the signal of the resurrection of nations. All was the work of seven years of peace, and of the freedom of thought in France.

2. "The Bourbons had given freedom to the press and to the tribune in their country; and that liberty of thought, re-echoed from Paris and London in Spain, Italy, and Greece, had occasioned the explosion of the revolutionary elements which had been accumulating for centuries in the capitals of those countries. By a natural rebound, these revolutions—restrained at Naples and Turin, fermenting and combating in Greco-Moldavia and Wallachia, triumphant and exasperated in Spain—reacted with terrible effect on the press, the tribune, the youth, and the army of France. The Constitution proclaimed at Cadiz, which left only the shadow of royalty, which surpassed in democracy the constitution of 1791 in France, and which was nothing in reality but a republic masked by a

throne, threw into the shade the Charter of Louis XVIII. and the mixed constitution of Great Britain. Revolutionary France blushed for its timidity in the career of innovation in presence of a nation which, like the Spanish, had achieved, at the first step, the realisation of all the visions of the philosophy of 1789; which had established freedom of worship in the realm of the Inquisition, vindicated the land from the priesthood in a state of monastic supremacy, and dethroned kings in a nation where absolute royalty was a dogma, and kings a faith. Every audacious step of the revolution at Madrid was applauded, and proposed to the imitation of the French army. The most vehement speeches of the orators in the Cortes, the most violent articles in the revolutionary journals, were reprinted and eagerly read in France; the insurrection, the anarchy of the Spanish revolution, were the subject of enthusiasm in Paris; every triumph of the anarchists at Madrid over the throne or the clergy was publicly celebrated as a triumph by the French revolutionists. Spain was on the verge of a republic; and a republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees could not fail to overturn the Bourbons in France. Europe was slipping from beneath the monarchies; all felt it, and most of all the revolutionists of Paris. Was it possible that the Bourbons and their partisans should alone not perceive it? War was declared between their enemies and themselves; the field of battle was Spain: it was there they must conquer or die. Who can blame them for having not consented to die?"

3. But while the considerations here so eloquently set forth demonstrate the absolute necessity of French intervention in Spain, and vindicate the steps they took accordingly, there were many reasons, equally cogent and well-founded, which caused a very different view to be taken of the subject in Great Britain. The first of these was the general, it may be said invariable, sympathy of the English with any other people struggling for freedom, and their constant conviction that the cause of

insurrection is that of justice, wisdom, and ultimate happiness. This is not a mere passing conviction on the part of the inhabitants of this country—it is their firm and settled belief at all times, and in all places, and under all circumstances. No amount of experience of ruin in other states, or suffering in their own, from the effect of such convulsions, is able to lessen their sympathy for the persons engaged in them, or shake their belief in their ultimately beneficial consequences. Justly proud of their own freedom, and tracing to its effects the chief part of the grandeur and prosperity which this country has attained, they constantly think that if other nations could win for themselves similar institutions, they would attain to an equal degree of felicity. They never can be brought, generally speaking, to believe that there is an essential difference in race, physical circumstances, and degree of civilisation, and that the form of government which is most beneficial to one people in one situation is utterly ruinous to another people in another. Their sympathy is always with the rebels; their wishes, in the outset at least, for the insurgents and against the government. This was the case in 1789, when nearly all classes in Great Britain were carried away by the deceitful dawn of the French Revolution, and Mr Pitt himself hailed it with rapture; and the same disposition led them, with a few exceptions of reflecting men, to augur well of the Spanish revolution, and to sympathise warmly with its fortunes.

4. In addition to this, there was another circumstance, strongly rooted in the national feelings, which rendered the thoughts of any French intervention in Spain peculiarly obnoxious to every person actuated by patriotic dispositions in Great Britain. Spain had been the battle-field of England and France during the late war; it had been the theatre of Wellington's triumphs—the most glorious victories her arms had ever gained. The last time the French ensigns had been seen in the Pyrenees was when they were retiring before the triumphant host which the

English general led in pursuit; the last time the English flag had waved in Roncesvalles was when they were preparing to carry a war of retaliation into the heart of France. To think of all this being reversed; of a hundred thousand French retracing their steps as conquerors through those defiles where they had so lately fled before a hundred thousand English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, was insupportable. Most of all did it appear so, when the invading host was now thought to be arrayed in the cause of despots against the liberties of mankind, and the defensive bands of the Spanish were united in the great cause of civil freedom and national independence.

5. Add to this another consideration, not so obvious to the general feelings of the multitude, influenced by present impressions, but perhaps still more cogent with the far-seeing statesman, guided by ultimate results. England had repeatedly, during the course of the eighteenth century, been brought to the brink of ruin by the superiority of the French and Spanish fleets, taken together, to her own: the admirable skill of her admirals, the heroic resolution of her seamen, had alone enabled her to make head against the odds. The fatal error committed by the Tories, in the days of Marlborough, in allowing the Spanish crown to remain on the head of a Bourbon prince, had become apparent to all reflecting men: it was equalled only by the error of the Whigs, in the days of Wellington, in doing their utmost to allow it to remain on the head of a brother of Napoleon. The "family compact" in either case might prove fatal to the independence of Great Britain. Such a compact was in an especial manner to be dreaded, if it became an alliance of feeling and interest, not less than blood and cabinets; and a Bourbon king, restored to his throne by the arms of a Bourbon prince, was thrown into a close alliance with our hereditary enemies by identity of cause and necessity of situation, not less than family connection and the danger of common enemies.

6. These considerations must ever be entitled to respect, for they were founded on the generous feelings, a sincere, though perhaps mistaken zeal for the happiness of mankind, and a just appreciation of our political situation, and the dangers which might ultimately come to threaten our independence. But in addition to this there were others less entitled to respect, because based entirely on selfish desires, but not on that account the less likely to guide the opinions and form the wishes of a powerful portion of society. Influenced partly by their constant sympathy with revolutionary efforts, and partly by the thirst for the extravagant gains offered for loans by the rulers of revolutionary states, the capitalists of England had largely embarked on adventures connected with the independence of South America. The idea of "healthy young republics" arising in those immense regions, and equalling those of North America in rapidity of growth and extent of consumption of our manufactures, influenced some; the prospect of seven, eight, and nine per cent, offered for loans, and for a few years regularly paid, attracted others; the idea of the cause of liberty and independence spreading over the whole of the New World carried away a still greater multitude. No one doubted that these young republics, which had been mainly rescued from the colonial oppression of Spain by the sympathising arms of England, and the valour of Wellington's disbanded veterans, would speedily become powerful states, in close alliance, political and commercial, with Great Britain, paying with regularity and thankfulness the ample interest due upon their debts, consuming an immense and daily increasing amount of our manufactures, and enriching in return the fortunate shareholders of the mining companies that were daily springing up, with a large share of the riches of Mexico and Peru.

7. The sums expended by the capitalists of Great Britain in advances to the revolutionary governments of the Peninsula and their revolted colonies

were so great as almost to exceed belief. They were stated by Lord Palmerston, in his place in Parliament, at £150,000,000 between 1820 and 1850; and a considerable part of this immense sum had been advanced before the end of 1822. Payment of the interest even of those vast loans was thought, and not without reason, to be entirely dependent on support being given the revolutionary governments in the Peninsula and South America. It was well known that the independence of the revolted colonies had been mainly secured by the insurrection of the army assembled in the island of Leon, which had also overturned the monarchy of Spain; and it was expected, with reason, that the utmost exertions would be made by the royal government, if once restored, to regain their sway over regions with which so lucrative a commerce was wound up, and from which so large a part of the royal revenues was derived. Great fears were entertained, which were afterwards amply justified by the event, that the King, if restored to unrestricted authority, would not recognise the loans contracted by the Cortes, nearly the whole of which had been supplied from London. Influenced by these considerations, the large and powerful body of English capitalists implicated in these advances, made the greatest efforts, by means of the press, public meetings, and detached publications, to keep alive the enthusiasm in regard to Spanish freedom and South American independence; and with such success were their efforts attended, that the people of England were kept almost entirely in the dark as to the real nature and ultimate results of the contest in both hemispheres, and the enthusiasm in their favour was all but universal.

8. A feeling so general, and supported by so many heart-stirring recollections and warm anticipations, could not fail, in a country enjoying the popular form of government which England did, to communicate itself to the House of Commons; and so powerful was the current, that it is probable no ministry could have been strong

enough to withstand it. But in addition to this, there were many circumstances at that period which rendered any resistance to the popular wishes in this respect impossible. The Ministry, which had narrowly escaped shipwreck on the question of the Queen's trial, was only beginning to recover its popularity, and the King, who had so long laboured under the load of public dislike, had for the first time recently experienced, in Dublin and Edinburgh, the intoxication of popular applause. It was not the time to check these favourable dispositions, by running counter to the national wishes on a great question of foreign policy. Add to this, that the Cabinet itself was divided on the subject, and a considerable portion, probably a majority, were inclined to go along with the popular views regarding it. Mr Canning, in particular, who, on Lord Londonderry's death, had exchanged the office of Governor-General of India, to which he had been appointed, for the still more important one of Foreign Secretary, was an ardent supporter of these views.

9. He was actuated in this alike by sentiment, ambition, and necessity. His feelings had originally led him to take part with the Whigs; and although on his entrance into public life he, by the advice of their leaders, as already mentioned, had joined Mr Pitt, and became one of the most ardent opponents of the French Revolution, yet it was its excesses, not its original principles, which he condemned. His first inclinations never deserted him through life. The steady supporter of Catholic emancipation, he had also warmly embraced the new views in regard to freedom of trade which were then beginning, not only to prevail in Parliament, but to influence Government. During his keen contest for Liverpool, he had been thrown much among, and been on the most intimate terms with, the leading merchants of that city, and become acquainted with all their sanguine expectations as to the immense benefits which would accrue to this country from the estab-

lishment of South American independence. A steady supporter of Wellington during the war, the idea of the work he had achieved being undone, and French influence re-established in the Peninsula, was utterly abhorrent to his mind: a politician influenced rather by feeling and impulse than reasoning and reflection, he did not see that the cause he was now so anxious to support in Spain was precisely the same as that which he had formerly so energetically combated in France. Finally, he was ambitious, and a great career lay open before him; he was the man of the people, and they had placed him in power; he was the champion of England, and his present greatness, as well as future renown, was wound up with the maintenance of its interests and the furtherance of its desires.

10. When views so utterly opposite were entertained on a great question of European politics, upon which it was indispensable that a decision should be immediately adopted by the states most immediately interested, and by whose amity the peace of the world had hitherto been preserved, it was not surprising that the other powers should have become anxious for the result, and eagerly sought after every means of avoiding the dreaded rupture. If England and France came to blows on the Spanish question, it was obvious to all that a desperate European strife, possibly equalling the last in duration and blood, would be the result. For although the military strength of France, backed by that of the Northern powers, was obviously far greater than that of Spain supported by Great Britain and Portugal, yet who could say how long this would last, and how soon an outbreak at Paris might overturn the Government there, and array the strength of France on the side of revolution? The throne of Louis XVIII. rested on a volcano; any day an eruption of the fires smouldering beneath the surface might blow it into the air; and if such a catastrophe should occur, what security was there either for the independence of other nations, or the

ability of the Northern powers to withstand the advances of revolution supported by the united strength of France and England? These considerations were so obvious, that they forced themselves on every mind; and in order to avert the danger, a congress was resolved on, and VERONA fixed on as the place of its assemblage.

11. It was originally intended that Lord Londonderry, then Foreign Minister, should himself have proceeded to this important Congress; but his unhappy death rendered this impossible, and the Duke of Wellington was appointed to go in his stead. It was thought with justice that England, in an assembly where the leading object of deliberation would be the French intervention in Spain, could not be so appropriately or efficiently represented as by the illustrious warrior who had effected its liberation from the thralldom of Napoleon. He was accompanied by Lord Strangford, the English ambassador at Constantinople, the present Marquess of Londonderry, and Lord Burghersh. France was represented by her Foreign Ministers, M. de Montmorency, M. de la Ferronnay, who was highly esteemed by the Emperor Alexander, at whose court he was ambassador, and M. de Chateaubriand, who was admired by all the world, and who, at his own request, had left the situation of ambassador at London to share in the excitement and deliberation of the Congress. From his known semi-liberal opinions, as well as his great reputation, he was selected to be in some degree a check on M. de Montmorency, who was the representative of the extreme Royalists in France, and might, it was feared, unnecessarily precipitate hostilities. The Emperor Alexander was there in person, accompanied by Nesselrode, M. de Takicheff, M. de Strogonoff, his ambassadors at Vienna and Constantinople, and Count Pozzo di Borgo. Capo d'Istria, on account of his known interest in the Greek insurrection, was absent. Metternich, who soon became the soul of the negotiations, was there on the part of Austria, with Count Lebzeltner, the ambassador at St Peters-

burg; and Prussia was represented by its veteran diplomatists, Prince Hardenberg and Count Bernstorff. Florence was at first thought of as the place of meeting; but at the request of the Emperor Alexander it was exchanged for Verona, on account of the latter city being a sort of midway station between Spain and Greece, the two countries which it was foreseen would principally occupy the attention of the Congress.

12. Verona, a city celebrated alike in ancient and modern times, is situated at the foot of the Alps, at the place where the Adige, after forcing its way through the defile of Chiusa, immortalised by Dante, first emerges into the smiling plain of Lombardy. It is chiefly known to travellers from its noble amphitheatre, second only to the Coliseum in solidity and grandeur, and the interior of which is still as perfect as when it was filled with the admiring subjects of the Roman emperors. Its situation, at the entrance of the great defile which leads from Germany into Italy, has rendered it the scene since that time of many memorable events, when rival generals contended for the mastery of the Empire, and the Gothic hordes descended from the north to slake their thirst for spoil with the riches of the fairest part of Europe. The great contest between Otho and Vitellius, which Tacitus has immortalised, was decided under its walls; the hordes of Alaric, the legions of Theodoric, defiled through its gates; and it was from thence that Napoleon set out at the head of the redoubtable grenadiers who decided the terrible strife between France and Austria on the dykes of Arcola. Nor is the charm of imagination wanting to complete the interest of these historic recollections; for it contains the tomb of Juliet, and has been immortalised by the genius of Shakespeare.* The modern city presents an interesting assemblage of the relics of ancient and modern times; for if the stately remains of its amphithe-

* See "The Tomb in Verona," a fragment, but one of the most interesting of the many interesting monuments of Sir E. B. Lytton's genius.

theatre carry us back to the days of the Roman emperors, its fortified bridges, curious arches, and castellated towers, remind us not less forcibly of the times of Gothic strife; while its spacious squares, elegant piazzas, and decorated theatres, bespeak the riches and luxury which have grown up with the peace of modern society.

13. Before going to Verona, M. de Montmorency repaired to Vienna, where he had several confidential interviews with M. de Metternich. Their views were entirely in unison; and as it was anticipated that the intentions of the Cabinet of Berlin would be mainly influenced by those of the Emperor Alexander, who was known to have the utmost dread of the military revolts of Southern Europe, it was with reason expected that the resolutions of the assembled powers would be all but unanimous. England, indeed, it was well known, would be strongly opposed to any armed intervention of France in the Peninsula; but, oppressed as she was with debt, and absorbed in pacific objects, it was not anticipated that she would draw the sword in its behalf, in opposition to the declared resolution of all the great powers on the Continent; and the extreme division of opinion in Spain and Portugal themselves, on the subject of the revolution, encouraged the hope that their governments would fall to the ground of themselves, without the necessity of military operations. Yet, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances which augured so well for vigorous measures, the Cabinet of Louis XVIII. was much divided on the subject. The King himself, with M. de Villèle, his Prime Minister, strongly inclined to a pacific policy, and deprecated war as a last resource to be avoided as long as possible.

14. Verona exhibited, when the Congress opened within its walls, even more than the usual union of rank, genius, celebrity, and beauty, which are usually attracted by such assemblages. The Empress of Austria was present, the ex-Empress Marie-Louise was there, and enjoyed the happiness of being again united to her august family; but

the brilliant dream of her life had already passed away, and the widow of Napoleon had sunk into the obscure wife of her own chamberlain. The Queen of Sardinia, with the princesses her daughters, the princesses of Tuscany, Modena, and several of the German powers, embellished the saloons by their beauty, or adorned them by their charms. Never had any town in Italy exhibited such a combination of everything that could distract the thoughts of the diplomatists, or dazzle the eyes of the multitude. The principal actors and actresses from Paris and Vienna had arrived, and added by their talents to the general enchantment; splendid balls succeeded each other in rapid succession, intermingled with concerts, in which the genius of Rossini shone forth with the highest lustre. In the midst of all this pomp and splendour, the business of diplomacy proceeded abreast of that of amusement; the ambassadors were as much occupied as the chamberlains; and a hidden but most formidable power—that of the Jesuits, and the extreme religious party—carried on a series of intrigues destined to produce the most important results.

15. The first matter brought under the consideration of the Congress was the insurrection in Greece, and the complicated relations of Russia and the Porte; but they must be reserved for a subsequent chapter, when that important subject will be fully discussed. The state of Piedmont next came under discussion, and as it presented much fewer difficulties, it was soon adjusted. The King of Sardinia declared that the time had now arrived when the state of his dominions was so satisfactory that he could dispense with the presence and protection of the auxiliary Austrian force. The Allied sovereigns acceded to his request for its removal, and a treaty was in consequence concluded, by which it was stipulated that the Austrian troops should begin to evacuate his territories on the 31st December, and that the evacuation should be completed by the delivery of the fortress of Alessandria on the 30th September 1823. By a separate con-

vention, concluded at the same time, it was agreed that the auxiliary Austrian force which occupied Naples and Sicily, and which was supported entirely at the cost of their inhabitants, should be reduced by seventeen thousand men.

16. A strenuous and most praiseworthy attempt was made by the Duke of Wellington, under Mr Canning's instructions, to procure some resolution from the Allied powers against the slave-trade. He stated, in his note on this subject, that of the eight powers who, in 1815, had signed a declaration against that atrocious traffic, and expressed a desire to "put a period to a scourge which had so long desolated Africa, disgraced Europe, and afflicted humanity," seven had passed laws with the design of prohibiting their subjects entirely from engaging in it; but Portugal and Brazil continued to carry it on to an unprecedented extent. To such a length was this trade now pushed, that during seven months of the year 1821 above 38,000 human beings had been torn from the coast of Africa, and thrown into hopeless and irremediable slavery; and from the month of July 1820 to that of October 1821, no less than 332 vessels had entered the rivers of Africa, to the north of the equator, to buy slaves, each of which could carry 500 or 600 slaves, which would, if they were all filled, imply a transportation of nearly 200,000 human beings. Great part of this detestable traffic was stated to be carried on under the French flag. Notwithstanding these appalling facts, which could neither be denied nor controverted, the resistance on the part of the French Government to any decisive measure which might exclude them from a share of this lucrative commerce was so great, that all that Great Britain could obtain from the Congress was a vague declaration from the five great powers, "that they have never ceased, and will never cease, to regard the slave-trade as a traffic which has too long desolated Africa, disgraced Europe, and afflicted humanity; and that they are ready, by all means in their power, to concur in all measures which may insure and accelerate the

entire and final abolition of that commerce."

17. Another subject was brought under the notice of the Congress by Great Britain, upon which the views of its Cabinet and of that of the Tuileries were still more at variance, and which presaged great and lasting changes in both hemispheres. This was the all-important one of SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. The Duke of Wellington presented a note to the Congress, in which it was stated, "The connection subsisting between the subjects of his Britannic Majesty and the other parts of the globe has for long rendered it necessary for him to recognise the existence *de facto* of governments formed in different places, so far as was necessary to conclude treaties with them; the relaxation of the authority of Spain in her colonies in South America has given rise to a host of pirates and adventurers—an insupportable evil, which it is impossible for England to extirpate without the aid of the local authorities which occupy the adjacent coasts and harbours; and the necessity of this co-operation cannot but lead to the recognition *de facto* of a number of governments of their own creation." Veiled under a desire to suppress the undoubted evil of piracy, this was an attempt indirectly to obtain from the Congress some act or declaration amounting to a recognition of the independence of South America. The other powers, accordingly, saw the object, and immediately took the alarm. Austria answered, "that England was perfectly entitled to defend her commercial interests from piracy; but as to the independence of the Spanish colonies, Austria would never recognise it, so long as his Christian Majesty had not formally renounced the rights of sovereignty heretofore exercised over these provinces." Prussia and Russia answered the note in the same terms; and in a long and able note, drawn by M. de Chateaubriand, on the part of France—"In so grave a question, France feels that Spain should, in the first instance, be consulted as sovereign *de jure* of these colonies. France concurs with Eng-

land in holding that, when intestine troubles have long prevailed, and the law of nations has thereby been practically abrogated, on account of the weakness of one of the belligerent powers, natural right resumes its empire. She admits that there are inevitable prescriptions of some rights, and that, after a government has long resisted, it is sometimes obliged to yield to overbearing necessity, in order to terminate many evils, and prevent one state from alone reaping advantages in which other states are entitled to participate. But to prevent the jealousies and rivalries of commerce which might involve governments against their will in hostilities, some general measure should be adopted; and perhaps it would be possible to reconcile the interests of Spain, of its colonies, and of the European states, by a measure which, founded on the broad basis of equality and reciprocity, might bring into harmony also the rights of legitimacy and the necessities of policy." The proposed measure, as a matter of course, came to nothing; but the circumstance of its being broached at all proved what adverse interests were arising in the world, and the seeds of what divisions were germinating beneath the treacherous surface of the European alliance.

18. But all these subjects of division, important and pregnant with future changes as they were, yielded to the Spanish question, for the solution of which the Congress had been assembled, and which required immediate decision. The instructions of M. de Villèle on this subject were very cautiously worded, and intended, above all, to avoid the appearance of France requesting from the other powers *instructions* how to act in the affairs of the Peninsula. They bore, "We have not determined to make war on Spain; the Cortes would carry Ferdinand back to Cadiz rather than suffer him to be conducted to Verona. The situation of France is not such as to oblige us to ask for permission for a war of invasion, as Austria was at Laybach; for we are under no necessity of declaring war at all, nor of asking for succour to carry

it on if we do; and we could not admit of it, if it should lead to the passage of foreign troops through our territory. The opinion of our plenipotentiaries upon the question of what the Congress should determine on in regard to Spain is, that *France is the sole power which should act with its troops, and that it must be the sole judge of when it is necessary to do so*. The French plenipotentiaries must never consent that the Congress should prescribe the conduct which France should pursue in regard to Spain. They should accept of no pecuniary succour nor aid from the passage of troops through our territory. They should be firm in considering the Spanish question in its general aspect, and endeavour to obtain from the Congress a contingent treaty, honourable and advantageous to France, either for the case of a war between herself and Spain, or for the case of the powers *recognising the independence of South America*."

19. On the other hand, the instructions of England to her plenipotentiary were equally decided, and such as apparently to render almost unavoidable a rupture between the two powers. Lord Londonderry, before his death, had drawn up a note for our plenipotentiaries—which is one of the ablest and most admirable of his whole diplomatic career—which repudiated, in the strongest manner, any interference in the domestic concerns of Spain.* Mr

* "With respect to Spain, there seems nothing to add to, or vary, in the course of policy hitherto pursued. Solicitude for the royal family, observance of our engagements with Portugal, and a rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs of that country, must be considered as forming the limits of his Majesty's policy."—Marquess LONDONDERY'S *Instructions* transferred to the Duke of Wellington, Sept. 14, 1822; *Annual Register*, 1822, p. 96. (Public Documents.) "By far the most tangled web of the whole is that in which Spain and her allies are wrapped up; and not the least is in that portion of it which embraces her relations with the revolted colonies, and the effect thereby produced upon the commerce of the whole world. As to the form of government which she has of late established for herself in Europe, that is a matter with which, in the opinion of the English Cabinet, no foreign power has the smallest title to interfere. It rests entirely with the King of Spain and his subjects to settle their differences, if they

Canning had only been forty-eight hours in office when he was called on to give his instructions to the Duke of Wellington, who was appointed successor to that lamented nobleman as the plenipotentiary of England; but he had no difficulty in at once drawing them up. His private inclination, not less than his public duty, led him to adhere to the line marked out by Lord Londonderry. His instructions to Wellington, accordingly, on this point were, "If there be a determined project to interfere, by force or by menace, in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's Ministers of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that, when the necessity arises—or, I would rather say, when an opportunity presents itself—I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and decidedly to declare, that to any such interference *his Majesty will not be a party.*"

20. When instructions so directly at variance were given to the English and French plenipotentiaries upon a great public question, on which an instant decision required to be taken by the powers immediately concerned, it need not be said that the peace of Europe was seriously threatened. In effect, the divergence of opinion upon this point, as well as the ulterior one of recognising the independence of the re-

have any, between themselves. And this important truth you will urge with all your influence upon the Allies, and especially upon France. But the case of the revolted colonies is different. It is evident, from the turn which events have taken, that their recognition as independent States is only a question of time. Over by far the greater part of them Spain has lost all hold, and it has been found necessary, in order to admit their merchant vessels into English ports, to alter the navigation laws both of France and England. You will, accordingly, advocate a removal of the difficulty on this principle, that every province which has actually established its independence should be recognised; that with provinces in which the war still goes on, no relations are to be established; and that where negotiations are in progress between a revolted colony, relations with the colony should be suspended till the result is known."—CASTLEREAGH'S *Instructions to WELLINGTON*, July 6, 1822; GLEIG'S *Life of Wellington*, iii. 129, 131.

volted colonies in South America, was so great, that it probably would have been broken, and a calamitous war ensued, if the other powers had been less unanimous and decided than they were in supporting the French view of the necessity of an armed intervention. The Emperor Alexander, from the first, both officially through his plenipotentiaries, and privately in society, expressed his opinion in the strongest manner on this subject, and declared his readiness to support any measures which France might deem essential for its safety. Prussia adopted the same views: the obligations contracted in 1813 rendered no other course practicable to the Cabinet of Berlin. Austria was more doubtful: Metternich had a mortal dread of the northern Colossus, and in secret urged M. de Villèle to adopt no measures which should give the Emperor of Russia a pretext for again moving his troops across Germany. But as he was fully impressed with the danger to Europe from the revolutionary principles acted upon in Spain, and he had himself coerced them in the most vigorous manner in Italy, he could not ostensibly deviate from the other Continental powers on a subject so vital to their common welfare. Accordingly, after several conferences, in the course of which the Duke of Wellington strongly insisted on the necessity of limiting their interference with Spain to resistance to its external aggressions or attempts at propagandism, but not attempting any armed interference with its domestic concerns, the matter came to this, that the Duke of Wellington *refused to sign the procès verbaux* of the conference, when the opinions of the other powers were expressed in favour of an intervention, in certain events, in the Peninsula.

21. The mode of deliberating on this subject was very peculiar, but well calculated to cut short the usual evasions and subterfuges of diplomatic intercourse. France, through its minister, proposed three questions to the Congress, which were as follows: "1. In case France should find herself under the necessity of recalling her am-

bassador from Madrid, and interrupting all diplomatic relations with Spain, are the great powers disposed to adopt similar steps, and to break off their intercourse with that country also? 2. If war should break out between France and Spain, in what way, and by what acts, would the great powers give France their moral support, in such a manner as to inspire a salutary terror into the revolutionists of all countries? 3. What, in fine, are the intentions of the great powers in regard to the extent of the material succour which they are disposed to give to France, in case, on her requisition, such assistance might appear necessary?" To these questions "the three Continental powers answered, on the 30th October, that they would follow the example of France in respect to their diplomatic relations; that they would take the same attitude which France took; and that they would give all the succour of which it might stand in need. A treaty was to fix the period and mode of that co-operation." The Duke of Wellington answered, on the part of Great Britain, "that having no information as to the causes of this misunderstanding, and not being in a situation to form a judgment on the hypothetical case put, it was impossible for him to answer any of the questions." It was afterwards agreed that, instead of a joint note being prepared by the four Continental powers, and signed by their respective plenipotentiaries, each should address a separate note to the Cabinet of Madrid of the same general import, but containing in detail the views by which they were severally actuated; which was accordingly done: while the Duke of Wellington addressed a note to the Congress, stating the reasons why his Government abstained from any such intervention.*

* The notes of the four Continental powers were all of the same import; that of Prussia was the most explicit, and was in these terms: "The Prussian Government sees with grief the Spanish Government enter upon a career which menaces the tranquillity of Europe; it recollects the title to the admiration of the world which the Spanish nation has given during so many ages, and the heroic perseverance with which it has triumphed over the ambitious and oppressive efforts of the

22. The business of the Congress at Verona was now concluded, and it had turned out entirely to the advantage of France; for not only had she gained the consent of all the Continental states to the policy which she deemed it expedient to adopt, but, what was of equal importance, she had been allowed to remain the judge of that policy: the other powers had agreed to follow in her wake, not take the lead. For the first time for a very long period, England found herself isolated on the Continent, and doomed to be the impotent spectator of operations which she neither approved of nor could prevent. Without following out farther the thread of the negotiations, which were now substantially decided, it is more material to show what were the secret views of the French diplomatists in this, for them, auspicious state of affairs. "The despatch of M. de Montmorency," said Chateaubriand to M. de Villèle, "will show you the conclusion of the affair of Spain, which has turned out entirely as you wished. This evening we are to have a conference, to determine on the mode of making known the sentiments of the Alliance to Europe. Russia is marvellously favourable; Austria is with us on this, though on other points inclined to the English policy; Prussia follows Austria. The wish of the powers is decidedly pronounced for a war with Spain. It is for you, my dear friend, to consider whether you ought not to seize the occasion, perhaps unique, to replace France in the rank of military powers; to restore the white cockade in a war, in short, almost without danger, to which the opinions of the Royalists and the army strongly incline. There is no question of the occupation of the Peninsula, but of a rapid movement which would restore

usurper of the throne of France. The moral state of Spain is such at present, that the foreign powers must necessarily find themselves disturbed by it. Doctrines subversive of all social order are there openly preached and protected; daily insults against all the sovereigns of Europe fill its journals with impunity. The clubs of Spain have their emissaries in all quarters, to associate with their dark designs conspirators in every country against the public order and the legiti-

power to the true Spaniards, and take away from you all disquietude for the future. The last despatches of M. Lagarde prove how easy that success would be. All continental Europe would be for us; and if England took umbrage, she would not even have time to throw herself on a colony. As to the Chambers, success covers everything. Doubtless commerce and the finances would suffer for a moment, but nothing great can be done without some inconveniences. To destroy a focus of Jacobinism, to re-establish a Bourbon on the throne by the arms of a Bourbon,—these are results which outweigh all considerations of a secondary nature.”

23. But while M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Montmorency, and the war party, were with reason congratulating themselves on the success of France at the Congress, very different views were entertained by Louis XVIII. and M. de Villèle at Paris. They were sincerely pacific in their ideas, and, not

without reason, extremely apprehensive of the possible consequences of a war with Spain. It was not external, but internal, danger, that they dreaded. They were well aware that Spain, in its distracted state, would be wholly unable to withstand the arms of France, if these arms were united; but who could answer for this unanimity prevailing in a war of opinion, when the French troops grouped round the white flag were to be met by the Spanish arrayed under the tricolor standards? The recent disasters of the Royalists in Spain had shown how little reliance was to be placed on their support in any serious conflict; and was there no reason to apprehend that, if the arms and the Liberal press of England were engaged on the side of the republicans in the Peninsula, a convulsion fatal to the reigning dynasty might ensue to the south of the Channel? These considerations weighed much both with the King and his Prime Minister; and although, on his return from the Con-

mate authority. The inevitable effect of these disorders is seen in the interruption of the relations between France and Spain. The irritation to which it gives rise is such as to inspire the most serious alarm as to the preservation of peace between the two countries. That consideration itself would suffice to determine the united sovereigns to break silence on a state of things which from day to day threatens to compromise the tranquillity of Europe. It is not for foreign powers to determine what institutions answer best for the character, manners, and real necessities of the Spanish nation; but it belongs to them undoubtedly to judge of the effects which experience has taught them such changes produce upon themselves, and to fix their determination and future position in regard to Spain on these considerations.”—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Congrès de Verone*, i. 130, 131.

On the other hand, the Duke of Wellington, in his note to the Continental sovereigns, said: “The origin, circumstances, and consequences of the Spanish Revolution, the existing state of affairs in Spain, and the conduct of those who have been at the head of the Spanish Government, may have endangered the safety of other countries, and may have excited the uneasiness of the Governments whose ministers I am now addressing, and those Governments may think it necessary to address the Spanish Government upon the topics referred to in their despatches. But I would request those Ministers to consider whether the measures now proposed are calculated to allay the irritation against France, and to prevent a possible rupture, and whether they might not with advantage

be delayed to a later period. They are certainly calculated to irritate the Government of Spain; to afford ground for a belief that advantage has been taken of the irritation which subsists between that Government and France to call down upon Spain the power of the Alliance, and thus to embarrass still more the difficult position of the French Government. His Majesty's Government is of opinion, that to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent state, unless such transactions affect the essential interests of his Majesty's subjects, is inconsistent with those principles on which his Majesty has invariably acted on all questions concerning the internal concerns of other countries; that such animadversions, if made, must involve his Majesty in serious responsibility if they should produce any effect, and must irritate if they should not; and if addressed, as proposed, to the Spanish Government, are likely to be injurious to the best interests of Spain, and to produce the worst consequences upon the probable discussion between that country and France. The King's Government must therefore decline to advise his Majesty to hold a common language with his allies upon this occasion; and it is so necessary for his Majesty not to be supposed to participate in a measure of this description, and calculated to produce such consequences, that his Government must equally refrain from advising his Majesty to direct that any communication should be made to the Spanish Government on the subject of its relations with France.”—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S *Note to the Allied Powers*, 20th November 1822; *Annual Register*, 1822, p. 101. (Public Documents.)

gress, M. de Montmorency was made a duke, yet grave doubts were still entertained whether it was either prudent or safe to go into the measures agreed on by the Congress. They were confirmed in these opinions by the Duke of Wellington, who, on his way back from Verona, had a long and confidential interview with Louis XVIII. at Paris, in which he represented to him in the strongest manner the extreme danger which France would run in the event of a rupture, both from internal dissension and the loss of the alliance and moral support of England. The great personal influence of the Duke of Wellington, the services he had rendered to the royal cause, and the obvious weight of his arguments, produced such an effect, that they had wellnigh overturned everything done at Verona, and detached France from the alliance of the Continental sovereigns.*

24. The first effect it produced was to overturn M. de Montmorency, and place M. de Chateaubriand in his stead. So uneasy was the King at what the Duke of Wellington had represented, that he demanded a distinct explanation from M. de Montmorency of the causes of complaint which he had against the Spanish Government. The latter replied, "that the causes of difference between France and Spain were not of so precise a kind as to admit of an exact and special definition; that a new state of things had been formed by the relations of the two countries; that the opinions in the ascendant in Spain were such as to endanger his Majesty's dominions; and that France would rather incur all the risks of war than expose itself to the inconveniences of the other alternative." Meanwhile

* The Duke's instructions on this occasion were as follows: "The Duke of Wellington may declare openly to his Majesty the King of France, that the Government of His Britannic Majesty has always been opposed to any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Spain. The Spanish Government has given no cause of complaint to any power, and the defects of its constitution are a matter of internal politics, with which no foreign power has any title to interfere."—MR CANNING'S *Memorandum to the Duke of WELLINGTON*, Nov. 4, 1822; CAPEFIGUE, viii. 5, 6.

the journals in the interest of the respective ministers commenced a violent contest on the subject, the *Journal des Debats* maintaining the necessity of preserving peace, the *Quotidienne* the imperative duty of going to war. In this state of division, both in respect of public opinion and in his own Cabinet, the King, with the concurrence of M. de Villèle, adopted the questionable step of opening, through the Prime Minister, a secret correspondence with M. de Lagarde, the ambassador at Madrid, unknown to the Foreign Minister, in which he recommended a conciliatory course of policy, entirely at variance with what had been agreed upon at the Congress, and very nearly in accordance with the views of England on the subject. The idea of Louis XVIII., and which flattered his secret vanity, was, that Ferdinand VII. should follow his example, and give a constitution to his subjects, which might establish a representative monarchy in harmony with that existing to the north of the Pyrenees. It never occurred to him that, without the support of the Allied bayonets, that constitution never would have been accepted in his own dominions.*

* The note of M. de Villèle approved of by Louis XVIII. set forth—"Since the revolution which occurred in Spain in April 1820, France, regardless of the dangers with which she herself was threatened by that revolution, has used its best endeavours to draw closer the bonds which unite the two kings, and to maintain the connections which unite the two people. But the influences which had led to the changes in the Spanish monarchy have become more powerful than the changes themselves, as it was easy to foresee would be the case. A constitution which King Ferdinand had neither recognised nor accepted in resuming his crown, was imposed upon him by a military insurrection. The natural consequence of that has been, that every discontented Spaniard has conceived himself entitled to seek by the same method an order of things more in harmony with his opinions and principles, and the use of force has caused it to be regarded as a right. Thence the movement of the guard at Madrid, the appearance of armed corps in different parts of Spain. The provinces adjoining France have been the principal theatre of that civil war. Thence arose the necessity on the part of France to take measures for its own security. The events which have taken place since the establishment of the army of observation at the foot of the Pyrenees have sufficiently justified the foresight of his Ma-

25. As soon as M. de Montmorency was made acquainted with this secret intrigue, which virtually superseded him in his own department in the most important branch of state policy, he insisted on a meeting of the Cabinet being called. The point submitted to them was, whether a decided note prepared by M. de Montmorency, in accordance with what had been agreed on at Verona, and to which his personal honour as well as the faith of France stood pledged, should be forwarded to Madrid, to supersede the conciliatory and temporising one prepared by M. de Villèle? A majority of the council approved of M. de Montmorency's note; in particular, Pey-

jesty in forming it. The precautions of France have appeared just to its allies; and the Continental powers have adopted the resolution to unite themselves to her, if it should become necessary, to maintain her dignity and repose. *France would have been contented with a resolution at once so friendly and honourable to her; but Austria, Prussia, and Russia* have deemed it necessary to add to that act of the Alliance a manifestation of their own sentiments. Diplomatic notes have in consequence been addressed to the representatives of these powers at Madrid, who will follow the instructions of their respective courts. As for you, M. le Comte, you will say that the Government of the King is intimately united with his allies in the firm determination to *repel* by every means the revolutionary principle; and that it participates equally strongly with them in the desire which they feel that the noble Spanish nation may find a remedy of *itself* for the evils which afflict it—evils which are of a kind to disquiet the governments of Europe, and impose upon them precautions always painful. You will assure them that the people of the Peninsula, restored to tranquillity, will always find in their neighbours sincere and loyal friends. The succour of all kinds which France can dispose of in favour of Spain will always be offered to insure its happiness and increase its prosperity; but you will declare at the same time, that France will relax in none of *its protective measures* so long as Spain shall be torn by factions. His Majesty's Government will not hesitate to recall you from Madrid, and to seek for guarantees in more effective dispositions, if his essential interests continue to be compromised, and if he loses all hope of an amelioration, which he still hopes from the sentiments which have so long united the French and Spaniards in the love of their kings and of a wise liberty.” —*Le Président du Conseil des Ministres à M. le Comte de LAGARDE, Ambassadeur à Madrid, Paris, 25th Dec. 1822; LACRETELLE, Histoire de la Restauration, iii. 477-479. Pièces Justificatives.*

ronnet and Clermont-Tonnerre were energetic in its support. The Duke of Belluno (Victor) strongly advocated the same side. He represented the state of opinion in the army, which he as War Minister had peculiar means of knowing; that the example of the Spanish revolution was extremely dangerous for the throne of France; that the impression it had already produced upon the soldiers might prove prejudicial to the tranquillity of the country; that it was absolutely necessary to act, to extirpate by force that mania for military revolutions; that the army was well affected, and would become, in a campaign, devoted to the Bourbons, but that it was extremely dangerous to leave it at rest on the frontier. “Nothing,” he added, “is so easy of corruption as a *body of troops in a state of inaction*: when they advance, they become animated with one spirit, and are incapable of treachery.” On the other hand, M. de Villèle, M. de Lauriston, and M. de Corbière argued in favour of the pacific note, as likely to conciliate matters, and avoid the serious risks of a war of opinion, which might involve all Europe in conflagration. The matter was still in suspense, and the issue doubtful, when Louis cut the matter short by declaring that the note of M. de Villèle appeared to him to express with more prudence than that of M. de Montmorency the opinion of his Cabinet. The consequence was, that M. de Montmorency tendered his resignation, which was accepted; and M. de Chateaubriand, whom public opinion rather than the private favour of the monarch had already designed for his successor, was appointed in his stead.

26. Although, however, M. de Chateaubriand was borne forward to the portfolio of foreign affairs by a movement in the Cabinet which implied an entire change of national policy on the vital question now at issue between France and Spain, yet no such alteration in effect took place; and he was compelled, nothing loth, to fall into the system of his predecessor. The pacific note drawn up by M. de Villèle, and approved of by Louis XVIII., was

sent to M. de Lagarde, at Madrid, on the 25th December, soon after the more decided notes of the other Continental powers had been presented; but the warlike preparations were not for a moment suspended, and the march of troops to the foot of the Pyrenees continued without intermission. In truth, the current of public opinion in France ran so strongly in favour of war, that, like similar transports which have prevailed in other countries on similar occasions, it was irresistible, and, for good or for evil, must work out its destined effects. The war party in the legislature, always strong, had been greatly augmented by the result of the annual election of a fifth in the preceding autumn, and it now comprehended five-sixths of the entire Chamber of Deputies. On this occasion, too, for the first time since the Restoration, it carried a vast majority of the French nation with it. All classes concurred in demanding hostilities. The Royalists felt their blood roused at the approach of strife, as the war-horse does at the sound of the trumpet. The army rejoiced at the prospect of a contest, and joyfully wended their way to the Pyrenees, hoping to efface the disgrace of Baylen and Vittoria; the peasants trusted that the days of the Empire and of glory were about to return, and the fields of Spain to be laid open to their ambition or their plunder; the mercantile classes and shopkeepers apprehended, indeed, a diminution of their profits from a rupture of peace, and approved the cautious policy of M. de Villèle, but they were not in sufficient strength to withstand the general current. The revolutionists and democrats in secret were not disinclined to hostilities; they hoped that the troops, when brought into collision with the tricolor standard, would desert their colours, and that, in an attempt to restore the throne of another monarch, Louis would lose his own.

27. The British Government, however, aware of the division on the subject which prevailed in the French Cabinet, and of the aversion of the King to war, did all that was possible to avert hostilities. Sir William

A'Court, the ambassador at Madrid, received instructions to exert himself to the utmost to procure such a modification of the Constitution from the Cortes itself as might take away all pretext for French interference; and Lord Fitzroy Somerset was, in the first week of January, despatched from Paris by the Duke of Wellington, in order to co-operate in the same object. All their efforts, however, were in vain. The Spanish Government, with that confidence in itself, and insensibility to external danger, which is so characteristic of the nation, obstinately refused to make any concession, or modify the Constitution in the smallest particular. The consequence was, that the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, after having delivered their respective notes as agreed on at the Congress, withdrew from Madrid; and although the French minister remained behind, and with Sir William A'Court continued his good offices, yet they came to nothing; and ere long M. de Chateaubriand despatched a note to M. de Lagarde,* recapitulating all

* "Le Gouvernement Espagnol rejetait toute mesure de conciliation; non-seulement il ne montrait aucun espoir de l'amélioration que l'on pourrait attendre des sentiments qui avaient, pendant si longtemps, uni les Espagnols et les Français; mais il allait jusqu'à exiger que la France retirât son armée d'observation, et expulsât les étrangers qui lui avaient demandé asile. La France n'est pas accoutumée à entendre un pareil langage, et elle ne le pardonne à son auteur qu'en considération de l'exaspération qui règne en Espagne. Quiconque met le pied sur le territoire Français est libre, et jouit des droits d'une hospitalité inviolable. Les victimes des commotions qui agitaient l'Espagne s'y étaient réfugiées, et étaient traitées avec tous les égards dus au malheur. L'Espagne s'est-elle conduite d'une plus mauvaise manière envers la France? Non-seulement elle a donné asile à des hommes coupables, condamnés par les tribunaux, mais encore elle leur a promis des emplois dans ses armées. La confusion qui règne en Espagne actuellement est préjudiciable à quelques-uns de nos plus grands intérêts. Sa Majesté avait désiré que son ministre pût rester à Madrid après le départ des ambassadeurs d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Russie; mais ses derniers vœux n'ont pas été écoutés; sa dernière espérance a été déçue; le mauvais génie des révolutions préside maintenant aux conseils de l'Espagne, tout espoir est éloigné; comme l'expression des sentiments les plus modérés ne nous attire que de nouvelles provocations,

the grounds of complaint which France had against Spain, and directing him forthwith to demand his passport. This was accordingly done, and the rapid concentration of forces on the Pyrenees left no doubt that war in good earnest was approaching.

28. The French Chambers met on the 28th January, and the speech of the King, delivered with great solemnity to a crowded assembly, resounded like a clap of thunder throughout Europe. "France owed to Europe a prosperity which no nation can ever obtain but by a return to religion, legitimacy, order, and true liberty. It is now giving that salutary example; but the Divine justice permits that, after having made other nations long feel the terrible effects of our discord, we should ourselves be exposed to the dangers arising from similar calamities in a neighbouring kingdom. I have tried," said the King, in a firm accent, "everything to secure the peace of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from the last misfortunes; but all in vain. The infatuation with which my efforts have been rejected at Madrid leaves little hope of the possibility of maintaining peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister. A hundred thousand men, commanded by a prince of my family (the Duke d'Angoulême), are ready to march, invoking the God of St Louis to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV., to save that fine kingdom from ruin, and reconcile it to Europe. Should war prove inevitable, I shall use my best endeavours to restrict its circle and abridge its duration; it shall only be undertaken to conquer that peace which the present state of Spain renders impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to *give* to his people the institutions which they can never hold

but of him, and which, in assuring the repose, will dissipate the just disquietudes of France; from that moment hostilities shall cease. I venture to take in your presence, gentlemen, that solemn engagement. I have consulted the dignity of my crown, the honour and security of France. We are Frenchmen, and we shall always be united to defend such interests."

29. Such was the war-cry of the Royalists in France, and the aristocratic party throughout Europe, against the Spanish revolution, in the composition of which the fervent genius and poetic mind of M. de Chateaubriand appeared tempered by the statesman-like caution of M. de Villèle. It was first responded to on this side of the Channel, in the King's speech, delivered by commission, at the opening of Parliament on 4th February. "Since you last met," it said, "his Majesty's efforts have been unceasingly exerted to preserve the peace of Europe. Faithful to the principles which his Majesty has promulgated to the world, as constituting the rules of his conduct, his Majesty declined being a party to any proceedings at Verona which could be deemed an interference in the internal concerns of Spain on the part of foreign powers. And his Majesty has since used, and continues to use, his most anxious endeavours and good offices to allay the irritation unhappily subsisting between the French and Spanish Governments, and to avert, if possible, the calamity of a war between France and Spain. Discussions have been long pending with the Spanish Government respecting depredations committed on the commerce of his Majesty's subjects in the West Indian seas, and other grievances, and those discussions have terminated in an admission by the Spanish Government of the justice of his Majesty's complaints, and in an engagement for satisfactory reparation."

il ne peut convenir, M. le Comte, à la dignité du Roi, et à l'honneur de la France, que vous restiez plus longtemps à Madrid. En conséquence, veuillez demander vos passe-ports pour vous-même et toute votre légation, et partez sans perdre de temps immédiatement après qu'ils vous auront été remis."—*M. de CHATEAUBRIAND à M. le Comte de LAGARDE*, Paris, Jan. 5, 1853; CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, viii. 37, 38.

30. The official reply of the Spanish Government to the French declaration was not given till the opening of the session of the ordinary Cortes on 1st March. "The Continental powers," said Ferdinand's Ministers, "have rais-

ed their voice against the political institutions of that country which has conquered its independence at the price of its blood. Spain, in solemnly answering the insidious accusations of these powers, has rested on the principle that its fundamental laws can be dictated only by itself. That clear and luminous principle cannot be attacked but by sophisms supported by the force of arms; and those who have recourse to these methods in the nineteenth century give the most complete proof of the injustice of their cause. His Most Christian Majesty has declared that a hundred thousand French shall come to regulate the domestic affairs of Spain, and correct our institutions. When did soldiers receive the mission of correcting laws? In what code is it written that military invasions are the precursors of the felicity of people? It would be unworthy of reason to attempt the refutation of such anti-social errors; and it does not become a constitutional king of Spain to make an apology for the national cause, in order to defend it against those who cover themselves with the veil of the most detestable hypocrisy to trample under foot all sentiments of shame. I hope that the energy and perseverance of the Cortes will furnish the best reply to the speech of His Most Christian Majesty; I hope that, firm in their principle, they will continue to march in the path of their duty—that they will always remain the Cortes of the 9th and 11th January, worthy of the nation which has intrusted to them its destinies. I hope, in fine, that reason and justice will be not less powerful than the genius of oppression and servitude. The nation which enters into negotiation with an enemy whose bad faith is known, is already subdued: to receive the law from one who pretends to impose it with arms in his hand, is the greatest of ignominies. If war is an evil without a remedy, the nation is magnanimous: it will combat a second time for its independence and its rights. The path of glory is not unknown to it, and the sacrifices it requires will be cheerfully made. The removal of my person, and of the Cortes, into a place

less exposed to military operations, will defeat the projects of our enemies, and prevent the suspension of acts of the Government which should be known in every part of the monarchy.”*

31. M. Hyde de Neuville, in the address of the Chamber of Deputies, which he prepared in answer to the speech from the throne, even exceeded M. de Chateaubriand in warlike zeal. “Factation,” said he, “has at length lost the hope of impunity. France has shown to Europe how public misfortunes repair themselves. Destined by Providence to close the gulf of revolution, the King has tried everything which can give security to his people, and save Spain from the consequences of a revolution induced by a body of perjured soldiers. A blind obstinacy has rendered them deaf to the counsels of the chief of the Bourbons. Sir! we are Frenchmen; no sacrifice will be regarded by your people which may

* The best statement of the Spanish side of the question is contained in a previous state paper, by M. Miguel, the Foreign Secretary, to the Russian minister:—

“1. La nation Espagnole est gouvernée par une constitution reconnue solennellement par l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, dans l'année 1812.

“2. Les Espagnols amis de leur patrie qui ont proclamé, au commencement de 1812, cette constitution, renoncée par la violence de 1814, n'ont point été parjures, mais ils ont la gloire que personne ne peut souiller, d'avoir été les organes du vœu général.

“3. Le roi constitutionnel des Espagnols jouit du libre exercice des droits que lui donne le code fondamental, et tout ce qu'on allègue au contraire de cette assertion est une invention des ennemis de l'Espagne qui la calomnie pour l'avilir.

“4. La nation Espagnole ne s'est jamais mêlée des institutions ni du régime intérieur, ni d'aucun autre.

“5. Et le remède à apporter aux maux qui peuvent l'affliger, n'intéresse qu'elle seule.

“6. Ces maux ne sont pas l'effet de la constitution, mais nous viennent des ennemis qui veulent la détruire.

“7. La nation Espagnole ne reconnaîtra jamais à aucune puissance le droit d'intervenir ni de se mêler de ses affaires.

“8. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté ne s'écartera pas de la ligne que lui tracent son devoir, l'honneur national, et son adhésion invariable au code fondamental juré dans l'année 1812.”—E. S. MIGUEL, *Circulaire adressée par le Ministre des affaires étrangères à Madrid aux chargés d'affaires pour les Cours de Vienne, Berlin, et St Pétersbourg, 9th January 1823. Ann. Hist., vi. 698.*

be necessary to sustain the dignity of your crown, the honour and dignity of France. It is your part to conquer peace by stifling anarchy, to restore liberty to a prince of your blood, to deliver from oppression a people who will aid you to break their chains. Your army is courageous and faithful: that army, which knows how to repel the cowardly invitation to revolt, starts forward with ardour under the *Fleur-de-lis* standard at your voice: it has not taken up, it will not take up arms, but to maintain social order, and to preserve from a fatal contagion our country and our institutions." This address was carried by a majority of 109, the numbers being 202 to 93, and presented to the King amidst unbounded acclamations on the 9th February.*

32. It was in the debates on the subject, however, in the Chamber of Deputies of France and the English Parliament, that the subject was brought out in its true colours; and in these mighty assemblies, from whence their voices rolled over the globe, the great Parliamentary leaders, on either side,

* M. Hyde de Neuville, one of the most brilliant and distinguished characters of the Restoration, had devoted to the exiled family, when in misfortune, his youth, his fortune, and put in hazard his life. Descended from English ancestry, he had inherited from his Cavalier forefathers that generous devotion to the royal family which in them had become a species of worship, to which honour, religion, and country alike summoned, and to which exile and the scaffold seemed only the appropriate sacrifice. During the Republic and the Empire he was actively engaged in all the conspiracies for the restoration of the Bourbons. During the latter years of the Empire, when all hopes of a restoration seemed lost, and Europe could no longer present a safe asylum, he took refuge in America, where he learned to mingle respect for popular freedom with a devoted respect to the principles of loyalty to the sovereign. Returning to France in 1814 with the exiled princes, he was elected deputy for Berry, his native province; and in the Chamber he soon signalled himself among the Royalists, by his ardent loyalty, coupled with a manly eloquence and decision of character, which bespoke the man of action as well as the orator. His noble figure, martial air, and erect carriage—his numerous adventures, the dungeons he had occupied, his persecutions, his exile—threw an air of romance about his character, and augmented the influence due to his loyalty, eloquence, and courage.—LAMARTINE, *Hist. de la Rest.*, vii. 122, 123.

adduced every consideration which could by possibility be urged upon it. Mr Canning, in consequence of his recent appointment as Foreign Secretary, was not in the House when the debate came on, but his place was ably filled by his antagonist, Mr Brougham, who, in a speech of extraordinary power and vigour untrammelled by the restraints of office, gave vent to English opinion on the subject. He said that he "joined with the mover of the address, and with every man who deserved the name of Briton, in abhorrence and detestation at the audacious interference of the Allied powers in the internal affairs of Spain—a detestation equalled only by contempt for the hypocrisy by which their principles had been promulgated to the world. The communication made in the King's speech will be tidings of joy and a signal for exultation for England; it will spread joy and exultation over Spain, will be a source of comfort to all other free states, and will bring confusion and dismay to the Allies, who with a pretended respect for, but a real mockery of, religion and morality, make war upon liberty in the abstract, endeavour to crush national independence wherever it is to be found, and are now preparing with their armed hordes to carry their frightful projects into execution.

33. "The internal situation of the country is certainly one of deep distress, especially so far as regards that most important and useful branch of the community, the farmers; and I am the last man who would not recommend continued and unsparing economy in every department: but the time has now come, when to assert our principles and maintain our independence, not only no further diminution, but probably a great increase, of our naval and military establishments has become indispensable. Our intervention, in some shape, will probably be found to be unavoidable; and if war is once begun, perhaps, for the protection of our old ally Portugal, it must be carried on with the whole strength of the empire. I am rejoiced that the ominous words 'strict neutrality' did not escape from the lips of either the mover or seconder

of the address. A state of declared neutrality on our part would be nothing less than a practical admission of those principles which we all loudly condemn, and a licence to the commission of the atrocities which we are all unanimous in deprecating. It is obviously the duty of his Majesty's Ministers, with whom the whole House on this occasion will be ready to co-operate, in certain events to assist the Spaniards—a course which we, though most averse to war, must be the first on this occasion, and to avert greater evils, to support.

34. "To judge of the danger of the principles now shamelessly promulgated, let any one read attentively, and, if he can, patiently, the notes presented by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to the Spanish Government. Can anything more absurd or extravagant be conceived? In the Prussian note the Constitution of 1812, restored in 1820, is denounced as a system 'which, confounding all elements and all power, and assuming only the principle of a permanent and legal opposition to the Government, necessarily destroyed that central and tutelary authority which constitutes the essence of the monarchical system.' The Emperor of Russia, in terms not less strong, called the constitutional government of the Cortes 'laws which the public reason of all Europe, enlightened by the experience of ages, has stamped with the disapprobation of the public reason of Europe.' What is this but following the example of the autocrat Catherine, who first stigmatised the constitution of Poland, and then poured in her hordes to waste province after province, and finally hewed their way to Warsaw through myriads of unoffending Poles, and then ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for her success over the enemies of Poland? Such doctrines promulgated from such quarters, are not only menacing to Spain; they threaten every independent country; they are levelled at every free constitution. Where is the right of interference to stop, if these armed despots, these self-constituted judges, are at liberty to invade independent states, enjoying

a form of government different from their own, on pretence of the principle on which it is founded being not such as they approve, or which they deem dangerous to the frame of society established among themselves?

35. "It is true, there have been civil war and bloodshed in Spain, but how have they been excited? By an ally. They were produced by those cordons of troops which were stationed along the frontiers armed with gold and steel, and affording shelter and assistance to those in whose minds disaffection had been excited by bribery. It is true, blood has been shed: but what blood was it? Why, it was the blood of persons who attacked the existing Government, which Alexander and all the Allies had recognised in 1812, and who were repulsed in direct rebellion against the royal authority. As well might the people, Parliament, and Crown of England be charged with causing blood to flow, because the sentinels at St James's fired on some persons attempting to force the palace or assassinate the King. And who is it that uses this monstrous language? It is Russia, a power only half-civilised, that with all her colossal mass of physical strength is still as much Asiatic as European, whose principles of policy, both foreign and domestic, are completely despotic, and whose practices are almost entirely Oriental and barbarous. Its language is, when unveiled, nothing but this—'We have hundreds of thousands of hired mercenaries, and we will not stoop to reason with those whom we would insult and enslave.'

36. "It is impossible not to admire the equal frankness with which this haughty language has been met by the Spanish Government; the papers which it sent forth were plain and laconic. They said, 'We are millions of freemen, and will not stoop to reason with those who would enslave us.' They hurled back the menaces upon the head which uttered it, little caring whether it were Goth, Hun, or Calmuck, with a frankness that outwitted the craft of the Bohemian and defied the ferocity of the Tartar. If they found

all the tyrants of the earth leagued against them, they might console themselves with the reflection, that wherever there was an Englishman, either of the Old or New World—wherever there was a Frenchman, with the exception of that miserable little band which now for the moment swayed the destinies of France, in opposition to the wishes and sentiments of its liberal and gallant people—a people who, after wading through the blood of the Revolution, were entitled, if any ever were, to enjoy the blessings of freedom,—wherever there breathed an Englishman or a true-born Frenchman, wherever there existed a free heart and a virtuous mind, there Spain had a natural ally, and an unalienable friend.

37. "When the Allied powers were so ready to interfere in the internal concerns of Spain, because they were afraid of its freedom, and when the most glaring attempts were made in all their state papers to excite rebellion among its inhabitants, what is so easy as to retort upon them with the statement of some of their domestic misdeeds? What was to hinder the Spaniards to remind the Prussian monarch of the promises which, in a moment of alarm, he made to his subjects of giving them a free constitution, and to ask him what has come of the pledges then given to his loyal and gallant subjects, by whose valour he has regained his lost crown? Might they not ask whether it would not have been better to have kept these promises, than to have kept on foot, at his people's cost, and almost to their ruin, a prodigious army, only to defend him in violating them? Could anything have been more natural than to have asked the Emperor of Austria whether he, who professed such a regard for strict justice in Ferdinand's case, when it cost him nothing, had always acted with equal justice towards others when he himself was concerned? that, before he was generous to Ferdinand, he should be just to George, and repay some part of the £20,000,000 he had borrowed of him, and which alone had enabled him to preserve his crown? Might he not be called to account for

the noble and innocent blood he had shed in the Milanese, and the tortures, stripes, and dungeons he had inflicted on the flower of his subjects in his Italian provinces? Even the Emperor Alexander himself, sensitive as he was at the sight of blood flowing in a foreign palace, might call to mind something which had occurred in his own. However pure in himself, and however fortunate in having agents equally innocent, was he not descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, who had with exemplary uniformity dethroned, imprisoned, and slaughtered husbands, brothers, children? Not that he could dream of imputing these enormities to the parents, sisters, or consorts; but it somehow happened that those exalted and near relations never failed to reap the whole benefit of the atrocities, and had never, in one single instance, made any attempt to bring the perpetrators of them to justice.

38. "I rejoice that the Spaniards have such men only to contend with. I know there are fearful odds when battalions are arrayed against principles; but it is some consolation to reflect, that those embodied hosts are not aided by the talents of their chiefs, and that all the weight of character is happily on the other side. It is painful to think that so accomplished and enlightened a prince as the King of France should submit to make himself the tool of such a junta of tyrants. I would entreat him to reflect on the words of the most experienced statesman, and one of the greatest philosophers of antiquity, in his recently discovered work, *De Republica*—'*Non in ulla civitate, nisi in qua summa potestas populi est, ullum domicilium libertas habet.*'* When called on to combat one of the most alarming conspiracies that ever man was exposed to, he had recourse only to the Roman constitution; he threw himself on the goodwill of his patriotic countrymen; he put forth only the vigour of his own genius, and the vigour of the law; he never thought of calling in the as-

* "Liberty can have a domicile in no state excepting that in which supreme power is vested in the people."

sistance of the Allobroges, Teutones, or Scythians of his day. And now I say, that if the King of France calls in the modern Teutones, or the modern Scythians, to assist him in this unholy war, judgment will that moment go forth against him and his family, *and the dynasty of Gaul will be changed at once and for ever.*

39. "The principles on which this band of congregated despots have shown their readiness to act are dangerous in the extreme, not only to free, but to all independent states. If the Czar were met with his consistory of tyrants and armed critics, it would be in vain for the Ulema to plead that their government was one of the most sacred and venerable description; that it had antiquity in its favour; that it was replete with 'grand truth;' that it had never listened to 'the fatal doctrines of a disorganised philosophy;' and that it had never been visited by any such things as 'dreams of fallacious liberty.' In vain would the Ulema plead these things; the 'three gentlemen of Verona' would pry about for an avenue, and when it suited his convenience to enter, the Czar would be at Constantinople, and Prussia would seek an indemnity in any province England might possess adjacent to their territory. It behoves every independent state to combine against such monstrous pretensions. Already, if there is any force in language, or any validity in public documents, we are committed to the defensive treaties into which we have entered. If Spain is overrun by foreign invaders, what will be the situation of Portugal? And are we not bound, by the most express treaty, as well as by obvious interest, to defend that ancient ally? Above all things, we ought to repeal, without delay, the Foreign Enlistment Bill — a measure which ought never to have been passed. Let us, in fine, without blindly rushing into war, be prepared for any emergency; speak a language that is truly British, pursue a policy which is truly free; look to free states as our best and natural allies against all enemies whatever; quarrelling with

none, whatever be their form of government; keeping peace whenever we can, but not leaving ourselves unprepared for war; not afraid of the issue, but calmly determined to brave its hazards; resolved to support, amid any sacrifice, the honour of the crown, the independence of the country, and every principle considered most valuable and sacred amongst civilised nations."

40. This animated and impassioned harangue contained the sentiments merely of an individual, who, how eminent soever, did not in the general case of necessity implicate any one but himself, or, at most, the political party to which he belonged. But on this occasion it was otherwise. Mr Brougham's speech was not merely the expression of his own or his party's opinion; it was the channel by which the feelings of a whole nation found vent. The cheers with which it was received from both sides of a most crowded House, the vast impression it made on the country, the enthusiasm it everywhere excited, proved, in the clearest manner, that it carried the universal mind with it. Mr Canning was not in the House when this important debate occurred, having vacated his seat upon his appointment as Foreign Minister, and not been yet again returned; but he gave his sanction to the principles it contained on 24th February, when he observed, "I am compelled in justice to say that, when I entered upon the office I have the honour to fill, I found the principles on which the Government was acting reduced into writing, and this state paper formed what I may be allowed to call the political creed of Ministers. Upon the execution of the principles there laid down, and upon it alone, is founded any claim I may have to credit from the House." And again, on 14th April, in the debate on the Spanish negotiation, he said, "I cast no blame upon those who, seeing a great and powerful nation eager to crush and overwhelm with its vengeance a less numerous, but not less gallant people, are anxious to join the weaker party. Such feelings are honourable to those who entertain them.

The bosoms in which they exist, unalloyed by any other feelings, are much more happy than those in which that feeling is chastened and tempered by considerations of prudence, interest, and expedience. I not only know, but absolutely envy, the feelings of those who call for war, for the issue of which they are not to be responsible; for I confess that the reasoning by which the war against Spain was attempted to be justified, appears to me to be much more calculated than the war itself to excite a strong feeling against those who had projected it. There is no analogy between the case of England in 1793 and France in 1823. What country had Spain attempted to seize or revolutionise, as France did before our declaration of 19th November 1792? England made war against France, not because she had altered her own government, or even dethroned her own king, but because she had invaded Geneva, Savoy, and Avignon; because she had overrun Belgium, and threatened to open the mouth of the Scheldt, in defiance of treaties; and because she openly announced, and acted upon, the determination to revolutionise every adjoining state. But this country is not prepared to give actual and efficient support to Spain; absolute *bonâ fide* neutrality is the limit to which it is prepared to go in behalf of a cause to which its Ministers can never feel indifferent."

41. On the other hand, it was maintained by M. de Chateaubriand in the French Chamber, in a speech worthy of himself and of these great antagonists: "Has a government of one country a right to interfere in the affairs of another? That great question of international law has been resolved by different writers on the subject in different ways. Those who incline to the natural right, such as Bacon, Puffendorf, Grotius, and all the ancients, maintain that it is lawful to take up arms in the name of the human race against a society which violates the principles on which the social order reposes, on the same ground on which, in particular states, you punish an individual malefactor who disturbs the

public repose. Those again who consider the question as one depending on civil right, are of opinion that no one government has a right to interfere in the affairs of another. Thus the first vest the right of intervention in duty, the last in interest. I adopt in the abstract the principles of the last. I maintain that no government has a right to interfere in the affairs of another government. In truth, if this principle is not admitted, and above all by people who enjoy a free constitution, no nation could be in security. It would always be possible for the corruption of a minister or the ambition of a king to attack a state which attempted to ameliorate its condition. In many cases wars would be multiplied; you would adopt a principle of eternal hostility—a principle of which every one would constitute himself judge, since every one might say to his neighbour, Your institutions displease me; change them, or I declare war.

42. "But when I present myself in this tribune to defend the right of intervention in the affairs of Spain, how is an exception to be made from the principle which I have so broadly announced? It is thus: When the modern political writers rejected the right of intervention, by taking it out of the category of natural to place it in that of civil right, they felt themselves very much embarrassed. Cases will occur in which it is impossible to abstain from intervention without putting the State in danger. At the commencement of the Revolution, it was said, 'Perish the colonies rather than one principle,' and the colonies perished. Shall we also say, 'Perish the social order,' rather than sacrifice a principle, and let the social order perish? In order to avoid being shattered against a principle which themselves had established, the modern jurists have introduced an exception. They said, 'No government has a right to interfere in the affairs of another government, *except in the case where the security and immediate interests of the first government are compromised.*' I will show you immediately where the authority

for that exception is to be found. The exception is as well established as the rule; for no state can allow its essential interests to perish without running the risk of perishing itself. Arrived at that point of the question, its aspect entirely changes; we are transported to another ground; I am no longer obliged to combat the rule, but to show that the case of the exception has accrued for France.

43. "I shall frequently have occasion, in the sequel of this discourse, to speak of England; for it is the country which our honourable antagonists oppose to us at every turn. It is Great Britain which singly at Verona has raised its voice against the principle of intervention; it is that country which alone is ready to take up arms to defend a free people; it is it which denounces an impious war, at variance with the rights of nations—a war which a small, servile, and bigoted faction undertakes, in the hope of being able to burn the Charter of France after having torn in pieces the Constitution of Spain. Well, gentlemen, England is that country; it alone has respected the rights of nations, and given us a great example. Let us see what England has done in former days.

44. "That England, in safety amid the waves, and defended by its old institutions—that England, which has neither undergone the disasters of two invasions, nor the overturnings of a revolution of thirty years, conceives it has nothing to fear from the Spanish revolution, is quite conceivable, and no more than was to be expected. But does it follow from that, that France enjoys the same security, and is in the same position? When the circumstances were different—when the essential interests of Great Britain were compromised—did it not—justly, without doubt—depart from the principles which it so loudly invokes at this time? England, in entering on the war with France, published in 1793 the famous declaration of Whitehall, from which I read the following extract:—'The intention announced to reform the abuses of the French Government, to establish personal freedom

and the rights of property on a solid basis, to secure to a numerous people just and moderate laws, a wise legislature, and an equitable administration—all these salutary views have unhappily disappeared. They have given place to a system destructive of all public order, sustained by proscriptions, exiles, and confiscations without number, by arbitrary imprisonments without number, and by massacres the memory of which alone makes us shudder. The inhabitants of that unhappy country, so long deceived by promises of happiness, everlastingly renewed at every fresh accession of public suffering, the commission of every new crime, have found themselves plunged in an abyss of calamities without example.

45. "Such a state of things cannot exist in France without involving in danger the countries which adjoin it, without giving them the right, and imposing on them the duty, of doing everything in their power to arrest an evil which subsists only on the violation of all laws which unite men in the social union. His Majesty has no intention of denying to France the rights of reforming its laws; never will he desire to impose by external force a government on an independent state. He desires to do so now only because it has become essential to the repose and security of other states. In these circumstances, he demands of France—and he demands it with a just title—to put a stop to a system of anarchy, which has no power but for evil, which renders France incapable of discharging the first duties of government, that of repressing anarchy and punishing crime, which is daily multiplying in all parts of the country, and which threatens to involve all Europe in similar atrocities and misfortune. He demands of France a legitimate and stable government, founded on the universally recognised principles of justice, and capable of retaining nations in the bonds of peace and friendship. The King engages beforehand instantly to stop hostilities, and give protection to all those who shall extricate themselves from an anarchy which has burst

all the bonds of society, broken all the springs of social life, confounded all duties, and made use of the name of Liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, annihilate all charters, overturn all property, and deliver over entire provinces to fire and sword.'

46. "It is true, when England made that famous declaration, Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were no more. I admit that Marie-Josephine is as yet only a captive; that her tears only have been caused to flow. Ferdinand is still a prisoner in his palace, as Louis XVI. was in his before being led to the Temple and the scaffold. I have no wish to calumniate the Spaniards, but I cannot esteem them more than my own countrymen. Revolutionary France gave birth to a Convention; why should not revolutionary Spain do the same? England has murdered its Charles I., France its Louis XVI.; if Spain follows their example, a series of precedents in favour of crime will be established, and a body of jurisprudence of people against their sovereigns.

47. "England herself has admitted the principle for which I contend, in recent times. She has conceded to others the right for which she contended herself. She did not consider herself entitled to interfere in the case of the Italian revolution, but she judged otherwise for Austria; and accordingly Lord Castlereagh, while repudiating the right of intervention in that convulsion claimed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, declared expressly in his circular from Laybach of 19th January 1821,—'It must be clearly understood that no government can be more disposed than the British to maintain the right of any state or states to intervene when *its immediate security or essential interests* are seriously compromised by the transactions of another state.' Nothing can be more precise than that declaration; and Mr Peel has not been afraid to say, on a late occasion in the House of Commons, that Austria 'was entitled to interfere in the affairs of Naples, because that country had adopted the Spanish Constitution:' no one can contest the right of France to interfere in those of Spain,

when it is menaced by that Constitution itself.

48. "Can any one doubt that we are in the exceptional case—that our interests are essentially injured by the Spanish revolution? Our commerce is hampered by the suffering consequent on that convulsion. We are obliged to keep vessels of war in the American seas, which are infested by pirates who have sprung out of the anarchy of Europe; and we have not, like England, maritime forces to protect our ships, many of which have fallen into their hands. The provinces of France adjoining Spain are under the most pressing necessity to see order re-established beyond the Pyrenees. Our consuls have been menaced in their persons, our territory three times violated: are not their 'essential duties' compromised? And how has our territory been violated? To massacre a few injured Royalists, who thought themselves in safety under the shadow of our generous country. We have been obliged, in consequence, to maintain a large army of observation on the frontier; without that, our southern provinces could not enjoy a moment's security. That state of semi-hostility has all the inconveniences of war without the advantages of peace. Shall we, in obedience to the partisans of peace, withdraw the army of observation? Certes, we are not yet reduced to the necessity of flying before the chevaliers of the Hammer, or giving place to the Landaburian bands. England herself has recognised the necessity of our army of observation; for the Duke of Wellington said at the Congress of Verona, 'Considering that a civil war has been lighted on the whole extent of the frontier which separates the two kingdoms, no one can contest the necessity of establishing the army of observation.'

49. "It was not I who spoke first of the *moral contagion*, but since it has been mentioned by our adversaries, I confess that it is the most serious and alarming of all the dangers. Is any one ignorant that the revolutionists of Spain are in correspondence with our own? Have they not by public pro-

clamations invited our soldiers to revolt? Have they not threatened to bring down the tricolor flag from the summit of the Pyrenees, to restore the son of Buonaparte? Do we not know the plots, the conspiracies of those traitors who have escaped from the hands of justice in this country, and now pretend to invade us in the uniform of the brave, unworthy to cover their treacherous hearts? Can a revolution which rouses in us such passions, and awakens such recollections, ever fail to compromise our essential interests? Can it be said to be shut up in the Peninsula, when it has already crossed the Pyrenees, revolutionised Italy, shaken France and England? Have the occurrences at Naples and Turin not sufficiently proved the danger of the moral contagion? And let it not be said the revolutionists in these states adopted the Constitution of the Cortes on account of its excellence. So far from that being the case, the first thing they were obliged to do, after having adopted the Spanish Constitution, was to appoint a commission to examine what it was. Thus it soon passed away, as everything does which is foreign to the customs of a country. Ridiculous from its birth, it expired in disgrace between an Austrian corporal and an Italian Carbo-nari.

50. "Whence this extraordinary passion for England, and praise of its constitution, which has suddenly sprung up amongst us? A year has not elapsed since the boulevards were covered with caricatures, which insulted in the grossest manner everything connected with London. In their love of revolution, the same persons have forgotten all their hatred for the soldiers who were fortunate at Waterloo: little does it signify what they have done, provided now they aid them in supporting the revolutionists of Spain against a Bourbon. How has it happened that the Allies, now so much the object of animadversion, were not then regarded in the same light? Where was their jealousy of the Continental powers when they paraded with so much satisfaction their ap-

proval of the *coup d'état* of 5th September, which revolutionised the legislature; or the prosecutions of the Royalists, which shook the foundation of the throne? Who heard then of the dignity of France, or its being unworthy of her to seek support in the approbation of foreign states? When we had no army—when we were counted as nothing in the estimation of foreign states—when little German states invaded us with impunity, and we did not venture to utter a complaint—no one said that we were slaves. But now, when our military resurrection has astonished Europe—now, when we raise a voice in the councils of kings which is always attended to—now, when new and honourable conventions expiate those in which we expiated our victories,—we are now for the first time told that we are placing our necks under a humiliating yoke.

51. "I admit at once, France has no title to intermeddle in the internal concerns of Spain. It is for the Spaniards to determine what species of constitution befits them. I wish them, from the bottom of my heart, liberties commensurate to their morals, institutions which may put their virtues beyond the reach of fortune or the caprice of men. Spaniards! It is no enemy of yours who thus speaks; it is he who had predicted the return of your noble destinies, when all believed you for ever disappeared from the scene of the world.* You have surpassed my predictions: you have rescued Europe from a yoke which the most powerful empires had sought in vain to break. You owe to France your misfortunes and your glory; she has sent you these two scourges, Buonaparte and the Revolution. Deliver yourselves from the second, as you

* M. de Chateaubriand alluded to the following passage in his *Génie du Christianisme*, published in 1803: "L'Espagne, séparée des autres nations, présente encore à l'historien un caractère plus original. L'espèce de stagnation de mœurs dans laquelle elle repose, lui sera peut-être utile un jour; et lorsque les peuples européens seront usés par la corruption, elle seule pourra reparaître avec éclat sur la scène du monde, parceque le fond des mœurs subsiste chez elle."—*Génie du Christianisme*, partie iii. t. iii. c. 4.

have delivered yourselves from the first.

52. "As to the Ministers, the speech of the Crown has traced the line of their duties. They will never cease to desire peace, to invoke it from the bottom of their hearts, to listen to every proposition compatible with the honour and security of France: but it is indispensable that Ferdinand should be free; it is necessary that France, at all hazards, should extricate itself from a position in which it would perish more certainly than from all the dangers of war. Let us never forget that, if the war with Spain has, like every other war, its inconveniences and perils, it has also for us this immense advantage: it will have created an army; it will have caused us to resume our military rank among nations; it will have decided our emancipation, and re-established our independence. Something was perhaps awaiting to the entire reconciliation of Frenchmen; that something will be found beneath the tent; companions in arms are soon friends; and all recollections are lost in the remembrance of a common glory. The King, that monarch so wise, so pacific, so paternal, has spoken. He has thought that the security of France and the dignity of the Crown rendered it imperative on him to have recourse to arms, after having exhausted the councils of peace. He has declared his wish that a hundred thousand men should assemble under the orders of a prince who, at the passage of the Drome, showed himself as valiant as Henry IV. With generous confidence he has intrusted the guard of the white flag to the captains who have triumphed under other colours. They will teach him the path of victory; he has never forgotten that of honour."

53. This splendid speech made a prodigious sensation in France, greater perhaps than any other since the days of Mirabeau. It expressed with equal force and felicity the inmost and best feelings of the Royalists; and those feelings were on this occasion, perhaps for the first time, in unison with the sentiments of the great majority of

Frenchmen. The nation had become all but unanimous at the sound of the trumpet. The inherent adventurous and warlike spirit of the Franks had reappeared in undiminished strength at the prospect of war. Chance, or the skilful direction of Government, had at last found an object in which all classes concurred—in which the ardent loyalty of the Royalist coincided with the buoyant ambition of the people. In vain the Liberal chiefs, who anticipated so much from the triumph of their allies beyond the Pyrenees, and dreaded utter discomfiture from their defeat, endeavoured to turn aside the stream, and to envenom patriotic by party feelings. The attempt wholly failed: the Chambers were all but unanimous in favour of the war; and their feelings were re-echoed from Calais to the Pyrenees.

54. M. Talleyrand made a remarkable speech on this occasion, which deserves to be recorded, as one of the most unfortunate prophecies ever made by a man of ability on the future issue of affairs. "It is just sixteen years to-day," said he, "since I was called by him who then governed the world to give him my advice on the struggle in which he was about to engage with Spain. I had the misfortune to displease him because I revealed the future—because I unfolded the misfortunes which might arise from an aggression as unjust as it was inexpedient. Disgrace was the reward of my sincerity. Strange destiny!—which now, after so long an interval, leads me to give the same counsels to a legitimate sovereign! It is my part, who have had so large a share in the double Restoration—who, by my efforts, I may say by my success, have wound up my glory and my responsibility entirely with the alliance between France and the house of Bourbon—to contribute as much as lies in my power to prevent the work of wisdom and justice from being compromised by rash and insane passions." When this counsel on the Spanish war is compared with the result which occurred a few months afterwards, the difference is sufficiently striking. Tal-

leyrand, with his sagacity and experience, proved a more fallacious counsellor than Chateaubriand, with his poetry and romance. Wisdom was found in the inspirations of genius rather than the deductions of experience. The reason is, that Talleyrand thought the result would be the same, because it was an attack by France on Spain, forgetting that the circumstances were materially different, and that the Bourbon invasion had that in its favour which in that of Napoleon was altogether wanting—viz., the support of the great body of the people. A memorable example of the important truth, that events in history are not to be drawn into a precedent unless the material circumstances attending them are similar; and that it is in the faculty of discerning where that similarity exists that the highest proof of political wisdom is to be found.

55. The enthusiasm of the Chamber of Deputies in favour of the war did not evaporate merely in vehement harangues from the tribune; substantial acts testified their entire adhesion to the system of the Government. They voted, by a very large majority, a supplementary credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) for carrying on the war, to be put at the disposal of the minister. The state of the revenue this year was very flattering, and demonstrated how rapidly the national resources were augmenting under the influence of the peace, freedom, and security of property which France was enjoying under the mild rule of the Bourbon princes.*

56. In the course of the debate on this grant, an incident occurred, which, in a more unfavourable state of the public mind, might have overturned the monarchy. M. Manuel was put forward by the Opposition to answer the speech of M. Chateaubriand, he being the orator on the Liberal side whose close and logical reasoning, as well as powers of eloquence, were

deemed most capable of deadening the sensation produced by the splendid oration of the Foreign Minister. He said in the course of his speech: "The Spaniards, it is said, are mutually cutting each other's throats, and we must intervene to prevent one party from destroying the other. It is without doubt a singular mode of diminishing the horrors of civil war, to superinduce to them those of foreign hostilities. But suppose you are successful. The insurrection is crushed in Spain; it is annihilated; the friends of freedom have laid down their arms. What can you do? You cannot for ever remain in the Peninsula; you must retire; and when you do so, a new explosion, more dangerous than the former, will break forth. Consult history: has ever a revolution in favour of civil liberty been finally subdued? Crushed it may be for the moment; but the genius which has produced it is imperishable. Like Antæus, the giant regains his strength every time he touches the earth.

57. "The civil war which recently raged in Spain was mainly your own work; the soldiers 'of the faith' only took up arms in the belief they would be supported by you. How, then, can you find in the consequences of your own acts a justification of your intervention? Can you justify deeds of violence by perfidy? You say you wish to save Ferdinand and his family. If you do, beware of repeating the same circumstances which, in a former age, conducted to the scaffold victims for whom you daily evince so warm and legitimate an interest. Have you forgotten that the Stuarts were only overturned because they sought support from the stranger; that it was in consequence of the invasion of the hostile armies that Louis XVI. was precipitated from the throne? Are you ignorant that it was the protection accorded by France to the Stuarts, which caused the ruin of that race of princes? That succour was clandestine, it is true; but it was sufficient to encourage the Stuarts in their resistance to public opinion; thence the resistance to that opinion, and the misfortunes of that

* It exhibited a surplus of 42,945,907 francs (£1,680,000), so that the extraordinary credit only required to be operated upon to the extent of 57,054,093 francs (£2,340,000).—Budget, 1823; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 39, 40.

family—misfortunes which it would have avoided if it had sought its support in the nation. Need I remind you that the dangers of the royal family have been fearfully aggravated when the stranger invaded our territory, and that revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending itself by new forces and a fresh energy——”

58. At these words a perfect storm arose in the Chamber. “Order! order!” was shouted on the Right; “this is regicide, justified and provoked.” “Expulsion, expulsion!” “Let us chase the monster from our benches!” exclaimed a hundred voices. The president, M. Ravez, seeing the speaker had been interrupted in the midst of a sentence, and that the offence taken arose from a *presumed* meaning of words which were to follow, not of what had actually been used, hesitated with reason to act upon such speculative views, and contented himself with calling M. Manuel to order. So far were the Royalists from being satisfied with this moderate concession, that they instantly rose up in a body, surrounded the president’s chair with loud cries and threats, demanding that the apologist of regicide should be instantly expelled from the Chamber; while one of them, more audacious than the rest, actually pulled M. Manuel from the tribune, and, mounting in his stead, demanded in a stentorian voice the vengeance of France on the advocate of assassins. Meanwhile M. Manuel, conscious that the sentence which had been interrupted, if allowed to be completed, would at once dispel the storm, was calm and impassive in the midst of the uproar; but that only made matters worse with the infuriated majority; and at length the president, finding all his efforts to appease the tumult fruitless, gave the well-known signal of distress by covering his head, and broke up the meeting.

59. This scene had already been sufficiently violent, and indicative of the risks which the representative system ran in France from the excitable temper of the people; but it was as nothing to that which soon after ensued. The Royalists, when the meeting

was dissolved, rushed in a body out of the Chamber, and broke into separate knots, to concert ulterior operations; while the Liberals remained on their benches, in the midst of which M. Manuel wrote a letter to the president, in which he stated how the sentence which had been interrupted was to have been concluded, and contended for his right to finish the sentence, and then let its import be judged of by the Chamber.* The sitting was resumed, to consider this explanation; but a heated Royalist from the south, M. Forbin des Essarts, instantly ascended the tribune, and demanded the expulsion of the orator “who had pronounced such infamous expressions, seeing no rules of procedure could condemn an assembly to the punishment of hearing a man whose maxims and speech recommended or justified regicide.” M. Manuel attempted to justify himself; but he was again interrupted by the cries of the Royalists, and the president, hoping to gain time for the passions to cool, adjourned the sitting to the following day. But in this hope he was disappointed, as is generally the case when consideration succeeds after the feelings have been thoroughly roused. What is called reflection is then only *listening to the re-echo of passion*; one only voice is heard, one only key is touched, one only sentiment felt. A lover, who is contending with himself, rises from his sleepless couch confirmed, not shaken, in his prepossessions. During the night, a formal motion for the expulsion of the supposed delinquent, for the remainder of

* “‘Je demandais si on avait oublié qu'en France la mort de l'infortuné Louis XVI. avait été précédée par l'intervention armée des Prussiens et des Autrichiens, et je rappelais comme un fait connu de tout le monde que c'est alors que la France révolutionnaire, sentant le besoin de se défendre par des forces et une énergie nouvelles.’ C'est ici que j'ai été interrompu. Si je ne l'eusse pas été, ma phrase eût été prononcée ainsi—‘Alors la France révolutionnaire, sentant le besoin de se défendre par des forces et une énergie nouvelles, mit en mouvement toutes les masses, exalta toutes les passions populaires, et amena ainsi de terribles excès et une déplorable catastrophe au milieu d'une généreuse résistance.’” —M. MANUEL au Président, 26 Feb. 1823; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 168; *Moniteur*, 27th Feb.

the session, was prepared by M. de la Bourdonnaye, the acknowledged leader of the extreme Royalists; and although the justice or shame of the Chamber permitted M. Manuel to be heard in his defence, and the debate was more than once adjourned, to enable the numerous speakers who inscribed their names on the tribune to be heard on the question, the torrent was irresistible. The determination of the Royalists only increased with the effervescence of the public mind; and, amidst agitated crowds which surrounded the Assembly on all sides, and under the protection of squadrons of cavalry, the expulsion of M. Manuel, during the remainder of the session, was voted, on the evening of 4th March, by a majority of fully two to one, the whole Centre coalescing with the Right. The agitation which prevailed rendered it impossible to take the vote otherwise than by acclamation.

60. The exclusion of a single member, during the remainder of a single session, was no very serious injury to a party, or blow levelled at the public liberties; but the passions on both sides were so strongly excited by this imprudent abuse of power by the Royalist majority, that the Liberals resolved to resist it to the very uttermost. It was determined to compel the majority to use force for his expulsion; and the recollection of the risk which ensued to the throne from the dragging of M. d'Espréménil from the Parliament of Paris, at the commencement of the first Revolution, was of sinister augury as to the effects of enforcing the present decree by similar means. The Government, however, was firm, and resolved, at all hazards, to carry the decree of the Chamber into execution. Every preparation was accordingly made to overawe, and, if necessary, to subdue resistance. The Liberal leaders, however, were determined to have a scene, and, instead of yielding obedience to the decree of the Chamber, M. Manuel appeared next morning in the Hall, and took his seat. When invited by the president to retire without disturbance, he replied,

"I told you yesterday I would only yield to force; I come to make good my word," and resumed his seat. The president then desired the Assembly to evacuate the hall, and retire into their respective apartments, which was immediately done by the whole Right and Centre, but the entire Left remained in their places, grouped around Manuel. Presently the folding-doors opened, and the chief of the bar-officers, followed by a numerous staff of his colleagues, advanced, and read to Manuel the decree of the Chamber. "Your order is illegal," replied he; "I will not obey it." The peace-officers then retired, and the anxiety in the galleries, and the crowd around the Chamber, arose to the highest point, for the "measured step of marching men" was heard in the lobby. Presently the folding-doors again opened, and a detachment of national guards and troops of the line, with fixed bayonets, slowly entered, and drew up in front of the refractory deputy. The civil officer then ordered the sergeant of the national guard, M. Morrier, to execute the warrant; but, overcome by the violence of the crisis, and the cries of the deputies around Manuel, he refused to obey. "Vive la Garde Nationale!" instantly burst in redoubled shouts from the opposition benches; "Honneur à la Garde Nationale!" was heard above all the din in the voice of Lafayette. But the difficulty had been foreseen and provided for by the Government. The national guard and troops of the line were instantly withdrawn, and thirty gendarmes, under M. de Foucault, an officer of tried fidelity and courage, were introduced, who, after in vain inviting Manuel to retire, seized him by the collar, and dragged him out, amidst vehement gesticulations and cries from the Left, which were heard across the Seine.

61. These dramatic scenes, so well calculated to excite the feelings of a people so warm in temperament as the French, might, under different circumstances, have overturned the monarchy, and induced in 1823 the Revolution of 1830. They were followed next day by a solemn protest, signed by sixty depu-

ties who had adhered to M. Manuel in the struggle, among which the signatures of General Lafayette, General Foy, and M. Casimir Périer appeared conspicuous. But no other result took place. The public mind is incapable of being violently excited by two passions at the same time ; if the national feelings have been roused, the social ones are little felt. It was a perception of this truth which caused the Empress Catherine to say, at the commencement of the French Revolution, that the only way to combat its passions was to go to war. The din, great as it was, caused by the dragging M. Manuel out of the Chamber of Deputies, was lost in the louder sound of marching men pressing on to the Pyrenees. The civic strife was heard of no more after it had terminated : nothing was thought of but the approaching conflict on the fields of Spain. Incessant was the march of troops towards Bayonne and Perpignan, the two points from which the invasion was to be made. The roads were covered by columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, moving forward towards the Spanish frontier, in the finest order, and in the highest spirits ; and the warlike enthusiasm of the French, always strong, was roused to the very highest pitch, by the prospect of vindicating the tarnished honour of their arms on the fields of Castile, and re-entering Madrid as conquerors. The Duke of Angoulême set out from Paris, to take the command of the army, on the 15th March ; and as war was no longer doubtful, the anxiety on both sides arose to the very highest pitch.

62. On their side, the Liberals, both in France and Spain, were not idle. Their chief reliance was on the presumed or hoped-for disaffection of the French army ; for they were well aware that if *they* remained united, the forces of Spain, debased by misgovernment, and torn by civil war, would be unable to oppose any effectual resistance to their incursion. The most active measures, however, were taken to sow the seeds of disaffection in the French army. Several secret meetings of the Liberal chiefs in Paris took place, in order to concert the most effectual

means of carrying this design into execution ; and it was at first determined to send M. Benjamin Constant to Madrid to superintend the preparations on the revolutionary side, it being with reason supposed that his great reputation and acknowledged abilities would have much influence with the revolutionists in Spain, and be not without its effect on the feelings of the French soldiery. But this design, like many others formed by persons who are more liberal of their breath than their fortunes, failed from want of funds. Benjamin Constant, whose habits of expense were great, and his income from literary effort considerable, refused to undertake the mission unless not only his expenses were provided for, but an indemnity secured to him, in the event of failure, for the loss of his fortune and the means of repairing it, which his position in Paris afforded. This, however, the Liberals, though many of them were bankers or merchants, possessed of great wealth, declined to undertake ; the Duke of Orleans was equally inexorable ; and the consequence was, that Constant refused to go, and the plan, so far as he was concerned, broke down. All that was done was to send a few hundred political fanatics and refugees, who were to be under the command of Colonel Fabvier, and who, though of no importance as a military reinforcement, might, it was hoped, when clothed in the uniform of the Old Guard, and grouped round the tricolor standard, shake the fidelity of the French soldiers on the banks of the Bidassoa. Their first step was to issue a proclamation in the name of *Napoleon II.* to the French soldiers, calling on them to desert their colours, and join the revolutionary host—a proceeding which amply demonstrated, if it had been required, the necessity of the French intervention.*

* “ Vainqueurs de Fleurus, de Iéna, d’Austerlitz, de Wagram, vous laisserez-vous aller à leurs insinuations perfides ? Scellerez-vous de votre sang, l’infamie dont on veut vous couvrir, et la servitude de l’Europe entière ? Obéirez-vous à la voix des tyrans, pour combattre contre vos droits, au lieu de les défendre ; et ne viendrez-vous dans nos rangs que pour apporter la destruction et la mort, lorsqu’ils vous sont ouverts pour la liberté sainte

63. While hostilities were thus evidently and rapidly approaching on the Continent, and the dogs of war were held only in the leash, ready to be let loose at a moment's warning, to desolate the world, England, indignant and agitated, but still inactive, remained an anxious spectator of the strife. Never were the feelings of the nation more strongly roused, and never would a war have been entered into by the Government with more cordial and enthusiastic support on the part of the people. This is always the case, and it arises from the strength of the feelings of liberty which are indelibly engraven on the minds of the Anglo-Saxon race. Their sympathy is invariably with those whom they suppose to be oppressed; their impulse to assist the insurgents against the ruling power. They would support the colonies of all countries, *except their own*, in throwing off their allegiance to the parent state: those who attempt the same system in regard to their own, they regard as worse than pirates. They

qui vous appelle du haut de l'enseigne tricolore qui flotte sur les monts Pyrénées, et dont elle brûle d'ombrager encore une fois vos nobles fronts couverts de tant d'honorables cicatrices? Braves de toute arme de l'armée française, qui conservez encore dans votre sein l'étincelle du feu sacré! c'est à vous que nous faisons un généreux appel; embrassez avec nous la cause majestueuse du peuple, contre celle d'une poignée d'opresseurs; la Patrie, l'honneur, votre propre intérêt le commandent; venez, vous trouverez dans nos rangs tout ce qui constitue la force, et des compatriotes, des compagnons d'armes, qui jurent de défendre jusqu'à la dernière goutte de leur sang, leurs droits, la liberté, l'indépendance nationale. Vive la liberté! Vive Napoléon II.! Vivent les braves!"—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Congrès de Vérone*, i. 254, 255.

In the *Observateur Espagnol* of 1st Oct. 1822, before the Congress of Verona was opened, it was said—"L'épée de Damoclès qui est suspendue sur la tête des Bourbons, va bientôt les atteindre. Nos moyens de vengeance sont de toute évidence. Outre la vaillante armée espagnole, n'avons-nous pas dans cette armée sanitaire dix mille chevaliers de la liberté, prêts à se joindre à leurs anciens officiers, et à tourner leurs armes contre les oppresseurs de la France! N'avons-nous pas cent mille de ces chevaliers dans l'intérieur de ce royaume, dont vingt cinq mille au moins dans l'armée, et plus de mille dans la garde royale? N'avons-nous pas pour nous, cette haine excusable, que les neuf-dixièmes de la France ont vouée à d'exécrables tyrans?"—*L'Observateur Espagnol*, 1st Oct. 1822.

consider revolution a blessing to all other countries except England: there the whole classes possessed of property are resolute to oppose to it the most determined resistance. They think, with reason, they have already gone through the ordeal of revolution, and do not need to do so a second time; other nations have not yet passed through it, and they cannot obtain felicity until they have.

64. Mr Canning, whose temperament was warm, his sympathy with freedom sincere, and his ambition for his country and himself powerful, shared to the very full in all these sentiments. No firmer friend to the cause of liberty existed in the British dominions at that eventful crisis, and none whose talents, eloquence, as well as political position, enabled him to give it such effectual support. In truth, at that period it may be said that he held the keys of the cavern of Æolus in his hands, and that it rested with him to unlock the doors and let the winds sweep round the globe. But though abundantly impelled (as his private conversations and correspondence at this period demonstrate) by his ardent disposition to step forward as the foremost in this great conflict, yet his experience and wisdom as a statesman, joined to the influence of Mr Peel, who threatened to resign if an active intervention was attempted, restrained him from taking the irrecoverable step, and preserved the peace of the world when it appeared to be most seriously menaced.* Resolutely determined to

* "Leave the Spanish revolution to burn itself out within its own crater. You have nothing to apprehend from the eruption, if you do not open a channel for the lava through the Pyrenees. It is not too late to save the world from a flood of calamities. The key to the flood-gate is yet in your hands; unlock it, and who shall answer for the extent of devastation? 'The beginning of strife is as the letting out of waters.' So says inspired wisdom. Genius is akin to inspiration; and I pray that it may be able on this occasion to profit by the warning of the parable, and pause."—MR CANNING to M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND (confidential), 27th January 1823; *Congrès de Vérone*, i. 475.

"Well, then, to begin at once with what is most unpleasant to utter: You have united the opinions of this whole nation as one man against France. You have excited against

abstain from all intervention in the affairs of Spain, and to do his utmost to prevent France from taking that step, he was not the less resolved to abstain from actual hostilities, and to keep aloof from the conflict so long as it was confined to continental Europe. He had too vivid a recollection of what the last Peninsular war had been, to engage without absolute necessity in a second; and if he had been otherwise inclined, the majority of the Cabinet would not have supported him.*

65. The peculiar position of Mr

the present sovereign of that kingdom the feelings which were united against the usurper of France and Spain in 1808. Nay, the consent, I grieve to say, is more perfect now than on that occasion; for then the Jacobins were loth to inculcate their idol: now they and the Whigs and Tories, from one end of the country to the other, are all one way. Surely such a spontaneous and universal burst of national sentiment must lead any man, or any set of men, who are acting in opposition to it, to reflect whether they are acting quite right. The Government has not on this occasion led the public—quite otherwise. The language of the Government has been peculiarly measured and temperate; so much so, that the mass of the nation was in suspense as to the opinion of Government till it was actually declared; and that portion of the press usually devoted to them was (for reasons perhaps better known on your side of the water than on ours) turned in a directly opposite course.”—MR CANNING TO VISCOUNT CHATEAUBRIAND, 7th February 1823; *Congrès de Vérone*, i. 475.

* “J’apprends à l’instant, et de très-bonne source, qu’avant-hier, dans un conseil secret des Ministres, M. Canning a prétendu qu’on ne pouvait lutter contre l’opinion générale, et que cette opinion demandait impérieusement de secourir l’Espagne. M. Peel a déclaré, alors, que l’honneur de l’Angleterre, l’intérêt de ses institutions et de son commerce, étaient de maintenir une stricte neutralité; et il a terminé en disant que si une conduite opposée à celle que l’Angleterre avait toujours suivie envers la Révolution venait à être adoptée, il devait à sa conscience de se retirer du Ministère aussitôt. *Ce jeune ministre l’a emporté*. La grande majorité du conseil s’est réunie à lui, et M. Canning a décidé au nombre.”—M. MARCELLUS, *Chargé d’Affaires à Londres*, à M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, 28 Février 1823; MARCELLUS, 152.

Notwithstanding the divergence on political subjects of their opinions, which the opposite sides they espoused on the Spanish question much augmented, Mr Canning and M. de Chateaubriand had the highest admiration for each other, and mutually lamented the circumstances which had drawn them out of the peaceful domain of literature to the stormy and fleeting arena of politics. The

Canning at this period has never been so well described as by one who knew him intimately, and had become, as it were, the depositary of his inmost thoughts. “Let us not deceive ourselves,” said M. Marcellus, “in regard to Mr Canning. Still undecided, he as yet is in suspense between the monarchical opinions which have made his former renown, and the popular favour which has recently borne him forward to power; but as he attends, above all, to the echo of public opinion, and spreads his sails before the wind which blows, it is easy to foresee to which side

inmost thoughts of the former were revealed in the following conversation at this period with M. Marcellus, for whom he had a very high regard. “C’est donc à cette petite poussière de la tombe que vont aboutir inévitablement nos inutiles efforts. Qu’ai-je gagné à tant de combats? De nombreux ennemis, et mille calomnies. Tantôt retenu par le défaut d’intelligence de mes partisans, *toujours gêné par le déplaisir du Roi*, je ne puis rien exécuter, rien essayer même de ce qu’une voix interne et solennelle semble me dicter. Je le disais récemment dans ma tristesse; je me prends quelquefois pour un oiseau des hauteurs qui, loin de voler sur les hauteurs et sur les précipices des montagnes, ne vole que sur des marais, et rase à peine le sol. Je me consume sans fruit dans des discussions intestines, et je mourrai dans un accès de découragement, comme mon prédécesseur et mon malheureux ennemi Lord Castlereagh. Combien de fois n’ai-je pas été tenté de fuir loin des hommes, l’ombre même du pouvoir, et de me réfugier dans le sein des lettres, qui ont nourri mon enfance, *seul abri véritablement inaccessible aux mensonges de la destinée*. La littérature est pour moi plus qu’une consolation, c’est une espérance et un asile. Je l’ai en outre toujours considérée comme la franc-maçonnerie des gens bien élevés. C’est à ce signe qu’en tout pays la bonne compagnie se distingue et se reconnaît. Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux pour M. de Chateaubriand et pour moi, que nous n’eussions jamais, ni l’un ni l’autre, approché de nos lèvres la coupe empoisonnée de ce pouvoir qui nous enivre, et nous donne des vertiges? La littérature nous eût rapprochés encore, mais cette fois sans arrière-pensée, et sans amertume, car il est comme moi l’amant des lettres, et bien mieux que moi il protégé de ses préceptes. Combien de fois n’ai-je pas voulu abandonner le monde politique si turbulent, la société des hommes si méchants, pour me vouer tout entier à la retraite et à mes livres, seuls amis qui ne se trompent jamais.

‘Oh God! oh God!

How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!’”

—MARCELLUS, *Politique de la Restauration*, 25, 26.

he will incline. An *élève* of Pitt, Tory down to this time, he will become half a Whig, and will adopt the democratic principles if they appear to be in the ascendant. His secret inclinations lead him to the aristocracy, and even the high Opposition society; he is feared rather than beloved by the King; but the people are with him. The people, dazzled by his talents, have put him where he is; and the people will support him there as long as he obeys their wishes."

66. Mr Canning at this period was decidedly of opinion that the Peninsular war, if once commenced, would be of very long duration—as long, possibly, as that with revolutionary France. "When I speak," said he, "of the dangers of war to France, do not suppose I undervalue her resources or power. She is as brave and strong as she ever was before; she is now the richest, the most abounding in resources, of all the states in Europe. Hers are all the sinews of war, if there be the disposition to employ them. You have a million of soldiers, you say, at your call: I doubt it not; and it is double the number, or thereabouts, that Buonaparte buried in Spain. You consider '*un premier succès au moins comme certain*.' I dispute it not. I grant you a French army at Madrid; but I venture to ask, What then, if the King of Spain and the Cortes are by that time where they infallibly will be—in the Isle of Leon? I see plenty of war, if you once get into it; but I do not see a legitimate beginning to it, nor an intelligible object. You would disdain to get into such a war through the side door of an accidental military incursion. You would enter in front, with the cause of war on your banners: and what is that cause? It is vengeance for the past, and security for the future,—a war for the modification of a political constitution, for two Chambers, for the extension of legal rights. That passes my comprehension. You are about to enter, and you believe the war will be short: I believe otherwise, and I am bordering on old age. In 1793, Mr Pitt, with the 'patriot's heart, the

prophet's mind,' declared to me that the war then declared against a great people in a state of revolution would be short; and that war outlived Mr Pitt."

67. These anticipations were not peculiar to Mr Canning at that time; they were shared by probably nine-tenths of the educated classes, and probably ninety-nine hundredths of the entire inhabitants of Great Britain. Yet were there not awaiting those in the most elevated rank who were not carried away by the general delusion, and anticipated very nearly, as it turned out, the real march of events. "Do not allow yourself," said George IV. to M. Marcellus, "to be dazzled by our representative system, which is represented as so perfect. If it has its advantages, it has also its inconveniences; and I have never forgot what a king and a man of talent said to me, 'Your English constitution is good only to encourage adventurers, and discourage honest men.' For the happiness of the world, we should not wish any other people to adopt our institutions. That which succeeds admirably with us would have very different success elsewhere. Every country does not bear the same fruits, nor the same minerals beneath its surface. It is the same with nations, their temperament, and character. Reflect on this, my dear Marcellus: my conviction on the subject is unalterable; I wish you to know that you have the King on your side. It is my part to be so; and when my Ministers become Radicals, I may be excused if, on my side, I become an ultra-Royalist." The Duke of Wellington, at the same period, thus expressed himself at the Foreign Office, when the chance of a parliamentary majority on the question of war was under discussion with Lord Liverpool and Mr Canning: "I am not so *au fait* of parliamentary majorities as my colleagues, but I know Spain better than them. Advance without delay, without hesitation, and you will succeed. There is no majority, believe me, to be compared to cannon and a good army." With these words he took his hat and went out.

"The words," said Lord Liverpool, "of a man of war, but not of a statesman." "The Duke of Wellington," rejoined Mr Canning, "thinks himself always on the field of battle; and yet he has himself put a period to the bloody era of conquest. He understands nothing of *constitutional dominations, which are yet the only ones which now have any chance of duration.*"*

68. The war which divided in this manner the opinions of the most eminent men and the strongest heads of Europe, at length began in good earnest. The Duke d'Angoulême, as already noticed, left Paris for the army on 15th March. At the very threshold, however, of his career, an unexpected difficulty presented itself. Inexperienced for the most part in actual warfare, from the peace of eight years which had now continued, the commissaries and civil functionaries attached to the French army were in a great measure ignorant of the vast scale on which, when a hundred thousand men are to be put in motion, supplies of every sort must be furnished. Considerable magazines of corn had been formed at Bayonne and other

places on the frontier; but, by a strange oversight, nothing had been done to provide forage for the horses, and the means of transport were wholly wanting. A hundred millions of francs (£4,000,000) had been placed at the disposal of the general-in-chief for the purchase of provisions on the march to Madrid—for Napoleon's system of making war maintain war was no more to be thought of—but no correspondence had been opened with the persons along the route who were to furnish the supplies. In these circumstances, it seemed impossible for the troops to move forward; and so great was the alarm produced in Paris by the reports transmitted by the Duke d'Angoulême when he reached headquarters, that Government took the most vigorous measures to apply a remedy to the evil. The Minister of War (Victor) was directed, by an ordonnance of 23d March, to proceed immediately to the army, invested with ample powers, and the title of Major-General; all the soldiers who had obtained leave of absence down to the 31st December 1822 were recalled to their standards; and a law was brought forward by the interim War Minister (Count Digeon) to authorise the King to call out, in the course of the present year, the conscripts pertaining to the year 1823, who, by the existing law, would not be required before the spring of 1824.

* At this juncture the following highly interesting conversation took place between Mr Canning and M. Marcellus:—"A quoi bon," disait M. Canning, "soutenir un principe qui prête tant à la discussion, et sur lequel vous voyez que nous sommes enfin, vous et moi, si peu d'accord? Un Bourbon va au secours d'un Bourbon! Vous réveillez ainsi en nous mille souvenirs d'inimitié, l'invasion de Louis XIV. en Espagne, l'inabilité de nos efforts pour éloigner sa puissante dynastie du trône de Madrid. Jugez-en quand un roi donne au peuple les institutions dont le peuple a besoin, quel a été le procédé de l'Angleterre? Elle expulsa ce roi, et mit à sa place un roi d'une famille alliée sans doute, mais qui se trouve ainsi non plus; un fils de la royauté confiant dans les droits de ses ancêtres, mais le fils des institutions nationales, tirant tous ses droits de cette seule origine. Puisque Ferdinand, comme Jacques II., résiste aux volontés de sa nation, appliquons la méthode anglaise à l'Espagne. Qu'en résulte-t-il? L'expulsion de Ferdinand. Écoutez-moi; cet exemple *peut s'étendre jusqu'à vous*. Vous n'ignorez pas qu'un désordre du dogme de légitimité *presque pareille à la nôtre se lève et coude en France en ce moment*. Vous savez quel progrès elle fait dans le parti d'une opposition *prétendue modérée*. *La tête à couronner est là.*"—MARCELLUS, 19, 20.

69. These measures, however, though calculated to provide for the future, had no influence on the present; they would neither feed the starving horses, nor drag along the ponderous guns and baggage-waggons. In this extremity, the fortune of the expedition, and with it the destiny, for the time at least, of the Restoration, was determined by the vigour and capacity of one man (M. OUVRARD)—a great French capitalist, who had concluded a treaty with the King of Spain, which secured to him in 1805 the treasures of the Indies, and which, after having enabled Napoleon to fit out the army which conquered at Austerlitz, excited his jealousy so violently as for the time occasioned Ouvrard's ruin. He stepped

forward, and offered—on terms advantageous to himself, without doubt, but still more advantageous to the public—to put the whole supplies of the army on the most satisfactory footing, and to charge himself with the conveyance of all its artillery and equipages. The necessity of the case, and the obvious inefficiency of the existing commissaries, left no time for deliberation: the known capacity and vast credit of M. Ouvrard supported his offer, how gigantic soever it may have at first appeared; and in a few days a contract was concluded with the adventurous capitalist, whereby the duty of supplying whole furnishings for the army was devolved on him. By the influence of the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the obvious necessity of the case, the contract was ratified at Paris; and although it excited violent clamours at the time, as all measures do which disappoint expectant cupidity, the event soon proved that never had a wiser step been adopted. The magic wand of M. Ouvrard overcame everything; his golden key unlocked unheard-of magazines of all sorts for the use of the troops; in a few days plenty reigned in all the magazines, the means of transport were amply provided, and confidence was re-established at headquarters. So serene was the calm which succeeded to the storm, that the discord which had broken out in the Duke d'Angoulême's staff was appeased; General Guilleminot, who had been suspended from his command, was restored to the confidence of the commander-in-chief; Marshal Victor, relinquishing his duties as major-general, returned to the war office at Paris; and the army, amply provided with everything, advanced in the highest spirits to the banks of the Bidassoa.

70. The preparations on both sides were of the most formidable description, and seemed to prognosticate the long and bloody war which Mr Canning's ardent mind anticipated from the shock of opinions, which was to set all Europe on fire. The forces with which France took the field were very great, and, for the first time since the catastrophe of Waterloo, enabled her

to appear on the theatre of Europe as a great military power. Wonderful, indeed, had been the resurrection of her strength under the wise and pacific reign of Louis XVIII. The army assembled at Bayonne for the invasion of Spain by the western Pyrenees mustered ninety-one thousand combatants. It was divided into four corps, the command of which was intrusted with generous, but, as the event proved, not undeserved confidence, to the victorious generals of Napoleon. The first corps, under the command of Marshal Oudinot, with Counts d'Antichamp and Borout under him, was destined to cross the Bidassoa, and march direct by the great road upon Madrid. The second, which was commanded by Count Molitor, was intended to support the left flank of the first corps, and advance by the Pass of Roncesvalles and the Valley of Bastan upon Pampeluna. Prince Hohenlohe commanded the third corps, which was to protect the right flank of the first, and secure its rear and communications during the advance to Madrid from the Bidassoa. The fourth corps, under the orders of the Duke of Cornigliano (Marshal Moncey), was to operate, detached from the remainder of the army, in Catalonia; while the fifth, under the orders of General Count Bordesoul, composed of a division of the Guard under Count Bourmont, and of two divisions of cavalry, was to form the reserve of the grand army—but, in point of fact, it was almost constantly with the advanced posts.

71. The Spanish forces intended to meet this political crusade were not less formidable, so far as numerical amount was considered; but they were a very different array if discipline, equipments, and unanimity of feeling were regarded as the test. They consisted of 123,000 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry, and a new levy of 30,000, who were thus disposed. In Biscay, opposite to the Bidassoa, were 20,000, under Ballasteros; in Catalonia, under Mina, 20,000; in the centre, 18,000 under D'Abisbal; in Galicia, 10,000: in garrison, in the fortresses, 52,000. The forces on either side were thus not

unequal in point of numerical amount; but there was a vast difference in their discipline, organisation, and equipment. On the French side these were all perfect, on the Spanish they were very deficient. Many of the corps were imperfectly disciplined, ill fed, and worse clothed. The cavalry was in great part wretchedly mounted, the artillery crazy or worn out, the commissariat totally inefficient. Penury pervaded the treasury; revolutionary cupidity had squandered the resources of the soldiers, scanty as they were. Above all, the troops were conscious that the cause they were supporting was not that of the nation. Eleven-twelfths of the people, including the whole rural population, were hostile to their cause, and earnestly prayed for its overthrow; and even the inhabitants of Madrid and the seaport towns, who had hitherto constituted its entire support, were sensibly cooled in their ardour, now that it became a hazardous one, and called for sacrifices instead of promising fortune.

72. On the 5th April, the French were grouped in such force on the banks of the Bidassoa, that it was evident a passage would be attempted on the following day. The French ensigns had last been seen there on 7th October 1813, when the passage was forced by the Duke of Wellington. In anticipation of this movement, the Spaniards had made great preparations. A considerable force was drawn up on the margin of the stream; but it was not on them that the principal reliance of their commanders was placed. It was on the corps of French refugees bearing the uniform of the Old Guard, and clustered round the tricolor flag, that all their hopes rested. Colonel Fabvier, however, who commanded them, found the array very different from what he expected. He had been promised a corps of eight hundred veterans of Napoleon in admirable order; he found only two hundred miserable refugees, half-starved, who had been involved in the conspiracies of Saumur and Béfort, and found in Spain an asylum for their crimes. They were clothed, however,

in the old and well-known uniform, with the huge bearskins of the grenadiers of the Guard on their heads; the tricolor flag waved in the midst of them, and as the French advanced posts approached the bridge, they heard the Marseillaise and other popular airs of the Revolution chanted from their ranks. The moment was critical, for the French soldiers halted at sight of the unexpected apparition, and gazed with interest on the well-known and unforgettensigns. But at that moment General Vallin, who commanded the advanced guard, galloped to the front, and ordered a gun to be discharged along the bridge. The first round was fired over the heads of the enemy, in the hope of inducing them to retire; and the refugees, seeing no shot took effect, thought the balls had been drawn, and shouted loudly, "Vive l'Artillerie!" Upon this, General Vallin ordered a point-blank discharge, which struck down several; a third round completed their dispersion, and the passage was effected without further resistance. Louis XVIII. did not exaggerate the importance of this decisive conduct on this critical occasion, when, on the general who commanded on the occasion being presented to him after the campaign was over, he said, "General Vallin, your cannon-shot has saved Europe."

73. This bold act was decisive of the fate of the campaign. The French army having effected their passage, their right wing, after a sharp action, drove back the garrison of St Sebastian within the walls of that fortress, and established the blockade of the place; while the centre, supported by the whole reserve, in all 40,000 strong, pushed on rapidly on the great road to Madrid. On the 10th they reached Tolosa, on the 11th Villareal, and on the 17th their columns entered Vittoria in triumph, amidst an immense concourse of inhabitants and unbounded joy and acclamation. How different from the ceaseless booming of the English cannon, which rung in their ears when they last were in that town, flying before the bloody English sabres on 21st June 1813! At the same time, with the advanced

guard, Oudinot crossed the Ebro and advanced to Burgos, after having made himself master of Pancorvo; Molitor, with the left wing, traversed Navarre, and entered Arragon, directing his march on Saragossa; and the extreme right, under Quesada, composed of Spanish auxiliaries, reached Bilbao, which opened its gates without opposition. Everywhere the French troops were received as deliverers; as they advanced, the pillars of the Constitution were overthrown, the revolutionary authorities dispossessed, and the ancient regime proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the people. The invaders observed the most exact discipline, and paid for everything they required—a wise policy, the very reverse of that of Napoleon—which confirmed the favourable impression made on the minds of the Spaniards. The ancient animosity of the people of France and Spain seemed to be lulled; even the horrors of the late war had for the time been buried in oblivion; three years of revolutionary government had caused them all to be forgotten, and hereditary foes to be hailed as present deliverers.

74. The main body of the French army, encouraged by this flattering reception, advanced with vigour, and that celerity which, in all wars of invasion, but especially those which partake of the nature of civil conflict, is so important an element in success. Resistance was nowhere attempted, so that the march of the troops was as rapid as it would have been through their own territory. The Guards and first corps entered Burgos on the 9th May, where they were received with the utmost enthusiasm, and thence proceeded in two columns towards Madrid—the first, under the generalissimo in person, by Aranda and Buytrago; the latter by Valladolid, where the reception of the troops was if possible still more flattering. At the latter place, where headquarters arrived on the 17th May, a flag of truce arrived from the Conde d'Abisbal, who had been left in command at Madrid by the Cortes, they having retired towards Seville, taking the King a prisoner with them.

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In vain had the monarch declared he would not abandon his capital; the imperious Cortes forced him away, and he set out accordingly under an escort or guard of 6000 men, leaving Madrid to make the best terms it could with the conqueror. Saragossa, Tolosa, and all the towns occupied by the French in the course of their advance, instantly, on their approach, overturned the pillar of the Constitution, reinstated the Royalist authorities, and received the invaders as deliverers. Literally speaking, the Duke d'Angoulême advanced from Irun to Madrid amidst the acclamations of the people, and under triumphal arches. Nor was the success of the French less decisive in Upper Catalonia, where the retreat of Mina and the Constitutional troops was so rapid that Moncey in vain attempted to bring them to action; and within a month after the frontiers had been crossed, nearly all the fortified places in the province, except Barcelona and Lerida, had opened their gates and received the French with transports.

75. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Duke d'Angoulême than the offer on the part of the Conde d'Abisbal and the municipality of Madrid to capitulate on favourable terms, and accordingly he at once agreed to everything requested by them. It was agreed that General Zayas should remain with a few squadrons to preserve order in the capital till it was occupied by the French troops, which was arranged to take place on the 24th May. The guard left, however, proved inadequate to the task; the revolutionists, who were much stronger in Madrid than in any other town the French had yet entered, rose in insurrection, and D'Abisbal only saved his life by flying in disguise, and taking refuge with Marshal Oudinot. The moment was critical, for Madrid was in a state of great excitement, and a spark might have lighted a flame which, by rousing the national feelings of the Spaniards, might, as in 1808, have involved the whole Peninsula in conflagration. But at this decisive moment the wisdom of the Duke d'Angoulême and his military

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counsellors solved the difficulty, and at once detached the extreme revolutionary from the patriotic party. M. DE MARTIGNAC, a young advocate of Bordeaux, destined to celebrity in future times, drew up a proclamation,* which the prince signed, which soothed the pride of the Castilians, gratified the feelings of the Royalists, and disarmed the wrath of the Revolutionists. Everything was accordingly arranged in concord for the entry of the prince generalissimo and his army on the morning of the 24th.

76. Early on the morning of that day an immense crowd issued from the gate by which it was understood the

* "Espagnols! Avant que l'armée française franchit les Pyrénées, j'ai déclaré à votre généreuse nation que nous n'étions pas en guerre avec elle. Je lui ai annoncé que nous venions comme amis et auxiliaires l'aider à relever ses autels, à délivrer son roi, à rétablir dans son sein la justice, l'ordre, et la paix. J'ai promis respect aux propriétés, sûreté aux personnes, protection aux hommes paisibles. L'Espagne a ajouté foi à mes paroles. Les provinces que j'ai parcourues ont reçu les soldats français comme des frères, et la voix publique vous aura appris s'ils ont justifié cet accueil, et si j'ai tenu mes engagements. Espagnols! si votre Roi était encore dans la capitale, la noble mission que le Roi mon oncle m'a confiée, et que vous connaissez tout entière, serait déjà prête à s'accomplir. Je n'aurais plus, après avoir rendu le monarque à la liberté, qu'à appeler sa paternelle sollicitude sur les maux qu'a soufferts son peuple, sur le besoin qu'il a de repos pour le présent, et de sécurité pour l'avenir. L'absence du Roi m'impose d'autres devoirs. Dans ces conjonctures difficiles, et pour lesquelles le passé n'offre pas d'exemple à suivre, j'ai pensé que le moyen le plus convenable et le plus agréable au Roi, serait de convoquer l'antique conseil suprême de la Castille, et le conseil suprême des Indes, dont les hautes et diverses attributions embrassent le royaume et ses possessions d'outre-mer, et de confier aux grands corps indépendants par leur élévation, et par la position politique de ceux qui les composent, le soin de désigner, eux-mêmes, les membres de la régence." And on the day after his entrance, as the two councils did not conceive themselves authorised by the laws to appoint a regency, but only to recommend one to the French commander-in-chief, to act during the captivity of Ferdinand VII., he nominated, on their recommendation, as members of the regency, the Duke del Infantado, the Duke de Montemart, the Baron d'Erolles, the Bishop of Orma, and Don Antonio Gomez Calderon, who on 4th June issued a proclamation as the Council of Regency to the Spanish nation. — *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 721, 722, Appendix.

prince was to make his entry, with boughs of trees and garlands of flowers in their hands, and every preparation as for a day of festivity and rejoicing. The windows were all hung with tapestry or rich carpeting; the handsomest women in their gala-dresses were there, and beautiful forms adorned with chaplets of flowers graced the spectacle. Precisely at nine, the Duke d'Angoulême, surrounded by a brilliant staff, made his appearance at the gate of Recollets, where a triumphal arch had been erected, at the head of the guards and reserve; while Marshal Oudinot at the same time entered by the gate of Segovia, from which side he had approached at the head of his corps. Both were received with the loudest demonstrations of joy, amidst the acclamations of the people, the ringing of bells, and the heart-stirring strains of military music. The general enthusiasm was increased by the splendid appearance of the troops, their martial air, the exact discipline and perfect order they everywhere maintained. They were saluted with loud acclamations in all the streets through which they passed, and in the evening a general illumination gave vent to the universal joy. Never was seen so clear a proof that revolutions are brought about by bold and turbulent minorities overriding supine and timorous majorities. The universal joy equalled that of the Parisians, when their Revolution was closed by the entrance of the Emperor Alexander and Allied sovereigns on 31st March 1814.

77. Well aware of the importance of following up with all possible rapidity the important advantages thus gained, the Duke d'Angoulême did not repose on his laurels. Two columns, one commanded by General Bordesoult, the other by General Bourmont, set out immediately in pursuit of the revolutionary forces, which, taking the King a prisoner along with them, were hastening by forced marches towards Seville. So rapid was their flight, that the French troops endeavoured in vain to come up with them. Bordesoult with eight thousand men followed the direct road from Madrid by Aranjuez

to Seville; his advanced guard, under General Dino, attacked and routed a corps of fifteen hundred men near Santa Cruz; another of equal size was dispersed near the mountains of Villiers the next day by the same general, and three hundred prisoners taken; but after this he never got sight of their retiring columns; and although a show of resistance was made to Bourmont, who with an equal force took the road to Badajoz, at Talavera de la Reyna, yet it was but a show. The enemy retreated as soon as the French troops, aided by the Spanish Royalists, appeared in sight. The bridge of Arzobispo was seized, and the town of Truxillo occupied on the 11th June; and on the same day General Bordesoult arrived at Cordova, beyond the Sierra Morena, where, the moment the revolutionary troops withdrew, a vehement demonstration, accompanied with the most enthusiastic ebullition of joy, took place in support of the Royalist cause.

78. Meanwhile the Cortes, whose sole power consisted, as often was the case in the days of feudal anarchy, in the possession of the person of the sovereign, had established themselves at Seville, where a show of respectability was still thrown over their proceedings by the presence of the English ambassador, who followed the captive monarch in his forced peregrinations. This circumstance, joined to the presence of a considerable English squadron in the Bay of Cadiz, led for some time to the belief that the English Government, which had evinced so warm a sympathy for the cause of the revolution, would at length give it some more effectual support than by eloquent declamations in Parliament. But these hopes soon proved illusory. It was no part of the policy of the English Cabinet to go beyond the bounds of a strict neutrality; and even the Liberal ardour of Mr Canning had been sensibly cooled by the sight of the unresisted march of the French troops to Madrid, and the decisive demonstrations afforded that the cause of the revolution was hateful to nine-tenths of the Spanish people. Even if he had been otherwise inclined,

the violence of the Cortes themselves, which increased rather than diminished with the disasters which were accumulating round them, ere long rendered any further alliance impossible. On hearing of the approach of the French forces, they proposed to the King to move with them to Cadiz, so as to be beyond the reach of the French troops and the Royalist reaction. The King, however, who foresaw the approaching downfall of the revolutionary government, and had heard of the rapid approach of his deliverers, positively refused, after repeated summonses, to leave Seville.* Upon this the Cortes held an extraordinary meeting, in which, on the motion of M. Galliano, they declared the King deposed, appointed a provisional regency to act in his stead, and, now no longer attempting to disguise his captivity, forced him and the royal family into carriages, which set out attended by eight thousand men for Cadiz, where they arrived three days afterwards.† Only six members of the Cortes had courage enough to vote against the motion for deposing the King: Señor Arguelles, and all the influential members, were found in the majority. The English ambassador, Sir William A'Court, refused to accompany the deposed monarch, and remained at Seville, from

* "La députation des Cortès a représenté de nouveau à sa Majesté, que sa conscience ne pouvait être compromise ou blessée en cette matière; que s'il pouvait errer en qualité d'homme, il n'était comme roi constitutionnel sujet à aucune responsabilité; qu'il ne fallait que se ranger à l'avis de ses conseillers et des représentants du peuple, sur qui reposait le fardeau de la responsabilité pour le salut du pays. Le Roi ayant signifié à la députation qu'il avait sa réponse, et la mission donnée à celle-ci étant remplie, il ne lui restait qu'à déclarer aux Cortès qu'il ne jugeait pas la translation convenable."—*Procès Verbal des Cortès*, 10th June 1823; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 409, 410.

† "Je prie les Cortès, qu'en conséquence du refus de sa Majesté de mettre sa personne royale et sa famille en sûreté à l'approche de l'invasion de l'ennemi, il soit déclaré que le cas est arrivé de regarder sa Majesté comme étant dans un état d'empêchement moral prévu par l'article 187 de la Constitution, et qu'il soit nommé une régence provisoire qui sera investie seulement pour le cas de, ou pendant la translation de la plénitude du pouvoir exécutif."—*Proposition de M. GALLIANO*, 11th June 1823; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 410.

whence he went to Gibraltar to await the orders of his Government.

79. This violent act completed the ruin of the Cortes and the cause of the revolution in Europe, and immediately subverted it in Spain. No sooner had the last of the revolutionary troops taken their departure on the evening of the 12th for Cadiz, than a violent reaction took place in Seville, which soon extended to all the towns in Spain that still adhered to the cause of the revolution. Vast crowds assembled in the streets, shouting "Viva el Rey Absoluto! Viva Ferdinand! Viva el Inquisition!" Disorders speedily ensued. Several of the Liberal clubs were broken open and pillaged, and the pillars of the Constitution were broken amidst frantic demonstrations of joy. Two days after, a corps of the revolutionists under Lopez-Baños entered the city, engaged in a frightful contest in the streets with the Royalists, in the course of which two hundred of the latter perished; and having gained temporary possession of its principal quarters, he proceeded to plunder the churches of their plate, with which he set out for Cadiz; but finding the road in that direction occupied by General Bordesoult, he made for the confines of Portugal with his booty, where he joined a corps of revolutionists under Villa Campa. Two days after, General Bourmont entered Seville, where he permanently re-established the royal authority; and the forces of the Cortes, abandoning Andalusia on all sides, took refuge within the walls of Cadiz, where twenty thousand men, the last stay of the revolution, were now assembled. Everywhere else the cause of the revolution crumbled into dust. General Murillo, who commanded at Valencia, passed over with half his forces to the Royalists; Ballasteros, after sustaining a severe defeat at Carabil, was obliged to capitulate, with seven thousand men, to the French. Carthagená, Tarragona, and all the other fortresses, with the exception of Barcelona, Corunna, and Ferrol, soon after opened their gates, and ere long there remained only to the Liberal leaders the forces

shut up within the walls of Cadiz and Barcelona, and a few guerillas, who, under Mina, still prolonged the war in the mountains of Catalonia.

80. Still the position of the revolutionists in Cadiz was strong, for the fortress itself had been proved in the late war to be impregnable; the inhabitants were zealous in their support; and the principal leaders and officers of the garrison of twenty thousand men were so deeply implicated in the cause, that they had no chance of safety but in the most determined resistance. Above all, the command of the person of the King and the royal family, for whose lives the most serious apprehensions were entertained, gave them the means of negotiating with advantage, and in a manner imposing their own terms on the conquerors. Ferdinand, though nominally restored to his functions, in order to give a colour to their proceedings, was in reality detained a close prisoner in the palace, or rather prison, in which he was lodged, and not allowed to walk out even on the terrace of his abode, except under a strong guard, and within very narrow precincts. Meanwhile Riego issued from the Isle of Leon, as he had done during the revolt in 1820, to endeavour to rouse the inhabitants of the mountains in the rear of the French armies; and every preparation was made within the walls for the most vigorous defence. But all felt that the cause was hopeless. The more moderate members of the Cortes had withdrawn, and taken refuge in Gibraltar; and even the violent party of Exaltados, who still inculcated the necessity of prolonging the contest, did so rather from the hope of securing favourable terms of capitulation for themselves, than from any real belief that it could much longer be maintained.

81. Encouraged by the favourable reports which he received on all sides of the defeat or dispersion of the Revolutionists, and the general submission to the royal authority, the Duke d'Angoulême resolved to proceed in person with the great bulk of his forces to Andalusia, in order to bring the

war at once to a close by the reduction of Cadiz. He set out, accordingly, on the 18th July, from Madrid, taking with him the guards and reserve, and leaving only four thousand men to garrison the capital. The Regency had issued a decree annulling all the acts of the revolutionary government since the Constitution had been forced upon the King on 7th March 1820, contracted a considerable loan, and made some progress in the formation of a Royalist corps, to be the foundation of a guard; but the extreme penury of the exchequer, the inevitable result of the political convulsions of the last three years, rendered its equipment very tardy. Meanwhile, disorders of the most serious kind were accumulating in the provinces; the Royalist reaction threatened to be as serious as the revolutionary action had been. In Saragossa fifteen hundred persons had been arrested and thrown into prison by the Royalists, and great part of their houses pillaged; and similar disorders, in many instances attended with bloodshed, had taken place in Valencia, Alicante, Carthagena, and other places which had declared for the royal cause. Struck with the accounts of these atrocities, which went to defeat the whole objects of the French intervention, and threatened to rouse a national war in Spain, the Duke d'Angoulême published at Andujar, on the 8th August, the memorable proclamation bearing the name of that place, one of the most glorious acts of the Restoration, and a model for all future times in those unhappy wars which originate in difference of political or religious opinion.

82. By this ordonnance it was declared "that the Spanish authorities should not be at liberty to arrest any person without the authority of the French officers; the commanders-in-chief of the corps under the orders of his royal highness were instantly to set at liberty all persons who had been arbitrarily imprisoned from political causes, and especially those in the militia, who were hereby authorised to return to their homes, with the exception of such as after their enlarge-

ment might have given just cause of complaint. The commanders-in-chief of the corps were authorised to arrest every person who should contravene this decree; and the editors of periodical publications were put under the direction of the commanders of corps." Though this ordonnance was dictated by the highest wisdom as well as humanity, seeing it put a stop at once to the Royalist reaction which had become so violent, and threatened such dangerous consequences, yet as it took the government in a manner out of the hands of the Spanish authorities, and seemed to presage a prolonged military occupation of the country, it excited the most profound feelings of indignation at Madrid, and among the ardent Royalists over the whole country. With them, loyalty to their sovereign was identical with thirst for the blood of his enemies. The whole members of the Regency sent in their resignations, and were only prevailed on to withdraw them by explanations offered of the real object of the ordonnance; and the diplomatic body made remonstrances, which were only appeased in the same manner.*

83. The condition of Spain at this time was such as to call forth the utmost solicitude, and threatened the most frightful consequences. The war still lingered in Galicia, where Sir R. Wilson had appeared, accompanied, not, as was expected, by ten thousand

* "Jamais l'intention de S. A. R. ne fut d'arrêter le cours de la justice dans les poursuites pour des délits ordinaires sur lesquels le magistrat doit conserver toute la plénitude de son autorité; les mesures prescrites dans l'ordre du 8 Août n'ont d'autre objet que d'assurer les effets de la parole du prince, par laquelle il garantissait la tranquillité de ceux qui, en la foi des promesses de S. A. R., se séparent des rangs des ennemis. Mais en même temps, l'indulgence pour le passé garantit la sévérité avec laquelle les nouveaux délits seront punis, et conséquemment les commandants français devront non-seulement laisser agir les tribunaux ordinaires auxquels il appartient de punir suivant la rigueur des lois, ceux qui, à l'avenir, se rendront coupables de désordres et de désobéissance aux lois, mais encore ils devront agir d'accord, avec les autorités locales, pour toutes les mesures qui pourront intéresser la conservation de la paix publique."—*Lettre du Général Guilleminot à la Régence à Madrid, 26th August 1823; Annuaire Historique, vi. 724.*

men, but by a single aide-de-camp ; and a harassing guerilla warfare was yet kept up by Mina and the forces under his command in Catalonia. The Royalists in Madrid had been in a state of the highest exultation, in consequence of a rumour which had obtained credit, that the King had been set at liberty, when the decree of Andujar fell upon them like a thunder-bolt, and excited universal indignation. The same was the case in all the provinces. Such is the force of passion and the thirst for vengeance in the Spanish character, that nothing inflames it so violently as being precluded from the gratification of these malignant feelings. The army employed in the blockade of Pampeluna prepared and signed an address to the Regency, in which this wise decree was denounced as worse than any act of Napoleon's.* In such an excited state of the public mind, no central authority could be established. All recognised the Regency at Madrid ; none obeyed it. Provincial juntas were rapidly formed, as in the commencement of the war in 1809, composed of the most violent Royalists, who soon acquired the entire direction of affairs within their respective provinces. The surrender of Corunna on 13th August, followed by the capitulation of all the Liberal corps in the province, and that of San Sebastian, Ferrol, and Pampeluna, soon after terminated the war in the north and west of Spain, and hostilities continued only in Catalonia and round the walls of Cadiz.

84. In this distracted state of the country, it was plain that nothing could produce concord but the authority of the sovereign, and to effect his liberation the whole efforts of the Duke d'Angoulême were directed. The siege of Cadiz had been undertaken in good earnest, but it was no easy matter to prosecute it with effect. The distance

* "Un attentat que n'osa pas commettre le tyran du monde, doit être réprimé à l'instant, quelles qu'en soient les conséquences, et dussions-nous être exposés aux plus grands dangers. Que l'Espagne soit couverte de cadavres plutôt que de vivre avilie par le déshonneur, et de subir le joug de l'étranger." — *Adresse de l'armée de Navarre à la Régence*, 20th August 1823 ; *Ann. Hist.*, vi. 441.

of the nearest points on the bay from the city was so considerable that nothing but bombs of the largest calibre and the longest range could reach it, and the dykes which led across it into the fortress were defended by batteries of such strength that all attempts to force the passage were hopeless. Two thousand pieces of cannon, and ammunition in abundance, were arrayed in defence of the place. A grand sortie, undertaken to drive the French from their posts around the bay, led to a warm action, and was at length repulsed with the loss to the besieged of seven hundred men. About the same time the Minister at War, Don Sanchez Salvador, cut his throat after having burned all his papers. He left a writing on his table, in which he declared that he did so "because life was every day becoming more insupportable to him, but that he descended to the tomb without having to reproach himself with a single fault." The approach of the prince generalissimo soon led to more important operations. His first care was to send a letter to the President of the Cortes, expressing the anxious wish of the French Government that "the King of Spain, restored to liberty and practising clemency, should accord a general amnesty, necessary after so many troubles, and give to his people, by the convocation of the ancient Cortes, a guarantee for the reign of justice, order, and good administration ; an act of wisdom to which he pledged himself to obtain the concurrence of all Europe." But to this noble and touching letter, the Cortes, with the mixture of pride and obstinacy which seems inherent in the Spanish character, returned an answer in such terms as rendered all hope of pacific adjustment out of the question.*

* "Le Roi est libre ; les malheurs de l'Espagne viennent tous de l'invasion ; l'établissement des anciennes Cortès est aussi incompatible avec la dignité de la couronne qu'avec l'état actuel du monde, la situation politique des choses, les droits, les usages, et le bien-être de la nation espagnole. Si S. A. R. abusait de la force, elle serait responsable des maux qu'elle pourrait attirer sur la personne du Roi, sur la famille royale, et sur cette cité bien méritante." — *Réponse des Cortès*, 18th August 1823 ; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 420.

85. Continued hostilities being thus resolved on, the French engineers directed all their efforts against the fort of the TROCADERO. This outwork of Cadiz, situated on the land side of the bay, is placed at the extremity of a sandy peninsula running into it, and was of great importance as commanding the inner harbour, and enabling the mortar batteries of the besiegers to reach the city itself. It had been fortified, accordingly, with the utmost care—was mounted with fifty pieces of heavy cannon, garrisoned with seventeen hundred men; and as a ditch, into which the sea flowed at both ends, had been cut across the peninsula, the fort stood on an island, with a front of appalling strength towards the land. Against this front the whole efforts of the French were directed; the approaches were pushed with incredible activity, and on the 24th the first parallel had been drawn to within sixty yards of the ditch. A tremendous fire was kept up from the batteries of the assailants on the works of the place during the six following days, and on the 31st the cannonade was so violent as to induce the garrison to apprehend an immediate assault. The day, however, passed over without its taking place, and the Spaniards began to raise cries of victory. But their triumph was of short duration. Early on the morning of the 31st, while it was still dark, the assaulting column, consisting of fourteen companies, defiled in silence out of the trenches, and stood within forty paces of the enemy's batteries. With such order and regularity was the movement executed, that the besiegers were not aware of their having emerged from the trenches till just before the rush commenced. They were seen, however, through the grey of the morning as they were beginning to move, and a violent fire of grape and musketry was immediately directed against the living mass. On they rushed, disregarding the fire, plunged into the ditch, with the water up to their arms, and, ascending the opposite side under a shower of balls, broke through the chevaux-de-frise, and mounted the ramparts with the utmost

resolution. The Spaniards stood their ground bravely, and for some minutes the struggle was very violent, but at length the impetuosity of the French prevailed. Great numbers of the besieged were bayoneted at their guns; the remainder fled to Fort St Louis, the last fortified post on the peninsula. There, however, they were speedily followed by the French, who scaled the ramparts and carried everything before them. By nine o'clock the conquest was complete—the entire peninsula had fallen into the hands of the victors, with all its forts and artillery. The Duke d'Angoulême exposed himself, in this brilliant affair, to the enemy's fire, like a simple grenadier; and the Prince of Carignan, eldest son of the King of Sardinia, was one of the first of the forlorn hope who mounted the breach. Strange destiny of the same prince to be within two years the leader of a democratic revolt in his own country, and a gallant volunteer with the assaulting party of the Royalist army which combated it!

86. Disaster also attended the operations of Riego, who had left the Isle of Leon in order to collect the scattered bands of the Liberals in the mountains of Granada and Andalusia, and operate in the rear of the French army. The Cortes, who were too glad to get quit of him, gave him the command of all the troops he could collect: he eluded the vigilance of the French cruisers, and disembarked at Malaga on the 17th August with ample powers, but no money. He there took the command of two thousand men who remained to Zayas in that place, and soon made amends for his want of money by forced contributions from the whole merchants and opulent inhabitants of the place, without excepting the English, whom he imprisoned, transported, and shot without mercy, if they withstood his demands. The loud complaints which they made throughout all Europe went far to open the eyes of the people of England to the real tendency of the Spanish revolution. On the 3d September he set out from Malaga at the head of

two thousand five hundred men, carrying with him the whole plate of the churches and of all the respectable inhabitants in the place, and made for the mountains, with the view of joining the remains of the corps of General Ballasteros, which he effected a few days after. He was closely followed by Generals Bonnemaine and Loverdi, whom Molitor had detached from Granada in pursuit. Though the troops of Ballasteros had capitulated, and passed over to the Royalist side, yet they were unable to stand the sight of their old ensigns and colours, and, like the soldiers of Napoleon at the sight of the imperial eagles, they speedily fraternised with their old comrades. Cries of "Viva el Union! Viva Riego! Viva la Constitucion!" were heard on all sides, and Ballasteros himself, carried away by the torrent, found himself in Riego's arms. Concord seemed to be established between the chiefs, and they dined together, apparently in perfect amity; but in reality the seeds of distrust were irrevocably sown between them. Ballasteros quietly gave orders to his troops to separate from those of Riego; the latter, penetrating his designs, made the former a prisoner, but was compelled to release him by his officers. Discord having now succeeded to the temporary burst of unanimity, the two armies were separated, and the greater part of Riego's two best regiments deserted in the night, and joined Ballasteros's troops. The expedition had entirely failed, and instead of raising the country in the rear of the French army before Cadiz, nothing remained to Riego but to seek by hill-paths to effect a junction with Mina, who still maintained a desultory warfare in the mountains of Catalonia.

87. He set out accordingly with two thousand men; but, destitute of everything, and unable to convey their heavy spoil with them, the march proved nothing but a succession of disasters. Bonnemaine, who closely followed his footsteps with a light French division, came up with the fugitives on the heights near Jaen, and after a short action totally defeated them, with the

loss of five hundred of Riego's best men. The day following he was again assailed with such vigour, that his troops, no longer making even a show of resistance, dispersed on all sides, leaving their chief himself attended only by a few followers, who still adhered with honourable fidelity to his desperate fortunes. Riego himself was wounded, and in that pitiable state fled, accompanied only by three officers, towards the Sierra Morena. Exhausted by fatigue, he was obliged to rest at a farmhouse near Carolina d'Arguellos, where he was recognised, and information sent to his pursuers of his retreat, by whom he was arrested. Conducted under a strong escort to Andujar, he was assailed by a mob with such violent imprecations and threatening gesticulations, that the French garrison of the place were obliged to turn out to save his life. As M. de Coppons, an officer of Marshal Moncey's staff, covered him with his body at the hazard of his life, he said, "The people who are now so excited against me—the people who, but for the succour of the French, would have murdered me—that same people last year, on this very spot, bore me in their arms in triumph: the city forced upon me, against my will, a sabre of honour: the night which I passed here the houses were illuminated: the people danced till morning under my windows, and prevented me, by their acclamations, from obtaining a moment of sleep."

88. These repeated disasters, and the accounts received from all quarters of the general submission of the country, at length convinced the Cortes of the hopelessness of the contest in which they were engaged. They got Ferdinand, accordingly, to sign a letter to the Duke d'Angoulême, in which he requested a suspension of arms, with a view to the conclusion of a general peace. The Duke replied, that it was indispensable, in the first instance, that the King should be set at liberty, but that, as soon as this was done, "he would earnestly entreat his Majesty to accord a general amnesty, and to give of his own will, or to promise, such institu-

tions as he may deem in his wisdom suitable to their feelings and character, and which may seem essential to their happiness and tranquillity." The Cortes, upon this, asked what evidence he would require that the King was at liberty? To which the Duke answered that he would never regard him as so till he saw him in the middle of the French troops. This answer broke off the negotiation, and soon after the arrival of Sir R. Wilson revived the hopes of the besieged, who still clung to the expectation of English intervention. But these hopes proved fallacious; and ere long the progress of the French was such that further resistance was obviously useless. On the 20th, a French squadron of two ships of the line and two frigates opened a heavy fire on the fort of Santa Petri, on the margin of the bay, and with such effect, that on preparations being made for an assault, the white flag was hoisted, and the place capitulated on condition of the garrison being permitted to retire to Cadiz. From the advanced posts of the Trocadero and Santa Petri thus acquired, a bombardment of the town itself was three days after commenced, while the ships in the bay kept up a fire with uncommon vigour on the batteries on the sea side. The effect of this bombardment, which brought the reality of war to their homes, was terrible. The regiment of San Marcial, heretofore deemed one of the steadiest in support of the Revolution, revolted, and was only subdued by the urban militia. Terror prevailed on all sides;—cries of "Treason!" became general; every one distrusted his neighbour; and that universal discouragement prevailed which is at once the effect and the forerunner of serious disaster.

89. Subdued at length by so many calamities, the special commission of the Cortes entered in good earnest into negotiations. In a special meeting, called on the 28th September, a report was laid before them by the Government, which set forth that all their means of defence were exhausted, that no hope of intervention on the part of England remained, and that it was in-

dispensable to come to terms with the enemy. The Cortes, accordingly, declared itself dissolved the same day; and the King sent a message to the Duke d'Angoulême, declaring that he was now at liberty; that he was making dispositions to embark at Port Santa Maria; that he had engaged to disquiet no one on account of his political conduct; and that he would reserve all public measures till he had returned to his capital. Three days afterwards, accordingly, on the 1st October, every preparation having been completed, and the King having published a proclamation, in which he promised a general amnesty, and everything the Constitutionalists wished, the embarkation of the King and royal family took place at Santa Maria with great pomp, amidst universal acclamation, and the thunder of artillery from all the batteries, both on the French and Spanish side of the bay.* The embarkation was distinctly seen from the opposite coast, where the Duke d'Angoulême, at the head of his troops, and surrounded by a splendid staff, awaited his arrival; and every eye watched, with speechless anxiety, the progress of the bark which bore the royal family of Spain from the scene of their captivity, and with them restored, as was hoped, peace and happiness to the entire Peninsula.

90. Trained by long misfortunes, not less than the precepts of his confessors, to perfect habits of dissimulation, Ferdinand, even when rowing across the bay, kept up the mask of generosity. He conversed with Valdez and Alava, who accompanied him, down to the last moments, of the gratitude which he felt to them; of the need in which he stood of experienced and

* "Le Roi promet l'oubli complet et absolu de ce qui est passé, la reconnaissance des dettes contractées par le gouvernement actuel, le maintien des grades, emplois, traitements et honneurs, militaires ou civils, accordés sous le régime constitutionnel, déclarant d'ailleurs de sa volonté libre et spontanée, sur la foi de la parole royale, que s'il fallait absolument modifier les institutions politiques actuelles de la monarchie, S. M. adopterait un gouvernement qui pût faire le bonheur de la nation, en garantissant les personnes, les propriétés et la liberté civile des Espagnols."—*Proclamation du Roi Ferdinand*, 30th September 1823; *Annuaire Historique*, vi. 471, 472.

popular ministers to guide him in his new reign; he invited them to trust to his magnanimity—to land with him, and quit for ever a city where their kindness to him would be imputed to them as a crime. They distrusted, however, the sincerity of the monarch, and as soon as the royal family landed, pushed off from the shore. “Miserable wretches!” exclaimed the King, “they do well to withdraw from their fate!” The Duke d’Angoulême received the King kneeling, who immediately raised him from the ground, and threw himself into his arms. The thunder of artillery, waving of standards, and cheers of the troops, accompanied the auspicious event, which, in terminating the distraction of one, seemed to promise peace to both nations. But from the crowd which accompanied the royal cortège to the residence provided for them, were heard cries of a less pleasing and ominous import—“Viva el Rey! Viva el Religion! Muera la Nación! Muera los Negros!” *

91. The first act of the King on recovering his liberty was to publish a proclamation, in which he declared null all the acts of the Government which had been conducted in his name from 7th March 1820 to 1st October 1823, “seeing that the King had been during all that period deprived of his liberty, and obliged to sanction the laws, orders, and measures of the revolutionary Government.” By the same decree he ratified and approved everything which had been done by the regency installed at Oyarzun on the 9th April 1822, and by the regency established at Madrid on the 26th May 1823, “until his Majesty, having made himself acquainted with the necessities of his people, may be in a situation to give them the laws and take the measures best calculated to insure their happiness, the constant object of his solicitude.” In vain the Duke d’Angoulême counselled measures of moderation and humanity: the voice of passion, the thirst for vengeance, alone were listened to. An entire change of

course took place in the King’s household; the Duke del Infantado was placed at its head, and the Regency in the mean time continued in its functions. The dissolution of the Cortes and deliverance of Ferdinand put an end to the war; for the disaffected, however indignant, had no longer a head to which they could look, or an object for which they were to contend. Before the end of October all the fortresses which still held out for the revolutionary Government had hoisted the royal flag, and all the corps which were in arms for its support had sent in their adhesion to the new Government.

92. A great and glorious career now lay before Ferdinand, if he had possessed magnanimity sufficient to follow it. The revolution had been extinguished with very little effusion of blood; the angry passions had not been awakened by general massacres; the revolutionary Government had been overturned as easily, and with nearly as little loss of life, as the royal authority at Paris, by the taking of the Bastille on 14th June 1789. The King had pledged his royal word to an absolute and unconditional amnesty. Clemency and moderation were as easy, and as loudly called for, in the one case as the other; and if this wise and generous course had been adopted, what a long train of calamities would have been spared to both countries! The revolutionists and the King had alike many faults to regret, many injuries to forgive; and it would have been worthy of the first in rank, and the first in power, to take the lead in that glorious emulation. But, unhappily, in the Spanish character, the desire for vengeance and the thirst for blood are as inherent as the spirit of adventure and the heroism of resistance; and amidst all the declamations in favour of religion, the priests who surrounded the throne forgot that the forgiveness of injuries is the first of the Christian virtues. The consequence was, that the royalist Government took example from the revolutionary in deeds of cruelty; the reaction was as violent as the action had been; and Spain was the theatre of mutual injuries, and torn by intestine

* “Long live the King! Long live Religion! Death to the Nation! Death to the Liberals!”

passions for a long course of years, until the discord ceased by the exhaustion of those who were its victims.

93. Riego was the first victim. Cries were heard, which showed how profound was the indignation and widespread the thirst for vengeance in the Spanish mind. The first step taken was to bring him to trial. No advocate could be found bold enough to undertake his defence; the court was obliged to appoint one to that perilous duty. During the whole time the trial was going on, a furious crowd surrounded the hall of justice with cries of "Muera Riego! Muera el Tradidor! — Viva el Rey Absoluto!" His conviction followed as a matter of course, and he was sentenced to death amidst the same shouts from an excited audience, whom even the solemnity of that awful occasion, and the very magnitude of the offence with which the prisoner was charged, could not overawe into temporary silence.

94. His execution took place a few days afterwards, and under circumstances peculiarly shocking, and which reflected the deepest disgrace on the Spanish Government. Stript of his uniform, clothed in a wrapper of white cloth, with a green cap, the ensign of liberty, on his head, he was placed, with his hands tied behind his back, on a hurdle drawn by an ass, in which he was conveyed, surrounded by priests, and with the *Miserere* of the dying unceasingly rung in his ears by a chorister, to the place of execution. The multitude gazed in silence on the frightful spectacle. The memorable reverse of fortune, from being the adored chief of the revolution to becoming thus reviled and rejected, for a moment subdued the angry passions. Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, which was constructed upon an eminence in the Plaza de la Cebada, forty feet high, so as to be seen from a great distance, he received absolution for his crimes, and was lifted up, still bound, pale and attenuated, already half dead, to the top of the scaffold, where the fatal cord was passed round his neck, and he was launched into eternity. A monster in the human form gave a

buffet to his countenance after death; * a shudder ran through the crowd, which was soon drowned in cries of "Viva el Rey! Viva el Rey Absoluto!"

95. The King and Queen of Spain made their triumphal entry into Madrid six days after that melancholy execution, amidst an immense crowd of spectators, and surrounded by every demonstration of joy. Their majesties were seated on an antique and gigantic chariot, twenty-five feet high, which was drawn by a hundred young men elegantly attired, surrounded by groups of dancers of both sexes, in the most splendid theatrical costumes, whose operatic display elicited boundless applause from the spectators. The spirit of faction appeared to be dead; one only feeling seemed to animate every breast, which was joy at the termination of the revolution. But it soon appeared that, if the convulsions had ceased, the passions it had called forth were far from being appeased. The long-wished-for amnesty, so solemnly promised by the King before his liberation at Cadiz, and which would have closed in so worthy a spirit the wounds of the revolution, had not yet been promulgated, and it was looked for with speechless anxiety by the numerous relatives and friends of the persons compromised. For several days after the King's arrival in the capital it did not make its appearance, and meanwhile arrests continued daily, and were multiplied to such a degree that the prisons were soon overflowing. At length the public anxiety became so great that the Government were compelled to publish the amnesty on the 19th. It contained, however, so many exceptions, that it was rather a declaration of war against the adverse party than a healing and pacific measure. It excepted all the persons who had taken a leading part in the late disturbance, and their number was so great that it was evident it laid the foundation of interminable discords

* The same thing was done to the beautiful head of Charlotte Corday, after she had been guillotined.—See *History of Europe*, former series, chap. xii. § 78. How identical is the passion of party and the spirit of vengeance in all ages and countries!

and certain reaction. On the 2d December, the list of the new Ministry appeared, constructed, as might have been expected, from amongst the persons who had been most instrumental in promoting the return to the ancient regime.* The Duke del Infantado was dismissed from the presidency of the Privy Council, which was bestowed on Don Ignace Martinez de la Rosa; and the Council itself was composed of ten persons, all devoted Royalists. At the same time, however, on the urgent representation of Count Pozzo di Borgo, who bore a holograph letter of the Emperor of Russia on the subject, a pledge was given of an intention to revert to more moderate councils, by the dismissal of Don Victor Laez, the organ of the violent apostolic party, from the important office of confessor to the King, who was succeeded by a priest of more reasonable views.

96. The revolution was now closed, and the royal government re-established in Spain, supported by ninety thousand French soldiers, in possession of its principal fortresses, and so disposed as to be able at once to crush any fresh revolutionary outbreak. But it is not by the mere cessation of hostilities that the passions of revolution are extinguished, or its disastrous effects obliterated. Deplorable to the last degree was the condition of Spain on the termination of the civil war, and deep and unappeasable the thirst for vengeance with which the different parties were animated against each other. The finances, as usual in such cases, gave woeful proof of the magnitude of the general disorder, and the extent to which it had sapped the foundations alike of public and private prosperity. In the greater part of the provinces the collection of taxes had entirely ceased; where it was still gathered, it came in so slowly as not to deserve the name of a national revenue. The Five per Cents were down at 16 from 100; loans attempted to be opened in every

capital of Europe found no subscribers. The effects of the clergy, the revenues of the kingdom, offered in security of advances, failed to overcome the terrors of capitalists. Recognition of the loans of the Cortes was everywhere stated as the first condition of further accommodation, and this the disastrous state of the finances rendered impossible, for they were wholly inadequate to meet the interest due upon them. The only activity displayed in the kingdom was in the mutual arrest of their enemies by the different parties; the only energy, in preparing the means of wreaking vengeance on each other. But for the presence of the French army, they would have flown at each other's throats, and civil war would in many places have been renewed. Peace and protection were everywhere experienced under the white flag, but there only; and so general was the sense of the absolute necessity of its shelter, that no opposition was made anywhere to a convention by which it was stipulated that for a year longer thirty-five thousand French troops should remain in possession of the principal Spanish fortresses.

97. PORTUGAL has in recent times so entirely followed the political changes of Spain, that in reading the account of the one you would imagine that you are perusing that of the other. The parties were the same, the objects of contention the same, their alternate triumphs and disasters identical. In the early part of the year the Cortes were still all-powerful, and a long lease of power was presaged for the constitutional Government. When the French invasion of Spain appeared certain, an army of observation was formed on the frontier without opposition. But civil war soon appeared. On the 23d February, the Conde d'Amarante, at Villa-Real, raised the standard of insurrection, and published a proclamation, in which he called on all loyal subjects to unite with him in "delivering the country from the yoke of the Cortes, the scourge of revolution, the religion of their enemies, and to rescue the King from captivity." The proclamation was

* Marquis Casa-Irugo, Premier and Foreign Affairs; Don Narcisso de Hondia, Minister of Grace and Justice; Don José de la Crux, War; Don Luis Lopez-Ballasteros, Finances; Don Luis-Maria Salazar, Marine and Colonies.—*Annuaire Historique*, vi. 485.

received with enthusiasm ; in a few days the whole province of Tras-os-Montes was in arms, several regular regiments joined the Royalist standard, and in the beginning of March a formidable force appeared on the banks of the Douro. There, however, they were met by the Constitutional generals at the head of eight thousand men ; and after a variety of conflicts with various success, in the course of which the Conde d'Amarante was often worsted, the Royalists were driven back into Tras-os-Montes with considerable loss, from whence Amarante was fain to escape into Spain, where he joined the curate Merino, who had hoisted the white flag, with four thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Valladolid. The insurrection seemed subdued, and the session of the Cortes concluded amidst *Io Pwans* and congratulatory addresses on the part of the Constitutionalists.

98. But these transports were of short duration ; the French invasion speedily altered the aspect of affairs, not less in Portugal than in Spain. On the 27th May, one of the regiments in the army of observation on the frontier raised the cry of " Viva el Rey ! " and on the following night the Infant DOM MIGUEL, the acknowledged head of the Royalist party, escaped from Lisbon, and joined the revolted corps at Villa-Franca. The prince immediately published a proclamation, in which he declared that his object was to free the nation from the shameful yoke which had been imposed on it, to liberate the King, and give the people a constitution exempt alike from despotism and licence. A great number of influential persons immediately joined him, and the Court at Villa-Franca became a rival to that at Lisbon. On the 29th, Sepulveda, with part of the garrison of Lisbon, declared for the royal cause ; and the Cortes, which had assembled, was thrown into the utmost consternation by the same cry being repeated in various quarters of the city. At length the infection spread to the Royal Guard ; cries of " Viva el Rey Assoluto ! " broke from their ranks ; the cockades of the Constitution were everywhere torn off and trampled un-

der foot, and the King himself, who had come out to appease the tumult, was obliged to join in the same cry, and to detach the Constitutional cockade from his breast. In the evening a proclamation was published, dated from the Royalist headquarters, in which he announced a change of government and modification of the constitution. The Cortes was dissolved on the 2d of June ; on the same day a proclamation was published, denouncing in severe terms the vices of the revolutionary system ; and two days after the counter-revolution was rendered irrevocable, by the King moving to the Royalist headquarters at Villa-Franca. Three days after, he returned in great pomp to Lisbon, where he was received with universal acclamations ; the Ministry was changed ; the Infant Dom Miguel was declared generalissimo of the army, the Count de Palmella appointed Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the whole Cabinet composed of Royalist chiefs. Everything immediately returned into the old channels ; the revolutionary authorities all sent in their adhesion or were dismissed : and to the honour of Portugal be it said, the counter-revolution was completed without bloodshed, and no severer penalties than the exile from Lisbon of thirty of the most violent members of the Cortes, and the loss of office by a few of the Liberal chiefs.

99. The return of the Duke d'Angoulême, and the greater part of his army, after this memorable campaign, was a continual triumph. It was no wonder it was so ; it had proved one of the most remarkable recorded in history. In less than six months, with the loss of only four thousand men, as well by sickness as the sword, with an expenditure of only 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000), they had subdued and pacified Spain, delivered the King, arrested the march of revolution, and stopped the convulsions of Europe. The campaigns of Napoleon have no triumphs so bloodless to recount. Great preparations had been made in Paris to receive them in a manner worthy of the occasion. On the 2d Decémber, the anniversary of the bat-

tle of Austerlitz, the prince made his triumphal entry into Paris on horseback, at the head of the élite of his troops, surrounded by a splendid staff, among whom were to be seen Marshals Oudinot, Marmont, and Lauriston, General Bordesoult, the Duke de Guiche, and Count de la Rochejaquelein. The aspect of the troops, their martial air and bronzed visages, recalled the most brilliant military spectacles of the Empire. They passed under the magnificent triumphal arch of Neuilly, finished for the occasion, and thence through the Champs Elysées to the Tuileries, through a double line of national guards, and an immense crowd of spectators, who rent the air with their acclamations. The municipality and chief public bodies of Paris met the prince at the Barrier de l'Etoile, and addressed him in terms of warm but not undeserved congratulation on his glorious exploits.* The prince, modestly bowing almost to his charger's neck, replied, "I rejoice that I have accomplished the mission which the King intrusted to me, re-established peace, and shown that nothing is impossible at the head of a French army." Arrived at the Tuileries, he dismounted, and hastened to the King, who stood in great pomp to receive him. "My son," said the monarch

* "Nos vœux vous suivaient à votre départ," lui dit le préfet de Paris, "nos acclamations vous attendaient à votre heureux retour. Depuis trente ans, le nom de guerre n'était qu'un cri d'effroi, qu'un signal de calamités pour les peuples; la population des états envahis, comme celle des états conquérants, se précipitant l'une sur l'autre, offraient aux yeux du sage un spectacle lamentable. Aujourd'hui la guerre relève les nations abattues sur tous les points d'un vaste empire. Elle apparaît humaine, protectrice et généreuse, guerrière sans peur, conquérante sans vengeance. Votre vaillante épée, à la voix d'un puissant Monarque, vient de consacrer le noble et le légitime emploi de la valeur et des armes. Les trophées de la guerre, devenus la consolation d'un peuple opprimé, le volcan de la Révolution fermé *pour jamais*, la réconciliation de notre patrie cimentée aux yeux du monde, la victoire rendue à nos marins comme à nos guerriers, et la gloire de tous les enfants de la France confondue dans un nouveau faisceau; tels sont, Monseigneur, les résultats de cette campagne, telle est l'œuvre que vous avez accomplie."—*Moniteur*, Dec. 3, 1823.

with solemnity, "I am satisfied with you;" and, taking him by the hand, he led him to the balcony, where an immense crowd, with redoubled acclamations, testified their sympathy with the scene.

100. This triumphant career of the French army in Spain was viewed with very different eyes by the powers in Europe most interested in the issue. The Emperor of Russia, who had warmly supported the project of the intervention at Verona, and anxiously watched the progress of the enterprise, offered to move forward his troops from the Vistula to the Rhine, and to cover the eastern frontier of France with his armed masses. Mr Canning, justly alarmed at so open an assertion of a right of protectorate over Europe, strongly opposed the proposal. "France," said he, "conceiving her safety menaced, and her interests compromised, by the existing state of things in the Peninsula, we have not opposed her right to intervene; but she should only act singly, and the strictest neutrality should be observed by the other powers. If, in defiance of all stipulations, the European Cabinets should act otherwise, England would feel herself constrained to enforce the observance of existing engagements, and would at once consider the cause of Spain as her own." M. de Chateaubriand cordially seconded these remonstrances, and respectfully declined the proffered succour—

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

The armed intervention of Russia was thus averted by the union of the two western powers; and as the revolution of Portugal threatened the influence of England in that country, Mr Canning and the Prince de Polignac, the French ambassador in London, came to an understanding that France was not to interfere between the Cabinet of St James's and its ancient ally.

101. It was with undisguised vexation that Mr Canning beheld the triumphant progress of the French arms in Spain; and deeming, with reason, the throne of the Bourbons greatly strengthened, and the influence of

France on the Continent in a great degree re-established by the successful issue of the campaign, he resolved upon a measure which should re-establish the balance, and at the same time, as he hoped, materially benefit the commercial interests of England. This was the RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICS OF SOUTH AMERICA. His intention in this respect had been long before divined by the able diplomatist who conducted the French interests in London; * and we now possess the history of his views from the best of all sources—his own recorded statement. “When the French army,” said he, “was on the point of entering Spain,

* “Il est temps de jeter un regard sérieux sur l'avenir, et sur le dangereux ministre qui est venu se placer à la tête des destinées de l'Angleterre. Il nous faut sa chute ou sa conversion. Il ne tombera pas; ses ennemis n'ont pu l'exiler sur le trône des Indes. M. Peel, jeune, ferme, et populaire, s'avance sans impatience vers le ministère, *qui ne peut lui manquer un jour*. Lord Wellington, guerrier peu redoutable sur le champ de l'intrigue, a dû céder aux talents et à l'habileté de M. Canning. Il ne tombera pas; il faut donc pour nous qu'il change de conduite, et que de Briton qu'il est, il se fasse Européen; faites reluire à ses yeux l'éclat d'une grande gloire diplomatique: assemblez un nouveau congrès, qu'il vienne y traiter, à son tour, des intérêts de l'Orient, des colonies Américaines, de nos quatre dernières révolutions éteintes en deux ans, la Grèce, l'Italie, le Portugal, l'Espagne! Que l'Europe le couvre de faveurs! Inaccessible à l'or, il ne l'est pas à la louange: enfin réconciliez-le avec ses anciennes opinions monarchiques, et pardonnez-moi si, malgré mon jeune âge, je parle si librement avec vous des plus hauts intérêts de mon pays.”—M. MARCELLUS à M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, 17th December 1822. “Ne comptez pas sur l'Angleterre. Elle se refusera à toute mesure même pacifique, et cachera sous l'apparence de quelques demandes sans force réelle, son indifférence profonde des intérêts purement continentaux. Ce système de séparation ou d'égoïsme est imposé à M. Canning par ses amis, et surtout par son intérêt. Cet intérêt même peut le pousser à des concessions d'opinion personnelle, *qu'on n'eût jamais obtenues du Marquis de Londonderry*. Ainsi on le verra reconnaître la Colombie pour gagner le commerce, épouser la cause des Noirs pour plaire au Parlement, puis suspendre son action jusqu'ici favorable à la réforme catholique. Enfin il fera tout pour accroître cette popularité à laquelle il devra son maintien, comme il lui doit son élévation.”—M. MARCELLUS à M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, Londres, 3 Octobre 1822; MARCELLUS, *Politique de la Restauration*, 96; and LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 222.

we did all we could to prevent it; we resisted it by all means short of war. We did not go to war, because we felt that, if we did so, whatever the result might be, it would not lead to the evacuation of Spain by the French troops. In a war against France at that time, as at any other, you might perhaps have acquired military glory; you might perhaps have extended your colonial possessions; you might even have achieved, at a great loss of blood and treasure, an honourable peace; but as to getting the French out of Spain, that is the one object which you would certainly not have accomplished. Again, is the Spain of the present day the Spain whose puissance was expected to shake England from her sphere? No, sir; it was quite another Spain: it was the Spain within whose dominions the sun never sets; it was ‘Spain with the Indies’ that excited the jealousies and alarmed the imagination of our ancestors. When the French army entered Spain, the balance of power was disturbed, and we might, if we chose, have resisted or resented that measure by war. But were there no other means but war for restoring the balance of power? Is the balance of power a fixed and invariable standard; or is it not a standard perpetually varying as civilisation advances, and new nations spring up to take their place among established political communities?

102. “To look to the policy of Europe in the time of William and Anne, for the purpose of regulating the balance of power in Europe at the present day, is to disregard the progress of events, and to confuse dates and facts, which throw a reciprocal light upon each other. It would be disingenuous not to admit that the entry of the French army into Spain was, in a certain sense, a disparagement—an affront to the pride, a blow to the feelings, of England; and it can hardly be supposed that the Government did not sympathise on that occasion with the feelings of the people. But, questionable or unquestionable as the act might be, it was not one which necessarily called for our direct and

hostile opposition. Was nothing then to be done?—was there no other mode of resistance but by a direct attack upon France, or by a war undertaken on the soil of Spain? What if the possession of Spain might be rendered harmless in rival hands—harmless as regarded us, and valueless to the possessors? Might not compensation for disparagement be obtained, and the policy of our ancestors vindicated, by means better adapted to the present time? If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No: I looked another way; I sought materials for compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain ‘with the Indies.’ *I called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the Old.*”

103. It is one of the most curious truths apparent from history, how identical are the impulses of the human mind, at all times and in all countries, in similar circumstances, and how insensible men are to the moral character of actions when pursued for their own benefit, to which they are most acutely alive when undertaken for the advantage of others. The English had loudly exclaimed against the iniquity of the Northern powers in pretending to preserve the balance of power in the east of Europe, by dividing the spoils of Poland amongst each other; and they dwelt on the selfishness of Austria, in after times, which held out the Russian acquisition of Wallachia and Moldavia as sufficient ground for giving them a claim to Servia and Bosnia; but they thought there was nothing unjustifiable in our upholding the balance of power in the West, not by defending Spain against France, but by sharing in its spoils, and loudly applauded the minister who proposed to seek compensation for the French invasion of the Peninsula, by carving for British profit independent republics out of the Spanish dominions in South America, at the very time when he professed the

warmest interest in its independence. But be the intervention of England in South America justifiable or unjustifiable, nothing is more certain than that neither its merit nor its demerit properly belongs to Mr Canning. The independence of Columbia was decided by a charge of English bayonets on the field of Carabobo, on 14th June 1821, more than a year before Mr Canning was called to the Foreign Office. It was the ten thousand British auxiliaries, most of them veterans of Wellington, who sailed from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, under the eye of Lord Castlereagh, in 1818, 1819, and 1820, who really accomplished the emancipation of South America. That statesman’s last instructions to the Duke of Wellington on going to Verona, already given,* on July 6, 1822, expressly declared, “You will advocate this principle, that every province that has already established its independence should be recognised.” Mr Canning did not call the New World into existence, he only recognised it when already existing.

104. There can be no doubt, however, that this recognition was of essential importance to the infant republics, and that it was the stability and credit which they acquired from it which enabled them to fit out the memorable expedition which in the next year crossed the Andes, and at the foot of the cliffs of Ayacucho achieved the independence of Peru. Mr Canning’s measures, when he had once determined on neutralising the efforts of France in this way, were neither feeble nor undecided. On the 26th February 1823, he obtained from the British Government, by order in council, a revocation of the prohibition to export arms and the muniments of war to Spain or her insurgent colonies,†—

* Ante, chap. xii. § 19, note.

† “As far as the exportation of arms and ammunition was concerned, it was in the power of the Crown to remove any inequality between France and Spain simply by an order in council. Such an order was accordingly issued, and the prohibition of exporting arms and ammunition to Spain was taken off.”—Mr CANNING’S *Speech*, April 16, 1823; *Parl. Deb.*, viii. 1051. It was prohibited since 1819, both to Spain and the colonies, on the remon-

a step which called forth the loudest remonstrances from the French minister in London at the time.* This was soon after followed by still more decisive measures. On 16th April, Lord Althorpe brought forward a motion, in the House of Commons, for the repeal of the Act of 1819, which prohibited British subjects from engaging in foreign military service, or fitting out, in his Majesty's dominions, without the royal licence, vessels for warlike purposes; and although this proposal was thrown out by a majority of 216 to 110, yet the object was gained by the proof afforded of the interest which the cause of the insurgent colonies excited in this country. In June, Mr Canning refused to recognise the Regency established at Madrid after the entry of the Duke d'Angoulême; and in July, on a petition from some respectable merchants in London engaged in the South American trade, he agreed to appoint consuls to Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres. His language on this occasion was manly, and worthy of a British minister. "We will not," said he, "interfere with Spain in any attempts she may make to reconquer what were once her colonies, but we will not permit any third power to attack them, or to reconquer them for her: and in granting or refusing our recognition, we shall look, not to the conduct of any European power, but to the actual circumstances of these countries." And when Prince Polignac, the French minister in London, applied for explanations on the subject, and urged the expedience of establishing, in concert with the other European powers, monarchical states

strance of the Spanish Government.—Ante, chap. iv. § 95.

* "Hier je me suis plaint, et très-vivement, de la permission d'exporter en Espagne toutes armes et munitions de guerre; permission que le ministre vient de donner, de son propre mouvement, en révoquant l'arrêt qui s'y oppose. Des marchés importants d'armes et de munitions se traitent; des banquiers, membres influents de la Chambre des Communes, sont entrés dans ces spéculations que le Gouvernement encourage de la manière la plus manifeste."—M. MARCELLUS à M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, Londres, 28th Feb. 1823; MARCELLUS, 151.

in South America, Mr Canning's reply was, that "however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government in any of those provinces might be, his Government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of their recognition." †

105. Thus was achieved, mainly in consequence of the French invasion of Spain, the recognition of the independence of the South American republics. Whether they were fitted for the change—whether the cause of liberty has been advanced, or the social happiness of mankind advanced, by the substitution of the anarchy of independence for the despotism of old Spain, and whether British interests have been benefited by the alteration—may be judged of by the fact, that while the exports of Spain to her colonies, before the war of independence began, exceeded £15,000,000 sterling, the greater part of which consisted of British manufactures, conveyed in Spanish bottoms, the whole amount of our exports to these colonies is now (1852), thirty years after their independence had been established, only £8,000,000; and that the republic of *Bolivia*, called after the liberator Bolivar, has entirely disappeared from the chart of British exports.*

106. But whatever opinion may be formed on this point, one thing is clear,

* EXPORTS IN 1852 FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO—

Chili,	£1,167,494
Brazil,	3,164,394
Peru,	1,024,007
Buenos Ayres,	837,538
Mexico,	366,020
Venezuela,	273,733
Central America,	260,669
Uruguay,	615,418
New Granada,	502,128

Total to South American
republics, £8,211,401
—*Parl. Paper*, 17th July 1853.

EXPORTS IN 1809 FROM SPAIN TO—

Porto Rico,	£2,750,000
Mexico,	5,250,000
New Granada,	1,450,000
Caracas,	2,150,000
Peru and Chili,	2,875,000
Buenos Ayres and Potosi,	875,000
	£15,350,000

—HUMBOLDT, *Nouvelle Espagne*, iv. 153, 154.

that M. de Chateaubriand has furnished a better vindication of the British intervention in South America than any consideration of commercial advantages could have done. It appears from a revelation in his memoirs, that Mr Canning only anticipated his own designs upon these vast possessions of Spain, and that, instead of British consuls negotiating with independent republics, he contemplated monarchical states under *Bourbon princes*. "Cobbett," says he, "was the only person in England at that period who undertook our defence, who did us justice, who judged calmly both of the necessity of our intervention in Spain, and of the view which we had to restore to France the strength of which it had been deprived. Happily he did not divine our entire plan—which was to *break through or modify the treaties of Vienna, and to establish Bourbon monarchies in South America*. Had he discerned this, and lifted the veil, he would have exposed France to great danger, for already the alarm had seized the Cabinets of Europe."

107. The great danger which there was at that period of Europe being involved in a general war, and the ardent feelings which Mr Canning had on the subject, cannot be better illustrated than by a speech which he made at Plymouth in the autumn of this year, memorable alike from the sentiments it conveyed and the beauty of the language in which they were couched. "Our ultimate object," said he, "is the peace of the world; but let it not be said we cultivate peace, either because we fear, or because we are not prepared for, war: on the contrary, if, eight months ago, the Government did not hesitate to proclaim that the country was prepared for war, if war should unfortunately be necessary, every month of peace that has since passed has made us so much the more capable of exertion. The resources created by peace are the means of war. In cherishing these resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those

mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awake its dormant thunders! Such as is one of those magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its strength—such is England herself: while apparently passive and motionless, she silently caused the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion."

108. The usual effects of success appeared in the result of the elections which took place for the renewal of the fifth of the Chamber in the autumn of 1823. Nearly all were in favour of the Royalists, who had now acquired a decisive preponderance in the Chamber, sufficient to set at defiance the united strength of the Liberals and Centre. Several appointments were made at this time, all of extreme Royalists, indicating the acknowledged supremacy of that party in the legislature. M. de Villèle skilfully availed himself of this favourable state of affairs to contract a loan of 413,980,981 francs (£16,400,000) with the house of Rothschild & Co., which, in exchange for it, received an inscription on the Grand Livre for 23,114,000 francs yearly (£920,000); in other words, they took the stock created at 89.55 per cent. This advantageous loan—by far the most favourable for Government which had been made since the Restoration—put the treasury entirely at ease, and enabled Government to clear off all the outstanding debts connected with the Spanish war. Encouraged by this eminently favourable state of the public mind, M. de Villèle resolved on a dissolution of the Chamber, which was done by an ordonnance on 24th

December. The colleges of arrondissements were by the ordonnance appointed to meet on the 25th February, those of the departments on the 6th March. They met accordingly, and the result was entirely favourable to the Royalists. In Paris, the centre of the Liberal party, and where they had hitherto in general obtained all the twelve seats, they succeeded in returning only General Foy, M. Casimir Périer, and Benjamin Constant. So entire was the defeat of the Opposition, that over all France they succeeded, out of 434 elections, in gaining only fifteen seats in the colleges of arrondissements, and two in those of departments—in all, seventeen; an astonishing result in a country so recently torn by popular passions, and indicating at once the great change in the composition of the legislature which the institution of the colleges of departments had made, and the overwhelming influence of military success on a people so essentially warlike in their disposition as the French. Such was the effect of these circumstances on the public funds, that notwithstanding the great loan contracted for by Rothschild, and which was not yet fully paid into the treasury, the Five per Cents rose in the beginning of March to 104.80, an elevation which they had never even approached for half a century.

109. To all appearance the Government of the Restoration was now established on the most solid of all bases on which a constitutional throne can rest, for an overwhelming majority in its favour had at last been obtained even in the popular branch of the legislature. Yet so closely are the seeds of evil interwoven with those of good in the complicated maze of human affairs, that out of this very favourable state of affairs arose the principal causes which in the end occasioned its fall. It induced a result—fatal in a free state—that of making Government consider themselves safe if they could command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies; a very natural opinion in men accustomed to look to its votes as determining the fate of administra-

tions, and even of dynasties, but of all others the most dangerous, if the period arrives, as it must do in the course of time, when the public mind is strongly excited, and the popular representatives do not respond to its mutations. This tendency revealed itself in the very first measures of the new legislature.

110. The Chambers met on the 23d March, and the King's speech congratulated the country with reason on the eminently auspicious circumstances under which they were assembled. "The triumph of our arms," said the monarch, "which has secured so many guarantees for order, is due to the discipline and bravery of the French army, conducted by my son with as much wisdom as valour." At these words, loud cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Duc d'Angoulême!" arose on all sides; but subjects more likely to elicit difference of opinion were next introduced. After stating the inconveniences which experience had proved resulted from the annual election of a fifth of the Chamber, it announced an intention of introducing a bill for extending the duration of the legislature to *seven years*, subject to the King's right of dissolution; and another for the purpose of "providing the means of repaying the holders of Government annuities, or converting their rights into a claim for sums annually, more in accordance with the present state of other transactions; an operation which cannot fail to have a beneficial influence on commerce and agriculture, and will enable Government, when it is carried into effect, to diminish the public burdens, and close the last wounds of the Revolution."

111. These words announced the two important measures of the session, which were immediately brought forward by Government. So obvious were the advantages, at first sight at least, of the first, that the Cabinet were unanimous on the subject. The sagacious and practical M. de Villèle, and the ardent and enthusiastic M. de Chateaubriand, alike gave it their cordial support. It was argued in support of this measure, "that the time

had now arrived when it had become practicable to remove the great difficulty with which the Bourbons had had to contend since the Restoration. That difficulty was the want of a fixed majority in the Chamber of Deputies, upon which Government could rely for the support of their measures. The inevitable consequence of this was, that anything like a consistent system of government was impossible. The King was obliged to take his ministers at one time from the Liberal, at another from the Royalist side; a single vote might compel an entire change in the system of administration, both external and internal; one session might undo everything, how beneficial soever, which the preceding session had done. The effect of this was not only to deprive Government of anything like a fixed or consistent character, but to keep alive party ambition and the spirit of faction in the legislature, from the near prospect which was constantly afforded to either party of dispossessing their antagonists, and seating themselves in power. Add to this, that the annual renewal of a fifth of the Chamber kept the people in a continual ferment, and aggravated the evils of corruption and undue influence, by concentrating the whole efforts of parties annually on a fifth only of the entire electors. And as to the danger of the legislature ceasing to represent public opinion, that was greater in appearance than reality, because, as the King had the power of dissolution, he could at any time give the people an opportunity of making any change on this which they might desire."

112. Strong as these arguments were, and powerfully as they spoke to a Government now, for the first time for ten years, in possession of a decided majority in the popular branch of the legislature, there were considerations on the other side, less pressing at the moment, but perhaps still more important in the end. "The change," it was answered, "proposes to repeal a vital part of the Charter, which expressly provides for the annual renewal of a fifth of the Chamber, and, contrary to the whole principles of representative govern-

ment, goes to introduce an entire change into the constitution. The great, the lasting danger to be apprehended from the alteration is, that it tends to make the King independent of the popular voice, and may bring his legislature into such discredit with the nation as, in troubled times, may induce the most terrible convulsions—in pacific, totally destroying its utility. What is the use, where is the moral influence, of a legislature which is at variance with the great body of the nation? A senate which is merely to record the decrees of an emperor, in order to take from him their responsibility, may be a convenient appendage of despotism, but it is no part of the institutions of a free people. But the legislature, if elected for seven years certain, without any means of infusing into it, during that long period, any new blood, any fresh ideas, runs the most imminent hazard of degenerating into such an instrument of despotism. In vain are we told that the monarch may dissolve it, and thus bring in another more in harmony with the general opinion at the moment. What security have we that he will adopt this wise and temperate course? Is it not next to certain that he will do just the reverse? If the Crown is at issue with the people upon some question which strongly interests both, is it probable that the Government will adopt the course of dissolving a legislature which is favourable to its views, and introducing one which is adverse to them? As well may you expect a general to disband his faithful guards, and raise a new body of defenders from the ranks of his enemies. And what is to be expected from such a blind reliance of the Crown on an immovable legislature, but such an accumulation of discontent and ill-humour in the nation, as cannot fail, on the first occasion when the passions of the people are strongly excited, to overturn the monarchy?" Notwithstanding the strength of these arguments, the justice of which was so fatally verified by the event, the proposed bill, which fixed the duration of the Chamber at seven years, passed both branches of

the legislature by large majorities, the numbers in the Deputies being 292 to 87, in the Peers 117 to 64.

113. The next great measure of the session encountered a more serious opposition, and was ultimately unsuccessful. The project of Government, which was brought forward by the Finance Minister on 5th April, was to take advantage of the present high rate of interest to convert the 5 per cents into 3 per cents, taking the latter at 75. They had made arrangements with the leading bankers in Paris to advance the requisite funds to pay off such of the public creditors as should decline to submit to the reduction, the lenders of the money receiving the new 3 per cents stock at the same rate. This measure, it was calculated, would effect a reduction in the annual charge of the debt of 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000), and at the same time would establish the credit of Government and the nation on the most solid foundation, by demonstrating the trust of the leading capitalists in the integrity of its administration, and the magnitude of its resources; while, by effecting so great a diminution of the public burdens, it might pave the way for ulterior measures, which would close the last wounds of the Revolution.

114. It was ascertained at this time that there were 250,000 persons in France holders of Government annuities, of whom more than a half held right to only 500 francs (£20) a-year or under. The public funds were thus the great savings-bank of the nation; and it might easily have been foreseen, what the event soon proved, that the proposal to reduce their incomes would excite the most dangerous commotions. Nothing, accordingly, could exceed the violence with which it was assailed, both in the legislature and in the public journals; and every day that the discussion lasted, the public excitement became greater. Such, however, was the influence of Government in the Royalist Chamber, that, after a prolonged discussion, and having encountered the most violent opposition, it passed the Deputies, on the 3d May, by a majority of 238 to 145.

But the result was different in the Peers, where, on the 31st July, it was thrown out by a majority of 34, the numbers being 128 to 94. It was particularly observed, that M. de Cha-teaubriand, though holding the situation of Foreign Secretary, did not speak in favour of the ministerial project, and that several of his party, both in the Peers and Commons, voted against it.

115. In forming an opinion on this decision, it is necessary to distinguish between the situation of the holders of stock in the English and French funds. In the former, where the whole debt has been contracted by money advanced at different times to Government, it is impossible to dispute that, if a succeeding administration are in a situation to repay the capital sum borrowed, the holder of the stock has no reason to complain. In this country, accordingly, various parts of the public debt have at different times undergone a reduction of interest, without the slightest complaint, or imputation of injustice to Government. But the case is widely different in France. There the public debt consisted almost entirely of *perpetual* annuities, or *rentes*, as they are called, which were contracted by Government for no principal sum advanced at any one time, but as a compensation for the bankruptcies, spoliations, and confiscations of the Revolution, when two-thirds of the national debt had been swept away; or in consideration of sums advanced to extricate the executive from its embarrassments, or to effect the liberation of the territory in 1818. It was an essential condition of all such advances and arrangements, that the annuity was to be *perpetual*, and it was the understanding that it was to be such which constituted its principal marketable value. To transfer to these holders of *rentes* the principles rightly applied to the English loans of capital was obviously unjust, and therefore there seems to be no doubt that the decision of the House of Peers on this momentous question was consonant to justice.

116. The rejection of this law gave

the utmost satisfaction in Paris, and was celebrated by bonfires in the streets, and all the noisy ebullitions of popular rejoicing. It led to one result, however, of a very important character, and which, in its ultimate results, was eminently prejudicial to the Government of the Restoration. M. de Chateaubriand was not personally agreeable to Louis XVIII., and he was the object of undisguised jealousy to the whole administration. This is noways surprising; genius always is so. Power hates intellectual influence, mediocrity envies renown, ambition dreads rivalry. Obsequious talent, useful ability, is what they all desire, for they aid without endangering them. In truth, since the successful issue of the Spanish war, the position of Chateaubriand had become so commanding that it overbalanced that of the Prime Minister himself. He united in his own person the political influence of Mr Canning, and the literary fame of Sir Walter Scott. This was more than human nature could bear; a similar combination of political and military power had roused the jealousy which proved fatal to Marlborough. The conduct of Chateaubriand and his friends, on the question of reduction of the *rentes*, had indicated a desire to court popularity, which was suspected, not without reason, to spring from a secret design to supplant the Prime Minister.

117. M. de Villèle saw his danger, and resolved to anticipate the blow. The day after the vote in the Peers on the *rentes*, M. de Chateaubriand received a notification, in the coldest terms, from M. de Villèle, that his services were no longer required at the Foreign Office; and, to make the dismissal the more galling, it was sent by a common menial. The portfolio of Foreign Affairs was bestowed on M. de Damas; and at the same time the office of Minister at War was given to M. Clermont-Tonnerre, in room of Marshal Victor, who received his dismissal. Chateaubriand, who was very ambitious, and, with all his great qualities, inordinately vain, felt his fall keenly; he had not manliness enough

to act a noble part on the occasion; he avenged the minister on the throne; and the pen which had mainly contributed to the restoration of the Bourbons, became one of the most powerful agents in bringing about their fall.

118. The remainder of the session presented nothing worthy of notice in general history, but the budget, which exhibited the most flattering appearances. From the papers laid before the Chamber, it appeared that the total revenue of the State in 1823 was 1,123,456,000 francs (£44,940,000), including 100,000,000 (£4,000,000) borrowed for the Spanish war, and for 1824, only 905,306,633 francs (£36,200,000), in consequence of the cessation of hostilities. The expenditure in the first year was 1,118,025,169 francs (£44,700,000), and in the second 904,734,000 (£36,200,000), leaving in each year a trifling balance of income over expenditure. The public debt in 1823 was 2,700,726,000 francs (£108,000,000); the army mustered 230,000 combatants, the navy 49 ships of the line and 31 frigates.

119. During this year Louis XVIII. lived, but did not reign. His mission was accomplished; his work was done. The reception of the Duke d'Angoulême and his triumphant host at the Tuileries was the last real act of his eventful career; thenceforward the royal functions, nominally his own, were in reality performed by others. It must be confessed he could not have terminated his reign with a brighter ray of glory. The magnitude of the services he rendered to France can only be appreciated by recollecting in what state he found, and in what he left it. He found it divided, he left it united; he found it overrun by conquerors, he left it returning from conquest; he found it in slavery, he left it in freedom; he found it bankrupt, he left it affluent; he found it drained of its heart's blood, he left it teeming with life; he found it overspread with mourning, he left it radiant with happiness. An old man had vanquished the Revolution; he had done that which Robespierre and Napoleon had left undone. He had ruled France, and

showed it could be ruled without either foreign conquest or domestic blood. Foreign bayonets had placed him on the throne, but his own wisdom maintained him on it. Other sovereigns of France may have left more durable records of their reign, for they have written them in blood, and engraven them in characters of fire upon the minds of men; but none have left so really glorious a monument of their rule, for it was written in the hearts, and might be read in the eyes, of his subjects.

120. This arduous and memorable reign, however, so beset with difficulties, so crossed by obstacles, so opposed by faction, was now drawing to a close. His constitution, long oppressed by a complication of disorders, the result in part of the constitutional disorders of his family, was now worn out. Unable to carry on the affairs of state, sinking under the load of government, he silently relinquished the direction to M. de Villèle and the Count d'Artois, who really conducted the administration of affairs. Madame Du Cayla was the organ by whose influence they directed the royal mind. The pomp of the court was kept up, but Louis was a stranger to it; he sat at the sumptuous table of the Tuileries, but his fare was that of the hermit in his cell. He presided at the councils of his Ministers, but took little part in their deliberations. His only excitement consisted in frequent excursions in his carriage, which was driven with the utmost speed; the rapidity of the motion restored for a brief season his languid circulation. He felt, says Lamartine, the same pleasure in these exercises that a captive does in the presence of the sun. During the summer of 1824 he was manifestly sinking, and he knew it; but no symptoms of apprehension appeared in his conversation or manner. "Let us put a good face upon it," said he to M. de Villèle, "and meet death as becomes a king." The Minister, however, was more aware than he was how much the public tranquillity depended on his life; and to prevent alarm on the subject being prematurely excited, the liberty

of the press was by royal edict provisionally suspended, by re-establishing the censure. The people felt the motive, and had delicacy enough to acquiesce in silence in the temporary restraint. Soon after, the influence which now gained possession of the Government appeared in another ordonnance, which created a new ministry, that of "Ecclesiastical Affairs," which was bestowed on Count Fraysenous, Bishop of Hermopolis, Grandmaster of the University. As he was a man of ability, and the acknowledged representative of the *Parti Prêtre*, this appointment was of sinister augury for the tranquillity of the succeeding reign.

121. The declining days of this monarch were chiefly spent in conversation, an exercise of the mind in which he took the greatest delight, as is generally the case with those whose intellectual faculties in advanced years remain entire, but who are debarred by increasing infirmities from continuing the active duties of life. "His natural talent," says Lamartine, "cultivated, reflective, and quick, full of recollections, rich in anecdotes, nourished by philosophy, enriched by quotations, never deformed by pedantry, rendered him equal in conversation to the most renowned literary characters of his age. M. de Chateaubriand had not more elegance, M. de Talleyrand more wit, Madame de Staël more brilliancy. Never inferior, always equal, often superior to those with whom he conversed on every subject, yet with more tact and address than they, he changed his tone and the subject of conversation with those he addressed, and yet was never exhausted by any one. History, contemporary events, things, men, theatres, books, poetry, the arts, the incidents of the day, formed the varied text of his conversations. Since the suppers of Potsdam, where the genius of Voltaire met the capacity of Frederick the Great, never had the cabinet of a prince been the sanctuary of more philosophy, literature, talent, and taste."

122. Though abundantly sensible of

the necessity of the support of religion to the maintenance of his throne, and at once careful and respectful in its outward observances, Louis was far from being a bigot, and in no way the slave of the Jesuits, who in his declining days had got possession of his palace. In secret, his opinions on religious subjects, though far from sceptical, were still farther from devout: he had never surmounted the influence of the philosophers who, when he began life, ruled general opinion in Paris. He listened to the suggestions of the priests, when they were presented to him from the charming lips of Madame Du Cayla; but he never permitted themselves any nearer approach to his person. As his end was visibly approaching, this circumstance gave great distress to the Count d'Artois, the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the other members of the royal family, who were deeply impressed with religious feelings, and dreaded the King's departing this life without having received the last benediction of the Church. They could not, however, for long induce him to send for his confessor; and to attain the object, they were at last obliged to recall to court Madame Du Cayla, who had found her situation so uncomfortable, from the cold reception she experienced from the royal family, that she had retired from the palace. She came back accordingly, and by her influence Louis was persuaded to send for the priest, and after confessing received supreme unction. "You alone," said he, taking her hand and addressing Madame Du Cayla, "could venture to address me on this subject. I will do as you desire: Adieu! We will meet in another world. I have now no longer any concern with this."

123. At length the last hour approached. The extremities of the King became cold, and symptoms of mortification began to appear; but his mind continued as distinct, his courage as great as ever. He was careful to conceal his most dangerous symptoms from his attendants. "A king of France," said he, "may die, but he is never ill;" and around his death-

bed he received the foreign diplomats and officers of the national guard, with whom he cheerfully conversed upon the affairs of the day. "Love each other," said the dying monarch to his family, "and console yourselves by that affection for the disasters of our house. Providence has replaced us upon the throne; and I have succeeded in maintaining you on it by concessions which, without weakening the real strength of the Crown, have secured for it the support of the people. The Charter is your best inheritance; preserve it entire, my brothers, for me, for our subjects, for yourselves;" then stretching out his hand to the Duke de Bordeaux, who was brought to his bedside, he added, "and also for this dear child, to whom you should transmit the throne after my children are gone. May you be more wise than your parents." He then received supreme unction, thanked the priests and his attendants, and bade adieu to all, and especially M. Decazes, who stood at a little distance, but whose sobs attracted his notice. He then composed himself to sleep, and rested peaceably during the night. At daybreak on the following morning the chief physician opened the curtains to feel his pulse; it was just ceasing to beat. "The King is dead," said he, bowing to the Count d'Artois,—“Long live the King!”

124. Louis XVIII., who thus paid the debt of nature, after having sat for ten years on the throne of France, during the most difficult and stormy period in its whole annals, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. Alone of all the sovereigns who have ruled its destinies since the Revolution, he succeeded in conducting the Government without either serious foreign war or domestic overthrow. In this respect he was more fortunate, or rather more wise, than either Napoleon, Charles X., or Louis Philippe; for the first kept his seat on the throne only by keeping the nation constantly in a state of hostility, and the two last lost their crowns mainly by having attempted to do without it. He was no common man who at such a time, and with such a people, could succeed in effecting such

a prodigy. Louis Philippe aimed at being the Napoleon of peace; but Louis XVIII. really was so, and succeeded so far that he died King of France. The secret of his success was, that he entirely accommodated himself to the temper of the times. He was the man of the age—neither before it, like great, nor behind it, like little men. Thus he succeeded in steering the vessel of the State successfully through shoals which would have in all probability stranded a man of greater or less capacity. The career of Napoleon illustrated the danger of the first, that of Charles X. the peril of the last.

125. In addition to this tact and judgment which enabled him to scan with so much correctness the signs of the times, and choose his ministers and shape his measures accordingly, he had many qualities of essential value in a constitutional monarch, who must always be more or less guided by others. His intellect was clear, his memory great, his observation piercing. Though he formed strong opinions from his own judgment, he was ready to listen to considerations on the opposite side; often yielded to superior weight in argument, and even, when unconvinced, knew how to yield when circumstances rendered it expedient to do so. He was humane and benevolent; few monarchs surmounted so many rebellions with so little effusion of blood; and the rare deeds of severity which did occur during his reign were forced upon him, much against his will, by the strength of the public voice, or the violence of an overwhelming parliamentary majority. He had his weaknesses, but they were of a harmless kind, and did not interfere with his public conduct. Though oppressed in latter years with the corpulence hereditary in his family, and the victim of gout and other painful diseases, he was abstemious in the pleasures of the table, and generally dined amidst the sumptuous repasts of the Tuileries on two eggs and a few glasses of wine. A constitutional coldness, and the infirmities to which he was latterly a victim, preserved him from the well-known weaknesses to which his ances-

tors had so often been the slaves; but he yielded to none of them in appreciation of the society of elegant and cultivated women, and devoted all his leisure hours, perhaps to a blamable extent, to their society, or the daily correspondence he kept up with them. But he did not permit their influence to warp his judgment in affairs of state, and never yielded to it so readily as when employed in pleading on behalf of the unfortunate.

126. The final issue of the Spanish revolution affords the clearest illustration of the extreme danger and inevitable tendency of the military treachery and revolt in which it took its rise. No one can doubt that the cause of freedom in the Peninsula, and in Europe, was essentially and deeply injured by the revolt of Riego and Quiroga in the Isle of Leon in 1820, which at the time was hailed with such enthusiasm by the whole friends of freedom in the Old and New World. It was not merely from the strong and general reaction to which it of necessity gave rise that this effect took place; the result was equally certain, and would have been still more swift, had the triumph of the revolutionists continued uninterrupted. Military treason, Prætorian revolt, even when supported at the time by the voice of a vast majority of the people, can never in the end terminate in anything but destruction to the cause for which it is undertaken, for this plain reason, that, being carried into effect by the strongest, it leaves society without any safeguard against their excesses. This accordingly was what took place in Spain; it was the triumph of the revolutionists which, by destroying liberty, rendered inevitable their fall. The Royalist reaction, and desolating civil war to which it gave rise, preceded, not followed, the invasion of the French. It arose from the oppressive measures of the Government appointed by the military chiefs, who had been the leaders of the revolt. It was Riego, not the Duke d'Angoulême, who was the real murderer of liberty in Spain. It was the same in England. No one supposes that either the Long Parliament or Cromwell were the founders

of British liberty; what they induced was, the military tyranny which made all sigh for the Restoration. No cause ever yet was advanced by treachery and treason, least of all in the armed defenders of law and order. So true are the words of Wieland, placed in an inscription on the hero's sword:—

“Vermess sich kerner untugendlich,
Diess schwertes anzumuthen sich;
Treugeht über alles
Untrue schandet alles!”*

127. The French invasion of Spain in 1823 was a model of combined energy and moderation, and affords an apt illustration of observations made in another work as to the consequences which might have resulted from a more vigorous action on the part of the Allied powers in their invasion of Champagne in 1792. Decried and passed over in silence by the Liberal and Napoleonist historians, who had an object in keeping out of view its merits, it was in reality an expedition which reflected equal honour on the Government which planned, and the generals and soldiers who executed it. Undertaken in support of Royalist principles, and to overcome a revolutionary convulsion, it partook of the dangerous character which more or less belongs to all wars of opinion; and had it been conducted with less vigour and moderation, it would infallibly have lighted a flame which would have involved Europe in conflagration. Jealousy of France is inherent in the Spanish character: it burned as fiercely in the breasts of the Royalists as the Liberals; a spark might have set the whole country on fire. A cruel massacre, such as that of Murat at Madrid, on 2d May 1808—an act of perfidy, like that which has for ever disgraced the memory of Napoleon at Bayonne—would at once have caused the entire nation to run to arms. England, in such an event, could never have remained a passive spectator of the strife, and probably a new Peninsular war would have arisen, rivalling

in blood and devastation that which Wellington had brought to a glorious termination. But by advancing with vigour and celerity at once to the capital—by paying for everything, and avoiding the execrable system of making war maintain war—by disclaiming all intention of territorial aggrandisement, and generously proclaiming an entire amnesty for political offences,—they succeeded in detaching the revolutionary party from the vast majority of the nation, and effecting that which Napoleon, during six campaigns, sought in vain to accomplish. Little blood was shed in Spain, because the wisdom of the measures adopted required little to be shed; and never was eulogium more just than the generous one pronounced on it by Mr Canning, who said, “Never was so much done at so little cost of human life.”

128. So great was the advantage gained by the Government of the Restoration, in consequence of the glorious issue of this campaign, that it went far to establish it on a lasting foundation. But for the blind infatuation which, under the direction of the priests, guided the Government of Charles X., it in all probability would have done so. The prophecy of Chateaubriand had been fulfilled to the letter. The Royalists and Republicans had forgot their animosities under the tent; the reign of Louis XVIII. terminated in a state of peace and unanimity which could not possibly have been hoped for at its commencement. So strong is the military spirit in the French people, so ardent and inextinguishable their thirst for war, that when these passions are once roused, they obliterate for the time every other, and unite parties the most opposite, and feelings the most discordant, in the eager pursuit of the ruling national desire. Napoleon himself could not have preserved his throne but for the whirl in which his incessant wars kept the minds of his people. Louis XIV. was, till he became involved in misfortune, the most popular monarch who ever sat upon the throne of France; and if circumstances had admitted of either Charles X. or Louis Philippe

* “Scathless held by virtue's shield,
Dare alone this sword to wield;
God shall bless the faithful hand—
Ruin waits the faithless brand.”

going to war, and emerging victorious from its dangers, it is not going too far to assert that the family of one or other of them would still have been in possession of it.

129. No doubt can now remain that the French invasion of Spain, against which public feeling in this country was so strongly excited at the time, was not only a wise measure on the part of the Bourbon Government, but fully justifiable on the best principles of international law. The strength of this case is to be found, not in the absurdity and peril of the Spanish constitution, or even the imminent hazard to which it exposed the royal family in that country, and the entire liberties and property of its inhabitants; for with these results foreign nations have nothing to do. It is to be found in the violent inroads which the Spanish revolutionists and their allies to the north of the Pyrenees were making on France itself, and the extreme hazard to which its institutions were exposed in consequence of their machinations. Ever since the Spanish revolution broke out, France had been kept in a continual ferment: the second in succession to the throne had been murdered, and his consort, when *enceinte* of an heir to the monarchy, attempted to be murdered by political fanatics; military conspiracies in great numbers had been got up to imitate the example of the soldiers in the Isle of Leon, and overturn the Government; Paris had been convulsed by an attempted revolution; France was covered with secret societies, having Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, Manuel, and all the Liberal leaders in the Chamber of Deputies, at their head, the object of which was to overthrow the Government by means of murder, treason, and revolt; and a band of desperadoes had been collected on the Pyrenees, under the tricolor flag, who openly invited the French soldiers to fraternise with them, throw off the yoke of the Bourbons, and rally round the standard of Napoleon II. When such measures were in progress, it was evident that the safety of France, and the preservation of its institutions,

were seriously menaced, and that its Government was warranted in taking steps to extinguish so perilous a volcano in the neighbouring state, by the strongest of all reasons—that of self-preservation.

130. It is more difficult to find grounds to vindicate the intervention of England in favour of the insurgent colonies in South America, which was done in so efficacious a manner, and from the success of which consequences of such incalculable importance have ensued to both hemispheres. Nothing can be clearer, indeed, than that when the colonies of Spain had become *de facto* independent, and Spain was obviously unable to reassert her dominion over them, we were warranted in treating with them as independent powers, and sending consuls to their chief towns to guard British mercantile interests. If our intervention had been limited to this, the most scrupulous public morality could not have objected to the course pursued. But we not only did this—we did a great deal more, and of a much more questionable character. We allowed the laws against foreign enlistments to become a dead letter; permitted expeditions of eight and ten thousand men, many of them Wellington's veterans, to sail from the Thames under the very eye of Government; and advanced immense sums by loan, to enable the insurgent states to prolong the contest. It was by these means, *and these alone*, that the conflict was ultimately decided in favour of the colonies, and against the mother country. The decisive battle of Carabobo was gained entirely by British battalions and a charge of the British bayonet.

131. What was the justification for this armed and powerful intervention? Was the freedom of England menaced by the re-establishment of Spanish authority in South America? Confessedly it was not: the hope of commercial advantages, the vision of a vast trade with the insurgent states, was the ruling motive. But commercial advantages will not constitute legal right, or vindicate acts of injustice, any more than the acquisition of

provinces will justify an unprovoked invasion. It sounds well to say you will call a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old; but if that new world is to be carved out of the dominions of an allied and friendly power, it is better to leave it to itself. England saw very clearly the iniquity of this insidious mode of proceeding when it was applied to herself, when Louis XVI. allowed covert succours to the American insurgents to sail from the French harbours, and the Americans sent some thousand sympathisers to aid the Canadian revolt in 1837. She loudly denounced it when the Americans permitted an expedition to sail from New Orleans, in 1852, to revolutionise Cuba; and she exclaim-

ed against the Irish democrats, who petitioned the French revolutionary Government, in 1848, to recognise a Hibernian republic in the Emerald Isle. But what were the two last but following her example? She sees the mote in her neighbour's eye, but cannot discover the beam in her own. It will appear in the sequel of this History whether England in fact derived any benefit, even in a commercial point of view, from this great act of disguised aggression; whether the cause of freedom and the interests of humanity were really advanced by it; and whether the greatest calamities, public and private, its inhabitants have ever undergone, may not be distinctly traced to its consequences.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASIA MINOR AND GREECE: THEIR SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND STATISTICAL STATE—TURKEY.

1. In the stationary nations of Western Europe, where the inhabitants have in a manner taken root in the soil, and the broad Atlantic alike forbids the entrance, and for long precludes the further migration of man, the contests of the species are chiefly social or religious. It is difference of faith or of political privileges which arms one part of the people against the other; and foreign wars, not less than internal discord, arise chiefly from the efforts which one part of the nation makes to alter the creed or shake off the institutions which have been imposed upon it by the other. But in the Eastern states, and where nations have been exposed in successive ages to the inroads of different tribes, issuing from that great nursery of migratory man, the table-land of Central Asia, the case is widely different. External wars, not less than internal convulsions, there arise, for the most part,

from the violent superinduction of one race of men upon another—of a new horde upon the original settlers. The attempt to effect this induces, in the first instance, the most terrible wars of invasion; for what will men not do to prevent the inroad of a barbarous invader into their lands, their hearths, their temples?—in the last, the not less frightful civil dissensions in the efforts which a long course of oppression at length rouses the subjected people to make, to throw off the yoke of their oppressors.

“ Proud of the yoke, and pliant to the rod,
Why yet does Asia dread a monarch's nod,
While European freedom still withstands
The encroaching tide that drowns her lessening lands?
And sees far off, with an indignant groan,
Her native plains and empires once her own.”*

2. The two great moving powers of mankind are the unseen but constant-

* GRAY.

ly acting springs of all these changes. Providence, to carry out the work of human progress and the dispersion of the species, has impressed, in an equally indelible manner, upon the tribes of Central Asia, the passion for migration, and upon the inhabitants of Western Europe the love of freedom. From the first has arisen the peopling of Europe; and the spread of the Asiatic race through the Old World; from the last, the civilisation of America and Australia, and the settlement of the European race in the New. If we would find a parallel to the vast swarms of Celts, Scythians, Goths, Huns, Saxons, Arabs, and Turks, who have successively invaded Europe and Africa from the eastward, and continued their devastating advance till they were stopped by the waves of the Atlantic, we must come down to the present day, when still greater hosts of civilised emigrants issue annually from the harbours of Great Britain and Germany, to seek in Transatlantic wilds or Australian steppes the means of livelihood and the pleasures of independence, till they are stopped by the waters of the Pacific. But the inroad of civilised is more fatal to the original inhabitants than that of savage man; the fire-water of the Christian destroys the species more effectually than the scimitar of the Osmanli. The last spares some, and permits in the end a mingled race of victors and vanquished to spring up together on the conquered lands; the first utterly extirpates the original race, and leaves only its remains, like those of the mammoth, to excite the wonder of future generations of men.

3. From these passions acting with equal force, and with the same consequences, upon distant lands in different stages of human existence, have arisen the greatest and most renowned wars, the most melancholy devastations, the greatest impulse to exertion, which have formed the subject of poetry and history from the earliest ages to the present time. From the time when the genius of Homer first sang the effort of Greece to repel the predatory inroads of Asia, and Iphigenia

offered herself a willing sacrifice, that the Grecian maidens might sleep in peace, secure from the Eastern ravishers,* to these times, when, after a frightful but glorious struggle, the classic land of Hellas has been again liberated from its oppressors, and the Athenian damsels are secure from the slavery of the Turkish harems, the greatest struggles of mankind have been between the invading and conquering East and the defensive but indomitable West.

4. Defeated at Salamis and Plataea, for centuries kept at bay by the discipline of the Legions, pierced to the heart by the strength of the Empire, the East in the end asserted its superiority over the West, and resumed its place as the great aggressive and conquering power. Its swarms, long pent up, at length burst forth; the Goths broke through the barriers of the Danube and the Rhine, and fixed their lasting abode in the decaying provinces of the Roman empire; the Arabs issued from their fiery deserts with the Koran in one hand and the scimitar in the other, penetrated through Africa and Spain into the heart of France, and were only arrested by the enthusiasm of the Crusades on the shores of Palestine; the Huns and Slavonians spread over Eastern Europe, and settled themselves in the plains of Poland and Hungary; the Turks stormed Constantinople itself, and subdued the finest provinces of the Eastern Empire. Europe may boast its courage, its freedom, its energy, and every quarter of the globe attests its industry or its prowess; but history tells a different tale, and points to Asia as the cradle of the lasting conquerors of mankind. It required the genius of Alexander to advance his phalanx into the centre of Persia, the energy of England to urge her standards into the mountains of

* "Das ganze grosse Griechenland hat jetzt
Die Augen auf mich Einzige gerichtet.
Ich mache seine Flotte frei—durch mich.
Wird Phrygien erobert. Wenn fortan
Kein griechisch Weib mehr zittern darf,
gewaltsam
Aus Hellas sel'gem Boden weggeschleppt.
Zu werden von Barbaren, die nunmehr
Für Paris Frevelthat so fürchterlich
Bezahlen müssen."

SCHILLER, *Iphigenie in Aulis*, Act v. scene 5.

Cabul; but neither were able to effect a permanent settlement in the regions they had overrun; while, without military genius, discipline, or warlike resources, the Eastern tribes have in every age settled themselves as permanent conquerors in the European fields. Where will the traveller find, in the Asiatic realms, a trace of the European race—where, in the European, are the descendants of the Asiatic not to be found?

5. From this ceaseless pressure of the East on the West has arisen not merely wars of invasion, but social conflicts, in the east of Europe, entirely different from those which have divided the Western nations. The barbarians who, issuing from Asia, succeeded in establishing themselves in Europe, formed permanent settlements, appropriated the land in whole or part to themselves, and transmitted it, as they hoped, in peace to their descendants. But they were not permitted to remain in quiet possession of their new acquisitions; another swarm followed in their footsteps, and they were themselves overwhelmed by the waves of conquest. Thence succeeded the fiercest and most enduring conflicts which have ever divided mankind—those where different conquering races settled in the same territories, and contended with each other for its government, its lands, its revenues, its women. The strife of RACES is more lasting, their enmity more inveterate, their hostility more persevering, than that of parties. The animosity of the Magyar against the German, of the Pole against the Russian, of the Italian against the German, of the Celt against the Anglo-Saxon, of the Greek against the Turk, is more fierce and indelible than that of the democrat against the aristocrat, or the republican against the royalist. Like the colour of the hair or the tint of the visage, it is transmitted unchanged from generation to generation; unlike the fleeting fervour of cities, which is readily diverted by new objects of pursuit, it slumbers undecayed in the solitude of rural life, and, after the lapse of centuries, bursts forth with undiminished fury, when circum-

stances occur which fan the embers into a flame. The most animating and heart-stirring events which are recounted in the succeeding pages have arisen from the conflict of races, which, as more widespread and lasting, have in a great degree superseded that of social change.

6. Placed on the confines of Europe and Asia, the regions which formerly formed part of the Byzantine, and now compose the TURKISH EMPIRE, have in every age been the chief seat of these frightful contests. The coasts of the Euxine, the isles of the Archipelago, the shores of the Danube, the mountains of Greece, have from the earliest times been the battle-field between Europe and Asia. When the vast stream of the Crusaders poured across the Hellespont, they wound unconsciously around the tombs of Achilles and Ajax; they trod the fields of the Scamander, they drank at the fountain at the Scæan gate. The environs of Jerusalem have been the theatre of the greatest and most heart-stirring conflict which has occurred since Titus drew his trenches round the devoted city. The plains of Bessarabia, broken only by the Scythian tumuli, are whitened by the bones of those swarms of warriors whose names, as the Russian poet expresses it, “are known only to God;” the walls of Byzantium, which for a thousand years singly sustained the fortunes of the Empire, yielded at length to the fierce assault of the Osmanlis; the island of Rhodes has witnessed the most glorious conflict that ever occurred between the enthusiasm of the East and the heroism of the West; the straits of Thermopylæ have in our day been signalled by second acts of devotion; the Ægean Sea has reddened with other conflagrations than that of Salamis; the Russians and the Turks are now (1854) combating on the banks of the Danube, on the same spots where, fourteen hundred years ago, the hordes of the Goths broke into the decaying fields of Roman civilisation.

7. From this peculiarity in their geographical history has arisen the great variety of different races who

now inhabit the vast provinces of the Turkish empire, and the inextinguishable hatred with which they are animated against each other. The Persians, the Romans, the Goths, the Russians, the Arabs, the Vandals, the Franks, the Venetians, the Christians, the Mohammedans, have at different times contended, and alternately obtained the mastery in its vast dominion. They have all left their children in the land. Beside the descendants of the original Greeks, whom the King of Men ruled at the siege of Troy, or Alexander led to the conquest of Asia, there are now to be found the bold Wallachian, who has fearlessly settled in the land which has been desolated by the wars of three thousand years; the free and independent Servian, who has never ceased to contend, even amidst Turkish bonds, for the freedom of his native steppe; the patient and industrious Bulgarian, who has often found protection and happiness in the recesses of the Balkan; the fierce and indomitable Albanian, who, since the days of Scanderbeg, has maintained a desultory warfare with his oppressors in his native mountains; the effeminate Syrian, who bows his neck, as in ancient days, to every invader; the unchanging Israelite, who has preserved his faith and usages inviolate since the days of Abraham; the wandering Arab, whose hand is still against every man, and every man's against him; the passive and laborious Egyptian, who toils a slave on the banks of the Nile, from whence his ancestors, under Sesostrius, issued to conquer the world. And over all are placed as rulers the brave and haughty Osmanlis, who govern, but do not cultivate the land, and who, in Europe, not more than three millions in number, maintain their sway over four times that number of impatient and suffering subjects.

8. To govern dominions so vast, and inhabited by so great a variety of different and hostile nations, must, under any circumstances, have been a matter of difficulty; but in addition to this there was superadded, in the case of Turkey, a still more fatal and

indelible source of discord, which was the difference of RELIGION. Turkey, even in Asia, has not always been, properly speaking, a Mohammedan country. The Seven Churches were established in Asia Minor in the days of the Apostles; the Empire of the East had embraced the faith of the Gospel four centuries before Christianity had spread in Western Europe. We are accustomed, from its ruling power, and its position in the map, to consider Turkey as a Mohammedan state, forgetting that Christianity had been established over its whole extent a thousand years before Constantinople yielded to the assault of Mahomet, and that the transference to the creed of Mahomet was as violent a change as if it were now to be imposed by foreign conquest on France or England. Even at this time, after four centuries of Mohammedan rule, Christianity is still the faith of three-fourths of the whole Turkish empire in Europe, and one-fourth in Asia. Cast down, reviled, persecuted, the followers of Jesus, from generation to generation, have adhered to the faith of their fathers: it still forms the distinguishing mark between them and their oppressors: more even than difference of race it has severed the two great families of mankind; and when the Greek revolution broke out, the cry was not "Independence to Greece," but "Victory to the Cross."

9. The system of government by which the Turks for four centuries have maintained themselves in their immense dominions, and kept the command of so many and such various races of men, is very simple, and more suited to Oriental than European ideas. It is neither the system which distance and the extreme paucity of the ruling nation has rendered a matter of necessity to the English in India—that of conciliating the great body of the rural cultivators, and drawing from them disciplined battalions which might establish their dominion over their former oppressors—nor that of penetrating the wilds of nature with the light of civilisation, and conquering mankind to pacify and bless them, like the legions which followed the eagles of

Rome to the extremities of the earth. It is more akin to the establishment and system of government of the Normans in England, where the people were not only conquered, but retained in subjection by force, and sixty thousand horsemen annually assembled at Winchester to overawe and intimidate the subject realm. Their number is small compared to the entire population of the country. Three millions of Osmanlis in Europe are thinly scattered over a territory containing twelve or thirteen millions of Christian subjects; but they are all armed, and ready to become soldiers; they are in possession of the whole fortresses, harbours, and strongholds of the kingdom; they have the command of the government, the treasury, the capital, and the great cities: the Christians are scattered over the country, and depressed by centuries of servitude; the Turks are concentrated in towns, and rendered confident by the long exercise of power.

10. What renders the government of the Christians, though so superior in number, by the Mohammedans more easy in Turkey, is the variety of tribes and races of which the subjected population is composed, their separation from each other by mountains, seas, and entire want of roads, and the complete unity of action and identity of purpose in the dominant race. The Greeks are not only a different race, but speak a different language, from the Bulgarians; the Servians are a separate tribe from the Wallachians, the Albanians from both. The Greek of the Fanar* has nothing in common with the peasant of Roumelia; the Armenian with the Syrian; the Egyptian with the Cappadocian; the Jew with the Albanian. These different nations and tribes have separate feelings, descent, and interests; they are severed from each other by recollections, habits, institutions; vast ranges of mountains, in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, part them; roads, or even bridges, there are none, to enable

the different inhabitants of this varied realm to communicate with each other, ascertain their common wrongs, or enter into any common designs for their liberation. On the other hand, the Turks, in possession of the incomparable harbour and central capital of Constantinople, with the Euxine and the Black Sea for their interior line of communication, are a homogeneous race, speaking one language, professing one religion, animated by one spirit, swayed by one interest, and enabled, by means of the government couriers, whose speed compensates the difficulty of transit, to communicate one common impulse to all parts of their vast dominions. The example of the English in India is sufficient to show how long the possession of these advantages is capable of enabling an inconsiderable body of strangers to subdue and keep in subjection a divided multitude of nations, a thousand times more numerous.

11. The military strength of the Turks, which was long so formidable to Europe, and more than once put Christendom within a hair's-breadth of destruction, is derived *entirely* from the Osmanlis. It is a fundamental maxim of their government, that the Mussulmans alone are to be armed, or called on to combat either foreign or domestic enemies; the Christians are to be made to contribute to the expense of armaments, and uphold by their industry the strength of the empire, but by no means to be intrusted with the duty of defending it in the field. The former is the generous war-horse, which, sedulously trained to military exercises, is released from all toil till the glorious dangers of war commence; the latter is the humble beast of burden, which is worn out in the meaner occupations of peace, and follows at a distance his proud compeer to the field, to bear his burdens and provide for his subsistence. As the military strength of the empire thus depends solely on the Osmanlis, it is drawn from a comparatively limited body, and depends entirely on their spirit and courage. Yet is this difference between the Turks and other ho-

* The quarter of Constantinople where the richest and most intelligent of the Greeks reside.

mogeneous nations greater in appearance than reality. Except in periods of extraordinary excitement, when the whole nation, under the influence of an ungovernable impulse, runs to arms, the military strength of every people is derived from a portion only of its inhabitants. The *military caste* is seldom more than a third or a fourth of the whole number; and if, as in Turkey, that proportion is all trained to arms as a profession, and engages in no other, it is fully as much as the labour of the remainder of the people can maintain in idleness, ever ready for the toils of war.

12. As the Turks are the military caste upon whom the whole strength in war of the Ottoman empire depends, so the Christians are the *industrious* class upon whom its entire riches and material prosperity rest. The natural and inevitable ascendancy of mind over matter, of intelligence over strength, never appeared more strongly than in the destinies of the Greek people. Still, as in ancient times, they have asserted the dominion over their conquerors; if the sword of the Osmanlis, as of the Romans, has subdued their bodies, their minds have again reasserted the ascendancy over their oppressors. The Greeks at Constantinople seem rather the allies than the subjects of the Turks. The same is the case in most of the other great towns of the empire; and their presence is indispensable, their superiority still more manifest, in the divans of all the pachas. The Turks, who long, above all things, after repose, and know no excitement but love and war, leave the whole management of affairs to the Greeks: civil administration, negotiations, pacific situations, letters, the arts, commerce, manufactures, industry, navigation, all are in their hands. The Turks command, and are alone intrusted with military power; but the Greeks direct the commander, often in military, always in civil affairs. The seamen of the Archipelago, skilful now as when they rolled back the tide of Persian invasion in the Gulf of Salamis, have the entire commerce of the

empire in their hands; for although the Turks are admirable horsemen and most formidable soldiers by land, they have a superstitious aversion to the sea, and often find it easier, as Gibbon observes, to overrun an empire than to cross a strait.

13. As the Turks are thus the indolent, luxurious, dominant race, and the Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians the laborious, hard-working, servant race, they have respectively undergone the usual fate of mankind in such positions in society. The masters have diminished, the slaves have multiplied. The lazy rulers, with their sabres, their horses, their harems, their coffee-houses, their life of repose and enjoyment, are unable to maintain their own numbers; the despised and insulted subjects, with their ploughs, their shuttles, their oars, their single wives and cottages, have overspread the land with their descendants. They have increased in some places as fast, and from the same cause, as the reviled Catholic Celt under Protestant and Orange domination did in Ireland. In the level country, indeed, where the horsemen of the Osmanlis have found it easy to extend their ravages, and the pachas their oppression, the human race has in many places wholly disappeared, and the mournful traveller, after traversing for days together the richest plains, studded with the ruins of ancient cities, now left without a single inhabitant, has repeatedly expressed a dread of the entire extirpation of the human species in the very garden of nature, the places in the world best adapted for its reception.* But this is sometimes the re-

* "En général, pour les productions, le paysan en Turquie ne demande à la terre que ce dont il a rigoureusement besoin pour sa subsistance, et le reste est livré à l'abandon. La partie qui avoisine les côtes, jusqu'à une distance de quinze à vingt lieues, est plus généralement la mieux cultivée; mais au-delà l'on marche souvent, pendant plusieurs heures, à travers de vastes espaces en friche, remplis de broussailles et de mauvaises herbes, dont la vigueur de végétation atteste la fécondité et la richesse productive du sol. A voir ce délaissement de l'agriculture dans la Roumélie, on serait tenté de croire à la réalité de ce dicton, beaucoup plus commun

sult rather of a migration than an absolute diminution of inhabitants. In the mountains where the janizaries have not been able to penetrate, or the regions where the tyranny of the pachas has been exchanged for a fixed tribute—in Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, the fastnesses of Albania, the Taurus, and Lebanon—the human race is increasing with great rapidity, cultivation is daily extending into the wilds of nature, and the beautiful spectacle is presented to the eye of the charmed traveller, of industry overcoming the difficulties with which it is surrounded, and man existing in simple innocence, surrounded with the comforts of unsophisticated nature.

14. M. Lamartine, whose brilliant imagination is accompanied with a close observation of external things, and whose travels are suspected to be poetical dreams only because they exhibit sketches from nature, coloured with the tints of his poetic mind, has given the following picture of Servia, where, ever since its formidable insurrection among us in Turkey, que les Turcs ne se considèrent que comme campés en Europe, et qu'ils détachent, peu à peu, leurs pensées des provinces qu'ils sentent leur échapper pour les rapporter de préférence sur cette terre d'Asie, qui fut le berceau de leur nation. Cependant, si nous portons nos regards de l'autre côté des détroits, l'aspect ne change pas : même fertilité partout, et même désolation. Si l'on excepte quelques riches plaines de l'Asie Mineure, vous n'apercevez presque nulle part quelque trace de culture. De vastes solitudes, coupées à de lointains intervalles par quelques tentes de tribus Kurdes ou Turcomans, des forêts de pins et de chênes, que le Gouvernement livre à la discrétion de quiconque veut les exploiter, sur la réserve de trois pour cent sur la vente du bois ; le désert presque à la sortie des villes, de loin en loin échelonnés parfois à des distances de neuf ou dix heures de marche ; des villages, dont le misérable aspect contraste péniblement avec la richesse de la végétation qui les entoure. Voilà ce qui s'offre à la vue du voyageur sur cette terre, qui portait jadis tant de villes fameuses — Pergame, Sardis, Troie, Nicomédie, et toutes les autres dont le nom seul a survécu. M. de Tchitchatchef mentionne une plaine qui s'étend sur un surface de 600 milles géographiques carrés, et qui offre à peine 50 milles cultivés. La production annuelle de céréales en Asie Mineure évaluée à 705,100,000 kilogrammes, ou 9,263,000 hectolitres (5,500,000 quarters), et représentant une valeur de 75,000,000 francs (£3,000,000), atteindrait aisément le quintuple, et même le décuple."—UBICINI, 366, 367.

rection in the commencement of the present century, independence, under the tutelary arm of PRINCE MOLOSCH, has been practically established : "The population in Servia amounts now (1836) to 1,000,000 souls, and it is rapidly increasing. The mildness of the climate, which resembles that between Lyons and Avignon ; the riches of the deep and virgin soil, which covers the surface everywhere with the vegetation of Switzerland ; the abundance of rivers and streams which descend from the mountains, circulate in the valleys, and often form lakes in the spacious woods ; the felling of the forests, which at once, as in America, furnishes space for the plough and materials for the houses of those who hold it ; the mild and pure manners of the people ; their wise and protective institutions, the reflection, as it were, of the best in Europe ; the supreme power concentrated in the hands of a man worthy of his mission, Prince Molosch — all these elements of prosperity and happiness promise to advance the population to several millions before a century is over. Should that people, as it desires and hopes, become the kernel of a new Slavonic empire by its reunion with Bosnia, a part of Bulgaria, and the warlike Montenegrins, Europe will see a new empire rise from the ruins of Turkey, and embrace the vast and beautiful regions which extend between the Danube, the Balkan, the Euxine, and the Adriatic.

15. "The traveller cannot quit this beautiful region, as I have done, without saluting with regrets and benedictions its rising fortunes. Those immense virgin forests, those mountains, those plains, those rivers, which seem to have come fresh from the hands of the Creator, and to mingle the luxuriant youth of nature with the youth of man ; those new houses, which seem to spring out of the woods, to stretch along the side of torrents into the most sequestered nooks of the valleys ; the roll of the revolving mills, busied with the cutting of wood ; the sound of the village bells, newly baptised in the blood of the defenders of the country ; the songs of the youths and maidens,

as they lighten their toil ; the sight of the multitude of children who issue from the schools or from the churches, the roofs of which are not yet finished ; the accents of liberty, of joy, and of hope in every mouth ; the look of spring and gladness in every countenance ; the sight of those mountains which stand forth shaded with primeval forests, the fortresses of nature, and of that Danube, which bends as if to embrace so beauteous a region, and waft its productions to the east and the north ; the prospect of the mosque everywhere in ruins, and the Christian churches rising in every village—all those speak the youth of nations, and we mingle our prayers with the song of the freeman. When the sun of Servia shines on the waters of the Danube, the river seems to glitter with the blades of the yatagans, the resplendent fusils of the Montenegrins : it is a river of liquid steel which defends Servia. It is sweet to sit on its shore, and to see it waft past the broken arms of our enemies.—When the wind of Albania descends from the mountains, and engulfs itself in the forests of Schamadia, cries issue from them as from the army of the Turks at the rout of Mosawa. Sweet is that murmur to the ears of the freed Servians. Dead or living, it is sweet after the battle to repose at the foot of that oak which expands in freedom as we do.”

16. But examples like that of Servia, of which there are several in the Turkish dominions, particularly in Bulgaria and the valleys of Lebanon, are the exceptions, not the rule. Generally speaking, the country is retrograde, and exhibits the usual and well-known features of decaying societies. Roads there are none, except bridle-paths, often impassable for any save daring horsemen ; harbours choked up ; walls falling into ruin ; bridges broken down, and never repaired ; villages wholly deserted, or consisting of a few huts among extensive ruins ; rich plains in a state of nature, or traversed only by the wandering Arab, who seeks shelter in the remains of former magnificence—are the general features of the

country. The Turkish empire is perishing, literally speaking, from want of inhabitants ; and while the philosophers of Europe were contemplating with dread the productive powers of its overflowing inhabitants, the travellers in Asia were anticipating the entire disappearance of the human race, in the regions where it was first created, and where the most ample means have been provided for its increase. The Ottoman dominions present from day to day a wide void for anarchy and barbarism to rule in ; territories without inhabitants, tribes without rulers, plains without culture. No foreign interposition is necessary to complete its downfall ; it is working out its own ruin ; the colossus is falling without even a hand being stretched forth to hurl it to the ground. The population, thrown back upon itself, is expiring from its own impotence—in many places it no longer exists. The Mussulman race is reduced to nothing in the sixty thousand square leagues which compose its immense and fertile domain ; excepting in the capital, and a few great cities, there is scarcely a Turk to be seen. Gaze over that vast empire, its fertile fields, and seek the Ottoman race—you will nowhere find it, except in large towns. The senseless, or rather murderous government of the Ottoman has in most places created a desert. The conquered races have generally increased, while the conquering is daily disappearing.

17. Statistical facts of unquestionable veracity prove that these observations are not the mere offspring of a heated imagination, but the sober deductions of reason. The Ottoman dominions, which are nearly the same with those which, on the partition of the Empire, fell to the lot of the Emperors of Constantinople, contain 60,000 square geographical leagues, or 540,000 square miles—above four times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and more than three times that of France. The benignity of the climate, luxuriance of vegetation, and warmth of the sun, have rendered the plains of extraordinary fertility, often yielding eighty and a hundred for one,

while in England ten to one is reckoned a large return, and at the same time made the rocky slopes, here abandoned to furze or heath, capable of yielding the finest crops of grapes and olives. Magnificent forests, furnishing inexhaustible resources for shipbuilding, clothe the mountain-sides; and the *Ægean* lies in the midst of the empire, studded with islands of ravishing beauty, inhabited by skilful and hardy sailors, as if to furnish the means of communication between its most distant extremities. Its capital is Constantinople, the finest harbour in the world, and so advantageously situated for foreign commerce that it in every age has engrossed the most lucrative traffic which man carries on—that between the East and the West. The greatest rivers of Europe, Asia, and Africa—the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile—are its streams, and waft the varied productions of its industry to distant quarters, where they may find a ready vent. Yet with all these immense advantages, which supported the Byzantine empire for a thousand years after the Western had fallen, the Ottoman empire now contains less than thirty millions of inhabitants, not a third of its population in former times, or a fifth of what it is capable of maintaining; and such as it is, this scanty population is daily declining. Turkey in Europe, with a territory more than twice as large as Great Britain, contains only ten millions of inhabitants, of whom little

more than three millions are Mohammedans,* certainly not a third of what it contained in ancient days.

18. There must have been some grievous faults on the part of government and institutions in Turkey, which, with such advantages, has produced so fearful a diminution of inhabitants. Nor is it difficult to see in what those faults consist. It is common to it with all the states in the East. There are no elements of freedom, no guarantees against oppression in the land. The rule of the Osmanlis is not more oppressive than that of other Asiatic states; but it is entirely despotic, and there is no check on the abuse of power by the Sultan or the inferior governors of provinces. It is the practical application of the principles of government acted on in Turkey which has occasioned such a fearful chasm in the population, and weakened so remarkably the strength of the empire. (1.) The first of these principles is, that the Sultan nominates at pleasure, and removes at will, all the civil and military functionaries of the empire. He is absolute master of their fortunes and their lives; but the difficulty of carrying his mandates into execution in the distant pachalics, renders this power often more nominal than real; and the Sultan, destitute of adequate regular troops to enforce his orders, is obliged to bribe one pacha to depose another, by the promise of his power, his treasures, his harem, and oblivion for his crimes.

* The following is the estimated population of Turkey in Europe, according to M. Hassel and Malte Brun:—

I. CHRISTIANS.		II. MUSSULMANS AND JEWS.	
Greeks,	3,090,000	Turks,	2,350,000
Slavonians,	2,000,000	Tartars,	275,000
Arnauts,	700,000	Jews,	312,000
Armenians,	85,000	Gypsies,	120,000
Wallachians,	1,375,000		
Total native Christians,	7,250,000		3,057,000

—M. HASSEL and MALTE BRUN, vii. 844.

Military force of Turkey in time of peace,		79,500
Military force of Turkey in time of war {	infantry,	100,000
	regular cavalry,	24,000
	irregular do.,	100,000
		224,000

—VON HAMMER, ii. 273.

More recent writers, favourable to Turkey, have represented the population of the country as much more considerable, but still with the same excess of Christians over the Turks in Europe, and of the Turks over the Christians in Asia. The following is the estimate of M.

(2.) The second principle is, that every depository of power can delegate it entire and uncontrolled to his subordinates in office; so that every aga or janizary within his territory is as despotic as the Sultan in Constantinople. It is a common saying in Turkey, that the sword of the Sultan does not fall upon the dust; and neither does it: but the sword of the Sultan falls upon the pacha, and the sword of the pacha falls upon the aga, and the sword of the aga upon the janizary, and the sword of the janizary upon the peasant. Each is invested with uncontrolled power over all beneath him; and as there is no popular representation, or check of any sort on power, it may readily be imagined with what severity it falls on the humblest classes. It was well expressed in a letter, written by Odysseus to Mahomet Pacha, explaining the reasons which induced him to take up arms at the

commencement of the Greek Revolution: "It was the injustice of the viziers, waywodes, cadis, and baloukbashis, each of whom closed the book of Mahomet, and opened a book of his own. Any virgin that pleased them, they took by force; any merchant in Negropont who was making money, they beheaded, and seized his goods; any proprietor of a good estate, they slew, and occupied his property; and every drunken vagabond in the streets could murder respectable Greeks, and was not punished for it."

19. (3.) A third principle of government, which proved not less destructive in practice than the first, is, that the lives and property of all the inhabitants in his dominions are by the right of conquest the property of the Sultan, and may be reclaimed by him at pleasure. It is true, this extreme right is kept in abeyance, and not in general acted upon; but its reality is

Ubicini, the latest and best informed writer on the subject, of the inhabitants of the entire empire, according to their religions:—

	In Europe.	In Asia.	In Africa.	TOTAL.
Mussulmans, . . .	4,550,000	12,650,000	3,800,000	21,000,000
Greeks,	10,000,000	3,000,000	..	13,000,000
Catholics,	640,000	260,000	..	900,000
Jews,	70,000	80,000	..	150,000
Divers others, . .	..	..	..	300,000
				35,350,000

—UBICINI'S *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 25.

According to their races, the inhabitants stand thus:—

	In Europe.	In Asia.	In Africa.	TOTAL.
Turks,	2,100,000	10,700,000	..	12,800,000
Greeks,	1,000,000	1,000,000	..	2,000,000
Armenians,	400,000	2,000,000	..	2,400,000
Jews,	70,000	80,000	..	150,000
Slavonians,	6,200,000	..	..	6,200,000
Romains,	4,000,000	..	..	4,000,000
Albanians,	1,500,000	..	..	1,500,000
Tartars,	16,000	..	..	16,000
Tsiganis,	214,000	900,000	3,800,000	4,914,000
Arabs, . . . . .	..	235,000	..	235,000
Syrians, . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Druses, . . . . .	..	30,000	..	30,000
Kurds, . . . . .	..	1,000,000	..	1,000,000
Turcomans, . . . .	..	85,000	..	85,000
	15,500,000	16,030,000	3,800,000	35,330,000

—UBICINI, 22.

never doubted, and it forms a fearful principle to fall back upon, when arbitrary acts have been resolved upon, or the public treasury stands much in need of replenishing. The whole Christians, whether Greeks or Armenians, and the Jews, as well as other similar "dogs," stand in this situation. They purchase their lives annually by payment of a capitation tax, known by the significant name, "Redemption of the price of heads;" but the application of the principle to immovable property produces still more disastrous consequences. It is held that no one, not even the Turks, can enjoy the *hereditary right* to landed estates; they never can be more than usufructuaries or liferenters. If the owner dies without a male child, the Sultan is the heir, to the exclusion of the daughters; if there are sons, their right of succession is redeemed by the payment of a tenth of the value, but that tenth is estimated by the officers of exchequer. The persons holding office under the Sultan in any degree are subject to still greater uncertainty; all their property of every description belongs on their death to the Sultan, and must be redeemed at an arbitrary rate. So great is the apprehension entertained of this right, that no one ventures to expend money on heritable property. If a house, a roof, or an arch fall, it is suffered to remain in ruins. Whatever property can be accumulated is invested in movable effects—jewels or money—which, being easily concealed, are more likely to escape the Argus eyes of the tax-gatherers. The only way in which property in perpetuity can be settled in Turkey, is by bequeathing it for pious purposes to a mosque, the directors of which, for a moderate ransom, permit it to be enjoyed by the heirs of the testator.

20. In consequence of this insecurity of land-tenure in Turkey, and of the mosques affording the only security that can be relied on, a very large proportion of the heritable property in the country has come into the hands of these ecclesiastical trustees; some estimate it as three-fourths, none at less

than two-thirds of the entire surface. This species of property, being subject neither to taxes nor confiscation, is largely resorted to in every part of the empire; but as it rests in the hands of priests and lawyers, in the double fangs of ecclesiastical power and legal subtlety, with nothing but a usufruct or liferent right of enjoyment in the trustee or real owner, it is of course utterly fatal to any expenditure of money on, or improvement of, landed property in Turkey. This is one great cause of the general dilapidation of buildings, roads, and bridges in the rural districts, and the entire want of anything like expenditure of capital on lasting improvements. Add to this, that, by a fundamental law of the empire, landed property, even when not in the hands of a mosque, can be alienated to or held by a Turk alone. No Christian, be his fortune in money what it may, can become a landed proprietor; when they really do so, it can be done only by holding in name of a Turk. This necessarily is fatal to the improvement of land, for it excludes from its purchase the entire Christian population, the only one possessed of capital, energy, or resources, and confines it to the dominant Ottomans—like the Normans, a race of warriors who utterly despise all pacific pursuits, and know no use of land but to wrench the last farthing out of the wretched cultivators.

21. Turkey, in consequence of this extraordinary and anomalous position of its landed property, and of the want of any durable interest in the dominant race of the state in its prosperity, has long been the victim of the old imperial policy, inherited by the Ottomans from the ancient masters of the world—that of sacrificing the interests of production in the country to those of consumption in towns. The magnitude and importance of Constantinople, the extreme danger of any serious discontent among its turbulent inhabitants, the number of sultans who have fallen victims to insurrections among the janizaries, have contributed to impress upon the Ottoman Government, at all hazards, the necessity of keep-

ing down the price of provisions. Everything is sacrificed to this object. Goods of every sort, including grain, *imported*, pay an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent; all goods *exported* pay an *ad valorem* duty of 12 per cent. This strange policy, akin to that of the Popes in modern, and the Emperors in ancient Rome, springing from dread of the old cry of "*Panem et Circenses*" of the Roman populace, is of itself sufficient to account for the ruinous state of agriculture in the Turkish empire. Constantinople is fed from Alexandria, Odessa, and Galatz, not Roumelia. The Turkish Government at one period went so far as to *prohibit* exportation from Wallachia and Moldavia to any other place than Constantinople; and yet so great are the agricultural resources of these provinces, that, since this restriction has been removed, the exportation of grain from Galatz and Brahamlow, the chief harbours, has increased at the rate of 700,000 quarters a-year, and now amounts to 5,000,000 quarters annually.

22. There results from this general life-tenure and insecurity of property in Turkey the most scandalous venality on the part of persons holding office, and the most rapacious exactions on the unfortunate persons subjected to their authority. Every one feeling his situation precarious, his property liferented only, hastens to make as much of and expend as little upon it as possible. The situations of vizier, pacha, cadi, and the like, are sold to the largest bidder, and the purchasers, who have often paid a high price for these offices, seek to make the best use of their time to repay the purchase-money, and leave something considerable in a movable form, capable of being concealed, to their families. It is true, if the oppression of any one pacha has become intolerable, the complaints of his subjects, despite all the tyrant's vigilance, sometimes reach the ears of the Sultan, and a terrible example is made. The bowstring is sent to the culprit, his head is exposed on the gates of the seraglio, with an inscription detailing the crimes of

which he has been guilty; his property, wherever it can be discovered, is seized for the Sultan's use, his harem dispersed, and the most beautiful of its inmates transferred to the royal seraglio. But no redress is thereby afforded to the sufferers by his oppression; the fruit of his rapacity is conveyed to the treasury at Constantinople, not restored to its original owners. Hence it is a common saying in Turkey, that "the pachas are so many sponges put over the ground, in order to suck up the wealth of the inhabitants, that it may be the more readily squeezed into the Sultan's coffers." It is impossible to suppose that the process of squeezing will be very vigilantly watched by the rulers of the empire, when it is foreseen that, if carried to a certain length, it is likely to terminate in such a result.

23. To these manifold evils must be added another, which, in its practical result, is often the greatest of the whole; and that is, that the central Government at Constantinople has no adequate force at its command to enforce its mandates, or compel a just administration on the part of its remote satraps. The regular military force at the disposal of the Sultan is so small, in comparison to the immense extent of his dominions, that he is often unable to find troops under his immediate control to punish or restrain his rebellions or oppressive vassals; and thus he has no resource but to punish one pacha by the forces of another—that is, to destroy one culprit by creating a second. This can only be done for an adequate consideration; and that consideration in general is, either the gift of the culprit's pachalic, or oblivion for some huge delinquencies on the part of the officer to whom the execution of the Sultan's decree has been intrusted. In either case, the system of oppression continues, or rather is increased; for the executioner is secured of long impunity by the lustre of his recent victory over his victim. This system, so well known in Scottish history, and, indeed, in that of all the feudal monarchies of Europe, is still in full vigour in Tur-

key, and was exemplified early in the Greek Revolution, by the dethronement and decapitation of Ali Pacha by the forces of his rival, Kourchid Pacha, who hoped to succeed to his pachalic, but was himself in his turn the victim of the jealousies of the Government. It is evident that, though this system conduces at times to the signal punishment of a guilty or rebellious satrap, it is utterly inconsistent with anything like regular or good government, and only chastises crime by providing for its unpunished continuance in future times.

24. Justice is venal in the Ottoman, as, indeed, it is in all Oriental states. The judges, both high and low, are taken from the *Oulema*, a sort of incorporation of persons learned in law and jurisprudence; and if they were persons of probity, their influence would be very great. But they are so venal in their conduct, and so arbitrary in their decisions, that no weight whatever can be attached to their judgments. All judges—the mollah, the cadi, and simple naib—pronounce sentences, both in civil and criminal cases, without appeal; thence, of course, an infinite variety in the judgments pronounced, and an entire impossibility of rectifying an unjust decision. The cadi, in flagrant cases, may be deposed, bastinadoed, and his fortune confiscated; but the only effect of that is to enrich the Sultan or the officers of his treasury, but by no means to rectify the injustice done to the unhappy suitor. The Turkish jurisprudence consists in a few maxims from the Koran, and a few traditionary principles handed down in the courts; written statutes, collections of decisions, they have none; witnesses are examined, and oaths administered on both sides, and at the end of a few minutes or hours the decision, which is final and irreversible, is pronounced. The defendant or culprit, if poor, is bastinadoed; if rich, or a Frank, he is amerced in a pecuniary fine called an “*avararia*,” if a thief or a robber, he is hanged. Everything is done as swiftly as it was in the camp of Othman; and so strongly is the military impress still

retained in the empire, that the chief judges of the empire in Europe and Asia bear the name respectively of *Kadi-laskar*, or judge of the army.

25. So powerful are these causes of evil, that they must long since have led to the entire dissolution of the Turkish empire, were it not that they have been combated by circumstances, which have, in a great degree, neutralised their influence, and prolonged its existence long after, under other circumstances, it must have terminated. The first of these is the *weakness of Government* itself, the principal, often the only, shield to innocence and industry in the East. As much as this weakness impedes the regular administration of affairs, and often secures impunity to crime in the depositaries of power, does it prevent their previous abuse of its authority, and shield the people when nothing else could save them from its excesses. The inhabitants are often saved from oppression, not because the pachas want the inclination, but because they want the power to oppress. Industry is sometimes left at peace, because the tyrants cannot reach it. The military force of the empire being entirely confined to the Osmanlis, and they being in many places, especially in the rural districts, not a tenth, sometimes not a twentieth part of the entire inhabitants, they are often without the means of enforcing their exactions; without any regular force to levy taxes or carry into execution their mandates, without money to equip a body of troops from the Turks in towns, they cannot make their power felt in the remoter parts of their provinces.

26. The very desolation and ruin of the country, the want of roads, harbours, or bridges, the difficulty of reaching the distant places with an armed force, often proves the salvation of the inhabitants. This is particularly the case in the mountain districts, which form so large a part of the territory of Turkey, both in Europe and Asia. Hence the smiling aspect of the villages and valleys in Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, the Lebanon, the Taurus, and some parts of Macedonia,

which contrast so strangely with the desolation and ruin of the plains in their vicinity. The cavalry of the pachas pause at the entrance of the rugged valleys, where nothing but break-neck bridle-paths are to be seen, and sturdy mountaineers, armed with their excellent fowling-pieces, are ready to pour death upon the reckless invaders. They are happy to exchange the doubtful chances of warfare for the certainty of a regular tribute. The inhabitants of the plains, especially if they have made any money, flock to these asylums of industry in the midst of a wasted land; and hence the constant increase of inhabitants in the mountains, contrasted with the general depopulation of the plains, which has been observed by all travellers, and led to such opposite conclusions as to the ultimate destiny of the Eastern Empire. In the north of Europe, where commerce is indispensable to comfort, industry protected, and an exchange of surplus rude produce for foreign luxuries is essential to civilisation, the formation of roads is always the first step in improvement; but in the East, where wants are few, and the benignity of the climate furnishes every luxury that man requires, this want is not experienced, and roads are rather dreaded as affording an entrance to oppression, than desired as giving the means of export to the productions of industry.

27. Further, the *character* of the Turks, taken as individuals, has many estimable qualities, which have gone far to counteract the disastrous effects of their system of government. That they are brave and determined, and at one period were most formidable to Europe from their military prowess, need be told to none; but it is not equally well known how worthy they are, and how many excellent traits of character are revealed in their private life. They are not in general active or industrious; they have left the labours of the fields to the natives of the soil—the cares of commerce to the Armenians, and the islanders of the Archipelago. Like the ancient Romans or the mediæval Knights, they

deem the wielding of the sword or managing a steed the only honourable occupation, and worthy of a freeman. But no one can mingle with them, either in business or society, without perceiving that few races of men are more estimable in the relations of private life. Fearless, honest, and trustworthy, their word is their bond, and they are destitute of the restless spirit and envious disposition which so often in western Europe and America at once disturb happiness and provoke to crime. Inactivity is their great characteristic, repose their chief enjoyment. Their wants, generally speaking, are few; their enjoyments such as nature has thrown open to all. To sit on a carpet, smoke a scented pipe, and gaze under shade on the dancing of the sunbeams on the waves of the Bosphorus, is their supreme enjoyment. Satisfied, if wealthy, with his own harem, which combines the ideas of home and pleasure, the Turk has generally no ambition to invade that of his neighbour; and the enormous mass of female profligacy which infests the great cities of western Europe is unknown. Nothing excites the horror of the Osmanlis so much as the details of the foundling hospitals, and fearful multitude of natural children in Paris and Vienna; they cannot conceive how society can exist under such an accumulation of evils. Though capable, when roused either by religious fanaticism or military excitement, of the most frightful deeds of cruelty, they are far, in ordinary times, from being of a savage disposition; they are kind to their wives, passionately fond of their children, charitable to the poor, and even extend their benevolent feelings to dumb animals.

28. To this it must be added, that though in practice the administration of government by the pachas is generally to the last degree oppressive and destructive, yet the system of government is by no means equally tyrannical, and in some respects is wise and tolerant, to a degree which may afford an example to, or excite the envy of, the Christian powers. Though the Turks, when they stormed Constantinople in

1453, established the religion of Mahomet as the creed of the empire, yet they were far from proscribing other tenets, and to the religion of Jesus in particular they extended many immunities. They admitted its divine origin, confessed that the Koran embodied many of its precepts, and claimed only for their own faith that of being the last emanation of the Divine Will. They did not at first trample upon or oppress their Christian subjects merely on account of their faith; on the contrary, the heads of the Greek Church were treated with respect, and its clergy maintained in their chapels and other places of worship. Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants were alike tolerated, though not admitted to power; it was the long, obstinate, and at last disastrous wars with the Christians, which rendered the "*Giaour*" so much the object of aversion, and led to so many instances of savage oppression. Still the original tolerant principles of the government have again asserted their supremacy over these transient ebullitions of rage, and by an edict of Sultan Mahmoud all his subjects, of whatever religion, were declared equal in the eye of the law.

29. An institution exists in Turkey, specially intended to protect the weak against the strong, and which, despite the usual arbitrary nature of the government, sometimes had this effect. This is the institution of *Ayams*—a sort of popular representation, and which provides a functionary who, like the tribunes of the people, is specially charged with the protection of a particular class of the inhabitants committed to his charge. The duty of these functionaries, who are elected by the burghers and traders, is to watch over the interests of individuals, the security of burghs, combat the tyranny of the pachas, and effect a just and equal division of the public burdens. Every Mussulman, without exception, who is in trade, belongs to some incorporation, the heads of which are elected by its members, and whose duty it is to bring the strength of the incorporation to bear upon the defence of any individual of it who is threatened with op-

pression. These are the *ayams*; they are usually chosen from amongst the most wealthy and respected of the trade; are assisted by a *divan*, composed also of the most eminent of the trade; and they often discharge their duties with great courage and fidelity. Still, so venal is justice, and so arbitrary the administration of government in the Ottoman dominions, that even the *ayams*, supported by the whole strength of the incorporation, are seldom able to obtain redress but by the payment of a large sum of money. But nevertheless redress obtained in this way is better than no redress at all; for the sum usually paid to ward off the threatened exaction is larger than any single individual, unless very opulent, could afford to pay.

30. The *ayams*, however, are to be found chiefly in the towns, and among the Mussulman burghers. The great, indeed the only, security of the inhabitants of the country, is to be found in the *village system*, which is universal in the East, and has proved the great preservative of rural industry in every age, amidst the innumerable oppressions to which it has from the earliest times been subject. This admirable system, which has been described in a former work in reference to Hindostan,* and in this to Russia,† is established over the whole extent of Turkey; and wherever the industry of the peasants has survived the tyranny of the pachas, it has been mainly owing to its influence. It is, in fact, the natural resource of industry against exaction, of weakness to secure revenue, and of justice to partition burdens, and this is done with rigid impartiality. These little communities, though often extinguished through the exactions of the pachas, and the entire disappearance of the population in the plains, flourish in undisturbed security in the recesses of the mountains; and it is in their protection, and the shelter which they afford to industry, that the chief principle of vitality in the Ottoman dominions is to be found.

* *History of Europe*, 1789-1815, chap. xlvii. § 19.

† *Ante*, chap. viii. §§ 29, 30.

31. There cannot be a stronger proof of the maladministration and oppressive nature of the government in Turkey, than the extremely small amount of the public revenue, compared with its extent and material resources. The entire revenue of the empire is from 650,000,000 to 750,000,000 piastres (£6,000,000 to £7,000,000), not a tenth part of the public income of Great Britain, possessing in the portion taxed not a fifth part of the extent of surface, nor a tenth part of the natural riches and agricultural advantages of the Ottoman dominions. In ancient times they maintained four times their present inhabitants, and yielded five times their present revenue. Yet, trifling as it is, this revenue is felt as so oppressive by the inhabitants that it operates as a serious bar to industry. It is raised by a tithe on agricultural produce and animals, and a tax of 17 per cent on incomes—in all 27 per cent on landed property; a grievous burden, and crushing to industry. The Turkish Government cuts up its own resources from the roots, by destroying the industry from which they must arise. “When a native of Louisiana,” says Montaigne, “desires the fruit of a tree, he lays the axe to its root. Behold the emblem of despotism!”

32. Like all declining empires, and none more than its own provinces under the Byzantine rule, Turkey exhibits the symptoms of decline more strongly in the rural than the urban districts; and several great towns, besides the capital, exhibit considerable marks of prosperity, while the provinces around them

are every day sinking deeper in the abyss of misery. The constant migration of the inhabitants from the country to the towns is the evil everywhere most strongly felt and complained of in Turkey, for it paralyses all rural operations, and cuts up by the roots the ultimate resources of the state. The new-comers in towns pick up a subsistence by trade and manufactures, or fall as burdens on the charity of the mosques and opulent inhabitants. In the crowd they are overlooked by the tax-gatherers, and generally escape with the payment only of a trifling capitation-tax—a thing impossible when exposed to his rapacity in the solitude of rural life. Accordingly, while the provinces are every day more and more going to ruin, and large tracts of land are daily returning to a state of nature, the chief towns exhibit a considerable degree of prosperity, and often a surprising number of inhabitants.*

33. One evil of a very peculiar kind exists in Turkey, highly injurious to industry. This consists in the prodigious multitude of servants and idle retainers who are to be found in the establishments of the pachas and the affluent, and who consume the fruits of the earth, and the resources of the state, without contributing anything either to the one or the other. Their number amounts to 1,500,000—a burden nearly as heavy as a standing army to the same amount would be, and far more enervating to the state. It is the hope of getting into some of these great establishments, where they may be maintained in idleness and luxury at the

* The following is the population of the chief cities of the Turkish empire:—

IN EUROPE.		IN ASIA.	
Constantinople,	700,000	Broussa,	100,000
Adrianople,	110,000	Smyrna,	156,000
Widdin,	20,000	Koniah,	33,000
Nicti,	50,000	Angora,	35,000
Bosna Serai,	65,000	Sivas,	40,000
Scutari,	35,000	Trebizond,	55,000
Salonica,	80,000	Erzeroun,	100,000
Mitylene,	80,000	Halib,	100,000
Rhodes,	38,000	Damascus,	150,000
Janina,	13,000	Diarbekir,	60,000
Gallipoli,	16,000	Moussoul,	65,000
Varna,	16,000	Bagdad,	105,000
		Tripoli,	25,000
		Bassora,	60,000
		Medina,	19,000

expense of the rural cultivators who are toiling at the plough, which is the great inducement that attracts such multitudes from the country to the great towns. When once there, they never go back; rural labour is ever insupportable to those who have once tasted the varieties and excitement of urban life. But this vast abstraction of robust hands from country labour to urban indolence, an evil in every country, is doubly so in one like Turkey, labouring under the scourge of a scanty and declining rural population.

34. It results necessarily from this peculiar and anomalous position of the Turkish empire, that its political and military strength varies extremely from time to time, and depends rather on casual fits of excitement or sudden fits of passion, than any lasting strength or permanent resources. When a sultan of great vigour or military capacity is at the head of affairs, and the nation is excited by the prospect of glory or pillage, or when the religious feelings of the people are violently excited against the infidels, nearly the whole race of the Osmanlis run to arms, and the grand-vizier finds himself at the head of a mighty host, which has often proved for the time irresistible by the utmost strength of the Western powers. It was thus that Rhodes was conquered in 1517 from its valiant chevaliers by Selim I.; and Vienna besieged by Soliman II., in 1529; and Candia conquered by Mahomet IV.; and Vienna again besieged, and saved from destruction only by John Sobieski, in 1683. On many of these occasions the grand-vizier found himself at the head of 150,000 men, whose desperate onset in the field was equalled only by the skill with which they wielded their weapons. But as these efforts were founded on passing excitement, not durable strength or lasting policy, they were seldom of long duration: a single considerable reverse was generally sufficient to disperse the mighty host, which was held together only by the fervour of fanaticism, or the lust of plunder; and the grand-vizier often found himself wholly deserted, a few

days after he had been at the head of an army apparently capable of conquering the world.

35. Hence the history of Turkey presents the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, and has oscillated alternately from the most prosperous to the most adverse circumstances. Mahomet II. stormed Constantinople in 1453, and ere long he had subdued Greece, and extended his dominion from the Adriatic to the Crimea; Selim I., in 1517, conquered Egypt, Syria, and Rhodes; and in 1529, Hungary, torn by civil dissensions, opened to Soliman II. the road to Vienna. Soon after Cyprus yielded to Selim, but here the star of the Crescent was arrested. The battle of Lepanto, in 1571, checked for ever their naval progress; the siege of Malta put a limit to their conquests in the Mediterranean. Azof, in the north of the empire, acquired in 1642, was successively lost and regained; Vienna, again besieged in 1683 by 150,000 Turks, beheld their total defeat by the arms of John Sobieski. The Ottoman arms yielded in several campaigns to the scientific manœuvres and daring valour of Prince Eugene, and Austria made great acquisitions from them by the treaties of 1699 and 1718, but she lost them all by the disgraceful peace of 1739. Long victorious over the Turks under the banners of Marshal Mornich, the Russians, under Peter the Great, were reduced to capitulate, in 1711, on the Pruth, to the Ottoman forces, and purchase a disgraceful retreat by the abandonment of all their conquests. The Morea was conquered from them by the Venetians in 1699, though soon after regained, and the conquest of Bagdad seemed to announce their decisive superiority in Asia over the Persians. Yet were these great successes, which filled all Europe with dread, and seemed to presage for them almost universal dominion, soon followed by still greater disasters. The growing strength of Russia rose up in appalling vigour beside the at length declining resources of the Osmanlis. Romanzoff crossed the Danube, and carried the ravages of

war to the foot of the Balkan; the fleet of Orloff made the circuit of Europe, and consigned the Turkish squadron to the flames in the Bay of Tchesme; the Morea took up arms in 1783, and for a time acknowledged the sceptre of Russia; and nothing but the intervention of France and England preserved the empire from dismemberment, when threatened with the combined armies of Russia and Austria, two hundred thousand strong, immediately before the French Revolution. The war of 1808 still more clearly revealed the increasing weakness of the Ottomans. Russia alone proved more than a match for Turkey. Wallachia and Moldavia were by a formal ukase incorporated with the dominions of the Czar, and nothing but the invasion of Napoleon in 1812 obliged the Cabinet of St Petersburg to acknowledge for a season the Pruth as the frontier stream of the two empires.

36. One great cause of these extraordinary mutations of fortune is, that the Ottoman empire is not *one state*, in the European sense of the word; that is, a united dominion, ruled by one government, obliged to obey its direct mandates, and contributing all its resources to its support: it is rather an aggregate of separate states, owing only a nominal allegiance to the central power, and yielding it effective support only when the vigour and capacity of the ruling Sultan, or the strong tide of passing enthusiasm, leaves them no alternative but to render it. The pachas, especially the more distant and powerful ones, are often in substance independent; they pay only a fixed tribute to the Sultan, generally inconsiderable compared to the sum which they contrive to exact from their subjects; they are bound to send, in case of need, a certain body of troops to his support, but it is generally delayed as long as possible, and when it does arrive, like the contingents of the German princes, it seldom gives any effective aid to the forces of the empire. Many of the bloodiest and most desperate wars the Porte has ever carried on, have been with its own re-

bellious satraps. Czerny George and Prince Molosch, at the head of the strength of Servia, maintained a prolonged contest with the Ottoman forces, which terminated, in recent times, in its nominal submission and real independence. Ali Pacha, the "Lion of Janina," long set the whole power of the Sultan at defiance, and was only subdued at length by treachery. Wallachia and Moldavia, under their elective hospodars, are only bound to pay a fixed tribute to the Sultan, and are rather the subjects of the Czar than the Porte; and the Pacha of Egypt, by whose aid alone the balance was cast against the Greeks in 1827, brought the dominions of the Osmanlis to the verge of ruin a few years after, from whence they were rescued by the intervention, still more perilous, of Russia. The empire of the Turks would, from these causes of weakness, have long since fallen to pieces were it not for the jealousies of the European powers, who interpose, before it is too late, to prevent Constantinople from falling into the hands of any of their number, and the strength and incomparable situation of that capital itself, which, in modern as in ancient times, has singly supported the tottering fabric of the empire for more than one century.

37. CONSTANTINOPLE, one of the most celebrated and finely situated capitals in the world, has exercised perhaps a more important influence on the fortunes of the species than any other city in existence in modern times. It broke in pieces the vast fabric of the Roman empire, and was the principal cause of the fall of its western division; for after the charms of the Bosphorus had rendered its shores the head of empire, the forces of the West were no longer able to make head against the increasing strength of the barbarians. Singly, by its native strength and incomparable situation, it supported the Empire of the East for a thousand years after Rome had yielded to the assault of Alaric, and preserved the precious seeds of ancient genius till the mind of Europe was prepared for their reception. It.

diverted the Latin Crusaders from the shores of Palestine, and occasioned the downfall of the Empire of the East by the ruthless arms of the Franks; it attracted afterwards the Osmanlis from the centre of Asia, and brought about their lasting settlement in the finest provinces of Europe. It has since been the object of ceaseless ambition and contention to the principal European powers. A kingdom in itself, it is more coveted than many realms. Austria and Russia have alternately united and contended for the splendid prize; it broke up the alliance of Erfurth, and brought the arms of Napoleon to Moscow; and in these days it has dissolved all former confederacies, created new ones, and brought the forces of England and France to the Crimea, to avert the threatened seizure of the matchless city by the armies of the Czar.

38. It is no wonder that Constantinople has ever since its foundation exercised so great an influence on the fortunes of the species, for its local advantages are unique, and its situation must ever render it the most important city in the Old World. Situated on the confines of Europe and Asia, with a noble harbour, it at the same time centres in itself the trade of the richest parts of the globe; commanding the sole outlet from the Euxine into the Mediterranean, it of necessity sees the commerce of the three quarters of the globe pass under its walls. The Danube wafts to its quays the productions of Germany, Hungary, and northern Turkey; the Volga, the agricultural riches of the Ukraine and the immense plains of southern Russia; the Kuban, of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus; caravans, traversing the Taurus and the deserts of Mesopotamia, convey to it the riches of Central Asia and the distant productions of India; the waters of the Mediterranean afford a field for the vast commerce of the nations which lie along its peopled shores; while the more distant manufactures of Britain and the United States of America find an inlet through the Straits of Gibraltar. The pendants of all the nations of the earth are to be seen side by side,

in close profusion, in the Golden Horn: "the meteor flag of England" and the rising star of America, the tricolor of France and the eagles of Russia, the aged ensigns of Europe and the infant sails of Australia. Hers is the only commerce in the world which never can fail, and ever must rise superior to all the changes of Fortune; for the increasing numbers and energy of northern only renders the greater the demand for the boundless agricultural productions of southern Europe, and every addition to the riches and luxury of the West only augments the traffic which must ever subsist between it and the regions of the sun.

39. The local facilities, strength of situation, and beauty of Constantinople, are commensurate to these immense advantages of its geographical position. Situated on a triangle, two sides of which are washed by the sea, it is protected by water on all sides, excepting the base, to which the whole strength of the place only requires to be directed. The harbour, called the "Golden Horn," formed by a large inlet of the sea, eight miles in length, on the northern side of the city, is at once so deep as to admit of three-deckers lying close to the quay, so capacious as to admit all the navies of Europe into its bosom, and so narrow at its entrance as to be capable of being closed by a chain drawn across its mouth. The apex of the triangle is formed by the far-famed Seraglio, or Palace of the Sultans, in itself a city, embracing within its ample circuit the luxurious apartments in which the beauties of the East alternate between the pastimes of children and the jealousies of women, and the shady gardens, where, beneath venerable cedars and plane-trees, fountains of living water cool the sultry air with their ceaseless flow. The city itself, standing on this triangular space, is surrounded by the ancient walls of Constantine, nine thousand eight hundred toises, or about twelve English miles, in circuit, and in most places in exactly the state in which they were left, when the ancient masters of the world resigned the sceptre of the East to the Osmanli conquerors. The breach

is still to be seen in the walls, made by the cannon of Mahomet, by which the Turks burst into the city. In many places, huge plane-trees, of equal antiquity, overshadow even these vast walls by their boughs; and in others, ivy, the growth of centuries, attests at once the antiquity of the structure and the negligence or superstition of the modern masters of the city.

40. No words can express the beauty of the city of Constantinople, with its charming suburbs of Pera, Galata, and Scutari, when seen from the waters on the opposite shore of the Hellespont. Situated on a cluster of low hills, which there border the Sea of Marmora, it presents an assemblage of charming objects, such as are not to be seen in a similar space in any other part of the world. It has not the magnificent background of the Bay of Naples, nor the castellated majesty of Genoa; but in the unity of the scene, the harmony of all its parts, and the homogeneous nature of the emotion it awakens, it is superior to either. The effect is perfect; the panorama, as seen from the bay, is complete. To the north, the majestic entrance of the Bosphorus—the waters of which are covered with *caïques*, while its shores exhibit alternately the wildness of the savage forest and the riches of cultivated society—kindles the imagination with the idea of unseen beauties; to the east, the suburb of Scutari, in itself a city, with its successive ranges of terraces and palaces, the abodes of European opulence and splendour; to the west, the superb entrance of the Golden Horn, crowded with vessels, and the dense piles of the city itself, rising one above another in successive gradations, surmounted by the domes of a hundred mosques, among which the cupola of St Sophia and the minarets of that of Sultan Achmet appear conspicuous; while to the south the view is closed by the beautiful Point of the Seraglio, its massy structures guarded with jealous care, half obscured by the stately trees which adorn its gardens, and dip their leafy branches in the cool stream of the Dardanelles.

41. A nearer approach, however, con-

siderably dispels the illusion, and reveals, under this splendid exterior, in a larger proportion than usual, the evils and sufferings of humanity. Built in great part of wood, in crowded streets and contracted habitations, it is, in ordinary times, in most places, dirty and unhealthy, and often subject to the most dreadful conflagrations. The plague is its annual, frightful fires its almost triennial, visitant. On the 2d September 1831, a fire broke out, which, before it was extinguished, had consumed eighteen thousand houses, and turned adrift upon the world nearly a hundred thousand persons. Conflagrations, however, are so frequent, that, except when they extend to these terrific dimensions, they excite very little attention. The population of the city varies much from time to time, with the ravages of pestilence, or the terrors of conflagration. In one quarter—that of the *Fanar*—the principal Greek families reside, many of whom have acquired in trade and commerce very considerable fortunes. They are the “sad remains of the Byzantine noblesse, who, trembling under the sabre of the Mussulmans, give themselves the titles of princes, purchase from the Porte the temporary sovereignty of Wallachia and Moldavia, seek riches in every possible way, crouch before power, and convey to this day a faithful image of the Lower Empire.”

42. The population of Constantinople, with its adjunct suburbs, is nearly 900,000; and the proportion of women to men is very nearly the same as in the capitals of western Europe, the former domiciled being 388,000, and the latter only 361,000. The former comprises 42,000 female slaves. This is a very curious fact, because it demonstrates that polygamy, as common sense might long ago have told us, is scarcely an evil affecting the mass of society, however dreadful with reference to the peace of families and education of youth; for the excess of women above men is not so great as it is in London or Paris, or any other of the capitals of Europe. Nature has chained man, in general, by the strongest of all laws—that of necessity—to a single wife. A

harem, like a stud of racers or hunters, can be kept only by the affluent.*

43. The quarter from which this magnificent city is most assailable is the sea; and the expedition of Sir John Duckworth in 1807, however unfortunate in its final results, from the tardiness with which its operations were conducted, yet revealed its inherent weakness, and proved that it might be brought to subjection, despite the castles of Europe and Asia, by the vigorous assault of a great maritime power. But in this respect the Turks had long the advantage of the Russians, from the admirable skill of the Greek sailors who manned their fleet. These hardy seamen, as expert now as when they rolled back the tide of Persian invasion in the Straits of Salamis, constituted the real strength of Turkey. Engrossing nearly the whole trade of the Euxine and the Archipelago, they had covered these seas with their sails, and been trained to hardihood and daring amidst their frequent storms. Their principal naval establishments, Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, had become great seaports, where an immense commerce was carried on, and which, from the entire dependence of Constantinople upon their seamen for supplies in peace and defence in war, had for long practically enjoyed the blessings of independence. Their barks conveyed the 1,500,000 bushels of grain annually from Egypt and Odessa to the mouths of the Danube, which supplied the metropolis with food; their seamen manned the

stately line-of-battle ships which lay at the entrance of the Bosphorus, to guard the approach to the capital from the assaults of Russia. The Czar had no seamen of his own who could compete on their native element with the Greek islanders; his vessels were for the most part manned by them: a war at sea between him and the Porte was like one between England and America; the same race of seamen were seen on both sides. Under the influence of these favourable circumstances, the islands of the Archipelago had made unexampled strides in population, riches, and strength; the level fields of Scio were covered with orchards, vineyards, gardens, and villas, where one hundred thousand Christians, freed from the Ottoman yoke, dwelt in peace and happiness; the rocks of Hydra and Ipsara bristled with cannon, which defended the once desert isles, where fifty thousand industrious citizens were enriched by the activity of commerce; while the trade of the islands, carried on in 600 vessels, bearing 6000 guns, and navigated by 18,000 seamen, maintained the busy and increasing multitude in comfort and affluence.†

44. The chief military strength of Turkey, as is well known, till very recent times, consisted in the JANIZARIES—a sort of standing army of great vigour and courage, established in the capital and the principal towns of the empire. They were originally formed from the sons of Christians, chiefly in

* POPULATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1844.

	Military, &c.	DOMESTICATED INHABITANTS.		Total.
		Men.	Women.	
Mussulmans,	68,000	194,000	213,000	475,000
Armenians,	16,000	93,400	95,600	205,000
Do. united, . . . . .	..	8,420	8,580	17,000
Greeks,	32,000	48,000	52,000	132,000
Jews, . . . . .	..	18,000	19,000	37,000
Strangers, . . . . .	..	..	..	29,000
	116,000	361,820	388,180	895,000

—UBICINI, 27.

† “M. Pouqueville evalua la marine marchande de toutes les isles Grècques à 615 bâtimens, sans compter les polacres, barques pontées, montées par 17,526 marins et armées de 5847 canons. On a vu dans la discussion de la loi des grains en France, qu'en 1817 et 1818 il n'y avait moins de 400 ou 500 bâtimens Grecs employés au transport des grains de la Mer Noire.”—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 388, note.

Armenia and Circassia, who were torn from their parents in early life, circumcised, and bred up in the Mohammedan faith. Being thus severed from their families, and accustomed to look up alone to the Sultan as their military chief, they formed for long a numerous and faithful body of guards, the terror of Christendom, and the cause of the most brilliant triumphs in former days gained by the Ottoman arms. They were possessed of the privilege, after twenty years' service, of settling as tradesmen in any town of the empire, still remaining, however, liable to be called out occasionally if the service of the state required it, and retaining their arms and military accoutrements. Thus they were on a footing very much resembling in this respect, though by no means in others, the old foot-guards in London, who, on the days in which they were not on duty, pursued their ordinary pacific avocations. About 25,000 to 40,000 of these troops usually were stationed in Constantinople and its vicinity. Their numbers over the whole empire exceeded 200,000, and they constituted the entire infantry of the army until the recent changes of Sultan Mahmoud. Of this number there were, in 1776, 113,403 men actually enrolled and in the service, and their number down to the end of the century was still 100,000.* In time, however, there arose among them the usual vices of household troops: if they rivalled the Prætorians in valour, they did so not less in arrogance and insubordination. Conscious of their own strength, having no rival force to dread, they aspired to dictate to the Government, and to select their own prince of the imperial house for a sultan. They would submit to no changes or improvements in discipline. Many of

the most formidable revolts in Turkish history originated with them; and the overturning of their camp-kettles, the well-known signal of the commencement of such disorders, was more dreaded by the Divan than the approach of a hostile army. Sultan Mahmoud, the then reigning sovereign, as some check on their violence, had greatly augmented the topjees, or artillerymen, who were at last raised to 20,000 men; but the janizaries were still in unbroken strength in their barracks, and, being highly discontented at the preference given to the topjees, there was already presaged the terrible catastrophe by which their power was terminated.

45. The great military strength of the Turks, as of all Oriental nations, consisted formerly in their cavalry. Accustomed to ride from their infancy, the Turks are daring and skilful horsemen, and in the use of the sabre decidedly superior to any nation of Christendom. Travelling of every sort is performed on horseback, and, from constant practice, a degree of skill and hardihood is acquired in the management of their steeds rarely attained either in the *manège* or the hunting-field of western Europe. The Turkish cavalier plunges into ravines, descends breakneck scaurs, ascends precipices, and scales hill-sides, from which the boldest English hunters would recoil with dread. Seated on his high saddle, with a formidable peak before and behind, with stirrups so short that his knees are up to his elbows, and the reins of a powerful bit in his hands, the Turkish horseman pushes on with fearless hardihood at the gallop, confident in his sure-footed steed, and in his own power, if occasion requires, instantly to pull him back on his haunches. With equal readiness he gallops, with his redoubtable sabre in his hand, up to the muzzles of the enemy's muskets, or charges his heaviest batteries, or plunges down a precipitous path on which a chasseur can with difficulty keep his footing. Woe to the enemy which incautiously advances into a rocky country without

* Eton gives the following as the military strength of Turkey in the end of the eighteenth century:—

Cavalry, . . .	181,000
Janizary infantry, . . .	207,000

	388,000
Deduct for garrisons, &c.,	202,000

Disposable,	186,000
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—Eton's *Survey of Turkish Empire*, 372.

having his flanks and rear adequately explored! Two or three turbans are first seen cautiously peeping above the summit of the ravines, or through the brushwood by which the bridle-path is beset; for a few seconds they disappear, when suddenly a rush is heard, the clatter of sabres and hoofs rings on all sides, and these redoubtable horsemen, with deafening shouts, precipitate themselves from all quarters on the unfortunate battalion which has advanced into the toils. The glorious victory of Bajazet over the French chivalry at Varna, in 1453, and that of the Grand Vizier over Peter the Great, on the Pruth, in 1711, were mainly gained by the aid of these incomparable horsemen.

46. But the Osmanlis have lost this great advantage by the results of the wars with Russia during the last century. By the successive acquisitions of the Crimea, Oczakov with its territory, and Bessarabia, the Russians have not only got a valuable sea-coast, on which they have built the rising harbour of Odessa—the Dantzic of the Euxine—but they have gained the advantage, inestimable in Eastern war, of having *got the nomad tribes on their side*—of having arrayed against Asia the forces of Asia itself. Immense has been the influence of this decisive change on the relative positions and fortunes of the great contending powers on the banks of the Danube. The territory thus acquired by Russia, the Scythia of the ancients, is precisely that from whence the clouds of horsemen have issued who have determined so many important events in history—who repelled the invasion of Cyrus—who destroyed the army of Darius—who rolled back the phalanx of Alexander. What the Russians have gained by these important acquisitions the Turks have lost, and this has entirely altered the relative positions of the contending parties. The fate which befell Peter the Great on the Pruth in 1711—that of being starved out in the midst of his armed squares by clouds of light horse—would now be the inevitable fate of any Turkish army which should advance into the same

plains; and, strange to say, in the present (1853) war with the Russians, the principal deficiency which the Turks have experienced is in light horse.

47. Deprived of the powerful aid of their light horse, the main strength of the Turkish armies is now to be found in the skill with which they manage their arms, the perfection of their mark, either with muskets or cannon, and the facility with which the same men can, from their previous habits of life, discharge the duties either of a foot-soldier or cavalier. Every Turk is armed—the more easy in circumstances, magnificently so. Most of the better class have either a horse, or have been trained from infancy to the duties of horsemanship. If a spahi loses his steed, he throws himself into the ranks of the infantry, seizes the first firelock he can find, and makes a steady grenadier; if a janizary loses his musket, he mounts the first horse he can seize, and uses his redoubtable scimitar as skilfully as any cavalier in the army. This thorough command of all the exercises of war, which is universal in the Turkish population, who are, literally speaking, a nation of warriors, renders them at once more formidable as individuals, and less so in masses, than the soldier of western Europe, who has no such individual prowess to fall back upon, and trusts only to his steadiness in the ranks, and standing shoulder to shoulder with his comrades. If worsted in a serious encounter, the Turks, in their own country, and knowing its by-paths, generally disperse; the Russians, far from their home and kindred, fall back upon their fellow-soldiers, and combat, back to back, to the last man. The Ottoman array, like the Vendéans or Spaniards, dissolves upon defeat, and the late commander of a mighty host finds himself surrounded only by a few attendants. “When you have once given the Turks a good beating,” said one who knew them well (Prince Cobourge), “you are at ease with them for the whole campaign.” But the armed force often reassembles as quickly as it had dissolved, and, again issuing

from their homes and their retreats, the undaunted Turks enter a second time on the career of glory and plunder.

48. The Turkish armies are little to be apprehended now in pitched battles in the open field, and their strength consists rather in the defence of a woody, broken, or intricate country, where the individual courage and skill in the use of arms which they possess may be brought into play. We read frequently, in the ancient wars of the Ottomans with the Austrians and Russians, of bodies of seventeen, twenty, or twenty-five thousand men defeating a hundred and a hundred and fifty thousand Turks; and this would probably still be the fate of a Turkish array, should it venture to meet the disciplined battalions of Europe in the open field. But the case is very different when they come to fight in a broken or woody country. The rolling fire of the Russian square generally, in the plains, repels the fierce charge of the Turkish swarm; but the case is widely different when the Osmanlis are posted on the rocks or in the thickets of the Balkan, where they can at leisure, and comparatively free from danger, take aim at their adversaries. There their cool and practised eye and steady hand tell with desperate effect upon the hostile columns, and the brave and steady array of the Muscovites often melts away before the deadly fire of an unseen but indomitable opponent.

49. It results, from the same circumstances, that the Turks are the most formidable of all enemies in the defence of fortified places. The Turkish system of fortification and mode of defence are essentially different from those of western Europe. It has few outworks, often none; and scarce any of the appliances which the genius of Vauban invented to add to the natural strength of places. There are neither ravelins, nor lunettes, nor covered-ways around their fortified places. The town, in the form which the natural circumstances of the ground has given it, is surrounded by a high and strong wall, in front of which lies a deep

ditch. A few bastions or round towers here and there project beyond the general line, and form kind of salient angles, often filled with enormous gabions. Along the crest of the parapet is placed a line of gabions, between which are the embrasures, from behind which the besieged fire in perfect security on the besiegers. Along the parapet is also placed, at certain distances, square loopholed blockhouses, built of brick, intended to sweep the ramparts in the event of the breach being mounted, which often occasions a serious loss to the besiegers. They have a way also of stationing musketeers at the bottom of the ditch, who communicate with each other, and effect a retreat, in case of need, by a subterraneous passage worked out below the ramparts.

50. Their mode of defending these fortified towns is as peculiar, and as different from the European, as the fortifications themselves. They disquiet themselves little with the enemy's approaches, seldom even fire at the working parties in the trenches, but occasionally amuse themselves with discharging round shot from their guns at single figures in the distance. Even the breaching of the rampart, considered as so serious a matter in ordinary European war, gives them very little uneasiness. Their whole efforts—and on such occasions they are great indeed—are concentrated on the interior defences within the rampart, which is chiefly valued as affording a covering to their construction. The whole approaches to the interior of the city are there retrenched in the strongest manner: huge barricades of wood bar the entrance into the streets; while at every door, every window, every aperture, are stationed two or more Turks, armed with their excellent fusils, who, with deadly aim, open a close and sustained fire on their assailants. The house-tops, which are all flat, are crowded with musketeers, who in like manner rain a shower of balls upon the enemy. So great is the effect of this concentric fire, that in general the head of the assaulting column is swept away the moment it

reaches the summit of the trench ; for the fire is quite incessant, as each Turk has two muskets, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, which they aim with practised skill. If these dangers are surmounted, and the assaulting column succeeds in making its way into the streets or gardens within the rampart, a danger not less formidable awaits them ; for it is instantly assailed on all sides by a mass of Turks, with their scimitar in their right hand, and their dagger in their left, with which they cut at their opponents, and parry their thrusts ; and in that mortal strife it has been often proved that the European bayonet is no match for the Turkish sabre. So deadly are these methods of defence, that several repelled assaults of ill-fortified Turkish towns have cost more to the besiegers than the entire reduction of the best-constructed citadels of Vauban and Cohorn. Witness the unsuccessful assault on Roudschuck in 1810, which cost the besiegers 8000 men ; and that of Brahilov in 1828, which was repulsed with the loss of 3000 men killed and wounded.

51. A very simple cause explains this obstinate defence of fortified cities by the Turks : it is Necessity. The whole male inhabitants capable of bearing arms are arrayed in defence of the place. A city of 30,000 citizens will array on its walls 10,000 warriors, each of whom, trained from infancy to the use of arms, and splendidly equipped with his own weapons of defence, forms at once a valuable soldier. They fight desperately, because, like the citizens of towns in antiquity, they have nothing to hope in the event of capture. The male inhabitants will all be put to the sword, the young women sold for slaves, or swept into the Turkish harem ; the entire fortunes of the inhabitants drawn into the coffers of the Sultan or victorious pacha. The commander himself, if he escape death at the hands of the assailants, is almost sure to meet it at those of the Sultan. Misfortune is punished in the same way as misconduct, and no amount of previous skill or valour in defence can save the governor who

has lost his fortress from the bow-string. Thus the Turks in fortified towns make a resolute defence, for the same reason that the Russians do in the open field : they have no hope of safety in flight, their only chance is in standing resolutely together.

52. Although the Turks, prior to the great change made by Sultan Mahmoud in the military organisation of the empire, had few regular troops, and none disciplined after the European fashion, yet the vast feudal militia they could at any time call out was extremely formidable, from the perfect arms, and entire command of them, which every member of it possessed, and the individual courage by which they were animated. The Russians and Austrians, at least till the more recent wars, were almost always greatly inferior in number ; and as so large a proportion of the Turkish armies in those days was cavalry, this disproportion, by enabling the enemy to surround them, often exposed the Christian forces to the greatest danger, especially as the scene of conflict generally was the level country on the banks of the Danube. They were thus driven by necessity to adopt the tactics which could alone, in the open field, enable them to resist such formidable and superior enemies. This consisted in constantly forming square when the moment of decisive action arrived. These squares were generally of five or six battalions each, with artillery at the angles, capable of firing on either side which might be assailed. They advanced into battle drawn up in this form, and the squares moved forward in echelon ; so that the leading square was protected at least on one side and rear by the fire of those which followed it. If broken, the square endeavoured to form a still smaller body in the same array, and often became reduced to knots of a dozen men ; for the troops were all aware that flight was instant death under the sabre of the Osmanlis, and their only chance of salvation was in the rolling fire which issued from the sides of their steady squares.

53. Notwithstanding the declining

military strength of the Turkish empire, it is by no means easy of conquest, for nature has furnished it with a triple line of defence, which it is difficult even for the greatest warlike skill and strength to overcome. The first of these consists in the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, which, from their physical conformation and the habits of their inhabitants, oppose great obstacles to an invading army. The greater part of the country, the Scythia of the ancients, consists of wide level plains, and which afford comparatively few resources for a considerable body of invaders. There are few roads in the country, and such as exist are speedily cut up, and become nearly impracticable by the passage of any large quantities of artillery or carriages over them. The constant wars between the Turks and Russians, of which this country has long been the theatre, has rendered the inhabitants for the most part averse to tillage. They trust in a great degree to the spontaneous productions of the soil and growth of nature, which covers the earth in spring with a luxuriant herbage, and in summer with crops of the richest hay. But in autumn even this resource fails; the long droughts parch the surface of the soil; vegetation is burnt up, huge gaps and crevices appear—and an invading army, the prey of fevers and contagious disorders, finds neither water nor resources in the thirsty soil wherewith to subsist the troops. Hence it is that it has at all times been felt of such importance to pass over this wasted *land debatable* in spring, when the herbage of the plains might afford subsistence for the horses and herds of cattle which accompanied the army; and that the fate of a campaign is so much dependent upon possession of the coast, and command of the sea, in order to insure getting up supplies by water.

54. The second defence of Turkey consists in the line of the Danube, which covers the whole northern provinces of the empire. This noble river, which, when it approaches Belgrade, on the frontiers of Turkey, is already

twelve hundred yards broad, flows through the whole of Turkey with a rapid current, which renders the construction of bridges over it always a matter of difficulty, sometimes impossible. It is often intersected by large islands, but they do not facilitate the passage, for the current, broken by rocks, flows round them in foaming surges with extraordinary rapidity. The right bank, which forms the northern boundary of Bulgaria, is in general higher than the left, which limits the plain of Wallachia; and in many places bold rocks or steep banks of clay form, as it were, the natural ramparts of Turkey behind this formidable wet ditch. This barrier, of itself strong, is rendered doubly so by the resources of art and the desolate state of the country. Silistria, Brailov, Roudsehuck, and Widdin, are the chief of the fortresses upon its banks, with the siege of which every war between the Russians and Turks commences, and which are never reduced but after a most obstinate defence, and a dreadful sacrifice of men. The waste of human life in these sieges, which are generally prolonged to the close of the season by the obstinate valour of the Turks, is much augmented by the unhealthy nature of the country on the banks of the Danube in the autumnal months, and the quantity of grapes, which, growing amidst beds of roses on the sunny slopes, and eagerly devoured by the northern invaders, spread amongst them the destructive scourge of dysentery.*

55. The last and most important barrier of Constantinople is the BALKAN, which, stretching from east to west the whole breadth of Turkey, presents the very greatest obstacle to any invading army. This celebrated range, the Mount Hæmus of antiquity, is far inferior to the Pyrenees, the Alps,

* "With grim delight the brood of winter
view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure blue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing
rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it
grows."

or the Caucasus in altitude and ruggedness; but it is superior to either in the difficulties which it opposes to the march of armies. This is often the case with comparatively low ranges of hills, which afford a stronger line of defence than mountains of the greatest elevation. The Alps never prevented the march of the French into Italy; the Caucasus has been often penetrated by the Russians; even the Himalaya was pierced by the battalions of Britain: but from the hills of Torres-Vedras the arms of Napoleon permanently recoiled; and it required two years of harassing warfare on the part of England, to expel six thousand naked savages in Kaffirland from the recesses of the Waterkloof. The reason is, that lofty mountain-ranges are always intersected by deep valleys, the crests of which can be surmounted at a comparatively moderate elevation, and with little difficulty; while inferior heights are intersected by gullies and watercourses, and generally covered with forests, brushwood, or thickets, which can only be cut through at an immense expense of time and labour. This is exactly the case with the Balkan, which, running nearly parallel to the line of the Danube at from forty to fifty miles to the south, presents a wooded and intricate ridge about thirty miles broad, which must be crossed before the plains of Roumelia are reached, or Constantinople is approached. It is not in general higher than the Vosges Mountains near Kaiserslautern, the Mont Tonnerre in the Limousin, or the Lammermoors in Scotland; but, nevertheless, it took two centuries of almost ceaseless warfare before the Russians crossed this formidable barrier. The very desolation of the country and benignity of the climate augment its defensible character. It is traversed only by bridle-paths, which, without any regard to a gradual slope, ascend hills and descend gullies inaccessible to chariots or artillery; and where the rocky heights on either side are not covered with forest or brushwood, they are laid out in thick orchards, which oppose almost the same impediment to

an advancing army.* In their wooded intricacies, the superiority of the Russian tactics and discipline is in a great measure lost: war can no longer be conducted by the action of masses, but comes to depend on individual hardihood and skill; and in the prolonged struggles and hand-to-hand conflicts, the deadly aim and perfect skill in the use of arms of the Mussulmans have often proved fatal to the most powerful columns of the Muscovites.

56. So great are these difficulties, that, notwithstanding the rapid decline of the Ottoman power during the last century, it was not till the year 1829 that the Russian forces succeeded in passing the Balkan and reaching Adrianople, and then it was only with an army not exceeding 25,000 men. The best military authorities have declared that the passage of the Balkan need not be attempted with less than 140,000 men, which large force would only leave 60,000 disposable to advance upon Constantinople. When this barrier, however, is surmounted, the defences of Constantinople are carried; and unless a force capable of keeping the field and repelling the enemy in the open country exists, nothing remains to the Turks but submission. From the southern face of the Balkan to the gates of the capital the country is entirely open, and for the most part uncultivated. Luxuriant herbage, coming up to the horses' girths, at once attesting the riches of the soil and showing the oppression of the Government, continues up to the gates of the capital. In this open and level country there is no defence whatever against an invading army, especially if it possesses the superiority in light horse which the Russians, ever since their conquest of the nomad nations, decisively enjoy. If a hostile army reaches Constantinople, the conquest of the capital is easy, and cannot be long averted. The ancient walls still remain in imposing majesty,

* Its woody character was the same in ancient times, as is attested in the well-known lines of Virgil—

"O, quis me gelidis in vallibus Haemi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!"

VIRGIL, *Georg.*, lib. ii.

but they are in many places mouldering, and, by cutting off the aqueducts which supply the city with water, it may easily be starved into submission. The old cisterns, of enormous magnitude, constructed by the Roman emperors to guard against this danger, still exist; but they are in part filled up, are no longer water-tight, and could not now be applied to their destined purpose.

57. It results from these peculiarities in the physical situation of Turkey, that the command of the sea, or the support, or at least the neutrality of Austria, is *essential* to a successful irruption into the plains of Roumelia by the troops of the Czar. No amount of force, how great soever, at the command of the Muscovite generals, can relieve them of this necessity; on the contrary, it only renders it the more imperious. Turkey is defended by the effects of its own oppression: it has rendered its territory a wilderness, through which the enemy, without supplies brought by the Danube or the sea, cannot pass. External support is indispensable. It is impossible by land-carriage to bring up the requisite supplies for a large army from Sevastopol and Odessa—a tract of nearly seven hundred miles, in great part without roads practicable for wheel-carriages. Equally impossible is it to find in the desert plains of Roumelia the requisite supplies for the support of an army capable of threatening Constantinople. The Russians in modern Turkey, like the Romans of old in invading Caledonia, and for the same reason, must advance by the sea-side. Accordingly, in 1828, in addition to the fortresses on the Danube, it was deemed essential, before attempting to cross the Balkan, to reduce the seaport of Varna. The support of Austria, however, may render it possible to dispense with the assistance of a fleet on the Euxine, if the command of all the fortresses on the Danube has been obtained; because from the rich plains of Hungary ample supplies even for the largest army may be obtained, and from these fortresses, as a secure base, ulterior operations to the southward

might be conducted. Thence it was that the Emperor Nicholas so readily and powerfully intervened in favour of the Emperor of Austria in 1849; he knew that he would march through Hungary to Constantinople.

58. The principal defence of the Balkan, against an enemy approaching from the north, consists in the fortified camp of SCHUMLA. This celebrated stronghold has borne so important a part in all the last wars between the Turks and Russians, that a description of it is indispensable to the understanding of the last and most important of them. It is a considerable town, containing thirty thousand inhabitants, lying upon the northern declivity of the Balkan, and, seen from the plains of Bulgaria as you approach it from the northward, resembles a triangular sheet spread upon the mountains, as Algiers does when seen from the blue waters of the Mediterranean. It is not regularly fortified like the fortresses of Flanders, but still it is very strong, and cannot be reduced but by a very large army. A promontory of the Balkan, in the form of a horse-shoe, surrounds its sides and rear, which is covered with thick and thorny brushwood, extremely difficult of passage, and affording an admirable shelter to the skilled Turkish marksmen. The town itself is surrounded by a deep ditch and high wall, flanked by the square towers for musketeers which are peculiar to the Turkish fortresses. It forms the centre of the intrenched camp, which shuts it in on every side. Its great extent, the steep declivities, wooded heights, and rocky precipices which surround it, render it extremely strong, and the nature of the adjoining hills, impassable for artillery, secure it from the dangers of bombardment. A stream of pure and perennial water flows through its centre, amply sufficient for a garrison of any amount. All the roads from the north over the Balkan, whether from Roudschuck, Silistria, or Ismael, intersect each other in this fortress, which thus becomes a strategical point of the very highest importance; and, garrisoned by thirty thousand

janizaries, it is equally impossible to pass, and difficult to reduce.

59. If its natural defences are alone considered, the ASIATIC PROVINCES of Turkey are more bountifully dealt with even than its dominions in Europe. The CAUCASUS—the continuation of the great mountain-range which, under the name of the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Carpathians, and the Himalaya, runs like a stony girdle around the globe—forms a vast barrier between the Black Sea and the Caspian. Inaccessible to mortal foot, alternately glittering in a cloudless sun and enveloped in impenetrable mists, there

“The palaces of nature, whose vast walls
Have pinnacled in clouds their snowy
scalps,
And throned eternity in icy halls
Of cold sublimity, where forms and falls
The avalanche, the thunderbolt of snow,”*

have from the earliest times formed the subject of imaginative mythology and fabled terrors to the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. On their shivering summits the fancy of Æschylus made Prometheus expiate his generous self-devotion; in their dark caverns the Argonauts sought the Golden Fleece. The poetry of Persia, the tales of Arabia, make perpetual mention of these awful piles of rock, the abode of genii and magicians, which seemed to them to bound the habitable globe, and form the appropriate scene of punishment for the rebellious spirits. They have been rendered familiar to the childhood of all in the charming tales of Scheherezade; they have, in our own time, been the theatre of deeds of heroism rivalling the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and the triumph of Morgarten. Nor is Sacred History wanting to complete the interest of the mountains which have formed the subject of so many fabled adventures; for on one of their summits the ark rested, and on the sides of Ararat the rainbow shone

“Which first spoke peace to man.”

60. In a military point of view, the Caucasus forms a more important barrier than either the Alps or the

* BYRON.

Pyrenees; for, equally with them, it runs from sea to sea, and it is more inaccessible, and less penetrated by passes than either. Generally speaking, it consists of two vast ranges running, like those of the Finster-Aarhorn and Monte-Rosa, opposite to each other, and both terminating in a peak of surpassing magnitude and elevation. The Elbruz is the culminating point of the northern of the two ranges, and Mount Ararat of the southern. Each is about 15,300 feet in height, or as nearly as possible the elevation of Mont Blanc.* The medium elevation of the two chains is about 10,000 feet, and their summits are so rugged and sharp that, except in a few places where they are intersected by deep and narrow ravines, forming the well-known passes through them, they are wholly impassable even by foot-soldiers. Seen from the vast steppes which stretch to the northward from its front towards Tartary, the Caucasus presents a huge barrier, rising insensibly from 1200 to 10,000 feet in height. Immense downs, covered with grass, unbroken by tree, shrub, or rock, compose the summits of the first range, which in general does not exceed 4000 feet in height; but their sides are furrowed by frightful ravines, whose torrents descend with irresistible violence amidst broken scours and rugged thickets. But in the interior range the character of the mountains changes: far above the traveller's head dark forests clothe their shaggy sides; their summits start up into a thousand fantastic and inaccessible peaks which repose in icy stillness on the azure firmament.

61. Few passes accessible to troops or wheel-carriages traverse this terrific

* The Elbruz has been only once ascended. In 1829, M. Kupfer, of the Academy of St Petersburg, with two other gentlemen, ascended to a point only six hundred feet below the summit, but could not reach it, owing to the slipperiness of the melting snow. In the night, however, a shepherd, named Killar, taking advantage of the frost, surmounted the difficulties, and reached the summit, from whence he was seen by the Russian detachment under General Emanuel, which was stationed in the valley.—FONTOX, p. 5.

barrier. The principal one, through which the great military road of Georgia passes, is that of Vladi-Caucase, or Dariel, which is defended by fortified block-houses at all the stations, and which, at its highest point of elevation at the Mountain of the Holy Cross, is 1329 toises, or 7974 feet, above the level of the sea; being about the height of the Great St Bernard in Switzerland. The pass, in approaching that summit, forms the *Pile Caucasæ* of the ancients, and is called by the Persians "The Iron Gate." The next in point of importance, and which forms the great Russian line of communication to the eastern parts of Georgia, is that which goes by the shore of the Caspian, through the famous *Gates of Derbend*. This celebrated pass, the *Pile Albanæ* of the ancients, is formed by the meeting of a perpendicular precipice, 1400 feet in elevation, the last face of the Caucasus, and the waves of the Caspian. It is called now the "Gates of Derbend," which signifies narrow passage. The Turks call it Demir-Kapi, or the "Gates of Iron." It is strongly fortified, and forms the western end of this great natural barrier; these fortifications, like the wall of China, having been erected in ancient times by the kings of Persia, to avert the incursions of the Tartars. They never had this effect, however, for any length of time, any more than the wall of Antoninus had that of repelling the incursions of the Caledonians, or the rampart of Trajan those of the northern Germans. The chief incursions of the Tartars, which proved so frightful a scourge to Persia and Asia Minor, those of Genghis Khan and Timour, were effected by this pass, through which repeatedly three and four hundred thousand of these ruthless barbarians have passed on horseback, carrying their forage at their saddle-bows, bent on southern devastation and plunder.

62. ASIA MINOR, which, in every period of history, has borne an important part alike in Asiatic and European annals, is a country of great extent, intersected with a variety of mountain ranges, and in its valleys and plains

abounding with all the choicest gifts of nature. The climate in the valleys of Georgia, which stretch to the south, is mild and temperate. Sheltered from the chilly blasts of the north by the huge rampart of the Caucasus, all the productions of the temperate zone come to maturity; and with them are blended, where the valleys approach the plain of Mesopotamia, the palm-trees, pomegranates, and dates of the tropical regions. It is on these sunny slopes that the Garden of Eden is placed by Scripture, and from thence that the human race set out in its pilgrimage through the globe. On the banks of the Kara, which descends through the rival chains of Elbruz and Ararat to the Caspian, the beauty of nature realises all that the imagination of Milton has conceived of the charms of Paradise; and it is rivalled by the surpassing loveliness of those of the Kuban, which forces its way through rocky precipices from the western shoulder of Elbruz to the Black Sea. Vines, olives, apricots, peaches, and all the more delicate fruits, are there found in profusion; while green pastures nourish innumerable flocks on the mountain sides; and the finest crops of wheat, maize, and barley, reward the labour of the husbandmen at their feet. The beneficence of physical nature may be judged of by the extraordinary perfection of the animals of all kinds which are found in that favoured region, and the exquisite beauty of the women, celebrated over all the world as combining all that is most perfect in the human figure. Erzeroun is the capital of this beautiful region, as of the whole of Asia Minor. It is a city containing a hundred thousand inhabitants; the seat of a pacha of three tails, or of the highest grade; and of an importance second only to Constantinople in the government and defence of the empire.

63. Although Turkey has repeatedly been threatened by Russia from the side of Asia Minor, and the greatest danger she has ever run, as will appear in the sequel, has arisen in that quarter, yet the military resources of that part of the Ottoman dominions are very great,

and such as, if ably led and fully drawn forth, would seem capable of enabling it even to assume the offensive in that direction. The Pacha of Erzeroum has, in time of war, twenty thousand regular troops at his disposal, to which, when the strength of the Osmanlis is fully called forth, two hundred thousand hardy and brave irregulars may be added, all admirable horsemen, and, though undisciplined, thoroughly trained individually to the use of arms. The formidable nature of this force arises from the fact, that the Mussulmans in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey form a decided majority of the inhabitants; they compose twelve millions out of sixteen millions of its entire population. Though not capable of moving in masses under fire, or meeting the disciplined battalions of Russia in the open field, these hardy irregulars are most formidable in the defence of woody fastnesses or rocky heights, often extremely so in a swarm charge, and inferior to none in the world in the tenacity with which they maintain walled towns.

64. The nature of the country in Asia Minor, especially between the Caucasus and its capital, Erzeroum, adds immensely to its defensible nature against a northern invader. Extremely mountainous, intersected in all directions by ranges of hills, in general rugged and precipitous, and yet so twisted and interwoven with each other that it is a matter of necessity often to cross over them, it is as impervious to regular European troops, burdened with artillery and chariots, as it is easy of passage to the Turkish hordes, who are seldom troubled with any such encumbrances. Fortresses strong, according to Oriental ideas, and very difficult of reduction to an invader without artillery, guard the most important passes, or crown the overhanging cliffs. Few roads, and most of them practicable only for horses or foot-soldiers, traverse this rugged region. That by the coast stops at Trebizond. Only one road fit for carriages traverses the centre of the country by Kars to Erzeroum, and it is defended by several formidable forts. Altogether,

Asia Minor presented the greatest possible difficulties to an invading army; and they were much augmented by the tyrannical nature of the Turkish government, which had rendered great part of the country a perfect desert, and in all so thinly inhabited as to be incapable of furnishing the supplies necessary for a large army.

65. The Caucasus has, from the earliest times, been the abode of tribes inured to privations by necessity, stimulated to exertion by suffering. It is a mistake to suppose that the great migrations of the human species have descended from its snowy ridges. Mountaineers seldom emigrate, at least in inland situations, though they often plunder the vales beneath; it is the herdsmen of the plains who traverse the globe. The very rigour of their climate, the churlishness of the soil, the hardships of their situation, attach them the more strongly to their native land.

"No product here the barren hills afford,
But man and steel, the soldier and his sword;
No vernal bloom their torpid rocks array,
But winter, lingering, chills the lap of May.
Yet every good his native wilds impart,
Imprints the patriot passion on his heart;
And e'en those hills that round his mansion rise,
Enhance the bliss his scanty fund supplies.
Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,
But bind him to his native mountains more."*

Much surprise has often been expressed in western Europe at the inability of the Russians, after above a century of conflicts, thoroughly to subdue the inhabitants of the Caucasus; but the wonder will cease when it is recollected what difficulty the Romans, even with the strength of the Cæsars, had to subdue the inhabitants of the Alps, who guarded the very gates of Italy, and how long, in our own day, the naked Kaffirs, who never could bring six thousand men into the field, withstood the strength of Britain. The Caucasians have done no more with the Russians than they have done

with all their neighbours for three thousand years : plunder is to them the condition of existence ; the spoil of the vales at their feet, their chief excitement in war, their main source of riches in peace ; and the rugged inaccessible nature of their country enables them long to carry on their depredations with impunity. The Russian army of the Caucasus, generally thirty thousand strong, is inured to constant conflicts with the mountaineers ; the great military roads through the range are only kept open by large bodies of men ; strongforts are placed at every station, and the very lazarettos loopholed and guarded, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

66. Based upon a correct appreciation of the immense advantages which they derive from their own unity, and the weakness to which their neighbours are exposed by their divisions, the Russian policy in regard to all of them has for a century and a half been directed to one object. This is to avoid direct conquest or flagrant usurpation, and never hazard an extension of territory till the circumstances of the people from whom it is to be wrested have rendered them incapable of resistance. To accomplish this, their system is to foment discord and divisions among the inhabitants of the adjoining states, and protect the weaker against the stronger, till all effectual means of resistance have been destroyed, or the Muscovite strength is invoked to terminate their contests, or defend a portion of the people from the tyranny of the rest. The maxim "*Divide et impera*" is not less the rule of conduct of the Cabinet of St Petersburg than it was of the Roman senate, and now is of the English Government in India. By this means, the appearance of direct aggression is in general avoided, the path of conquest is prepared before it is attempted, and the dominant power is frequently on the defensive when hostilities actually commence, or it takes up arms only on an urgent and apparently irresistible appeal for protection from some suffering people in its vicinity. It is, in truth, the natural and usual policy of

the strong in presence of the weak, of the united when surrounded by the divided ; and so great is the advantage which in these respects they possess, that they can in general drive their future victims into the commencement of hostilities, and themselves maintain the semblance of moderation, while perseveringly pursuing a system of universal conquest.

67. The situation of Russia, and the political and religious circumstances of the people by whom she is surrounded, have contributed no less than her internal unity and strength to the advantages she has derived from the prosecution of this policy. Placed midway between Europe and Asia, she touches on the one side the states torn by the social passions of Europe ; on the other, those divided by the divisions of religion and race which distract Asia. United in ambition and feeling herself, she is surrounded by countries disturbed by every passion which can afflict or desolate the world. In Poland, the path of conquest had been prepared for her by "the insane ambition of a plebeian noblesse," as John Sobieski called it, and the divisions of a people in whom it was hard to say whether the passion for freedom, or the inability to bear its excitement or exercise its powers, have been the most conspicuous. In European Turkey she found above ten millions of Christians oppressed by little more than three millions of Turks ; and by raising the standard of the Cross, and preaching a crusade, she could at any time at once rouse to the highest pitch the religious enthusiasm of her own subjects, and proportionably distract the feelings and weaken the strength of her opponents. In Asia, where the Mussulmans were three to one, she enjoyed almost equal advantages, though of an opposite description ; for the Christian religion had taken refuge in the hills of Georgia from the sabres of the Turks or the scimitars of the Persians ; and the constant attacks of which they were the objects, from one or other of these powers, naturally led to her protection being invoked by her suffering co-religionists between the Euxine and the

Caspian, and the valour and hardihood of the hills being arrayed under her banners against the ambition and fanaticism of the plains.

68. Peter the Great, who fully appreciated these advantages of his situation, first made use of them, and gave the earliest example of the system of INTERVENTION. Passionately desirous of trade and commerce, and sensitively alive to the disadvantages under which his subjects laboured from their inland and remote situation, it was his great object to extend his frontiers to maritime stations. By the acquisition of Courland and Livonia, and construction of St Petersburg, he accomplished this in the north; by the conquest of the Crimea his successors effected it in the south; by the interventions in the Caucasus and Georgia they brought their standards down to the Caspian. All these conquests, which entirely altered the position of Russia, and from a remote inland rendered it a first-rate political power, were effected by Russia taking advantage of her central situation, and steadily directing her energies to these objects. The oppression of the inhabitants of Georgia, who were Christians, by their formidable Mussulman neighbours in Persia and Turkey in Asia, gave Peter a pretext for intervening in the affairs of the Caucasus; "not," as the Russian historians express it, "in order to extend the limits of his empire by distant foreign conquests; but in order to prove the facility with which Russia could push its dominions to the shores of the Caspian, to consolidate its conquests, extend its influence, establish regularity in the relations of different states, and permit the growth, under its powerful shield, of an order of things accessible to the development of commercial relations."

69. Inspired with these ideas, Peter set out ten years after his disaster on the Pruth, at the head of 30,000 men, for the Caucasus, and, passing through the Gates of Derbend in less than a year, made himself master of the whole country between the Euxine and the Caspian, as far as Astrabad. The Caucasus resounded with his exploits: the conquerors of Pultowa were irresistible

to these rude mountaineers; for the first time in history the hill tribes of Central Asia felt the superiority of European arms and discipline. Persia and Turkey were alike compelled to yield to his ascendancy; and by the treaties of 1723 and 1724 the Russian dominion was extended to the mouth of the Araxes and the shores of the Caspian. Subsequently, and for nearly seventy years, the mountains of the Caucasus were the theatre of almost incessant contests between the Russians, Turks, and Persians, who contended with each other for their possession; and not less with the Caucasians themselves, who seldom allowed the dominion of any to extend beyond the fortified posts which they occupied. But at length an important event took place, which cast the balance decisively in favour of Russia, and established the Muscovite dominion in a durable and solid manner to the south of the mountains. This was the bequest of George XIII., Prince of Georgia, who, himself a Christian, and feeling that his Christian subjects could only be protected from Mussulman oppression by the tutelary arm of Russia, bequeathed his whole dominions to the Czar Paul by testamentary deed, dated 28th October 1800.

70. The death of Paul, which took place shortly after this event, caused some delay on the part of the Russian Government in the acceptance of this magnificent bequest; but at length the Emperor Alexander, by his manifesto of 12th September 1801, declared his willingness to accede to it, from a sense of duty, and a desire to protect the Christian population of the country.* As this important acquisition brought the Russians into direct contact with

* "Ce n'est pas pour accroître nos forces, ce n'est pas dans la vue d'intérêt, ou pour étendre les limites d'un empire déjà si vaste, que nous acceptons le fardeau du trône de Géorgie; le sentiment de notre dignité, l'honneur, l'humanité seule nous ont imposé le devoir sacré de ne pas résister aux cris de souffrance partis de votre sein, de détourner de vos têtes les maux qui vous affligent et d'introduire en Géorgie un gouvernement fort, capable d'administrer la justice avec équité, de protéger la vie et les biens de chacun, et d'étendre sur tous l'égide de la loi."
— *Proclamation de l'Empereur*, 12th Sept., 1800; FOXTON, 94.

Turkey and Persia beyond the great mountain-range which had hitherto separated them, it led to a decisive change of policy on the part of the Cabinet of St Petersburg on the Caucasian frontier. The first object was to secure and strengthen the central military road across the mountains by Vladi-Kaukas, and that was effected, though at the expense of almost continual hostilities ever since with the mountain tribes; with Turkey and Persia also she was involved in nearly constant warfare, but there the weight and discipline of the Muscovites ere long made themselves felt. The fortress of Gandja was stormed in 1803, and the whole western range of the Caucasus subjected to Russia; and at length, after various vicissitudes of fortune, in the course of which her generals had often great difficulty in making head against the forces of Persia and Turkey, Derbend, with its important Gates, were carried and strongly fortified, Baka reduced, Anapa on the Euxine battered by a Russian fleet, and the Muscovite power established in a solid manner on all the western slope of the Caucasus, as far as the frontiers of the pachalic of Erzeroum. The peace of Bucharest with Turkey, in March 1812, and of Gulistan with Persia, on 12th October 1813, gave durable acquisitions of great value to Russia, both in Europe and Asia—for in the former it brought her frontier forward to the Pruth, and rendered her master of the mouths of the Danube; while in the latter it gained for her the important district between the Araxes and the Akhaltakh range, as far as the chain of Allaghez. These acquisitions, besides a territory of great extent, rendered the Russians masters of the whole southern slope of the Caucasus, and brought their outposts within a comparatively short distance of the important frontier Persian fortress of Erivan.

71. As the territories thus acquired by the Russians, both towards Persia and Asia Minor, however, were almost entirely mountainous, inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes, passionately enamoured, like all mountaineers, of freedom, and long inured to the prac-

tical enjoyment of its blessings and its discord, under the nominal rule of Persia and Turkey, they brought them into almost constant hostilities with the Caucasian tribes. These rude but gallant mountaineers were not long of discovering the weight of the Muscovite yoke. Immense was the difference between its systematic exactions, supported by regular armies traversing great military roads, every post of which was strongly fortified, and never abandoned, and the occasional and transitory irruptions of the pachas to which they had been accustomed, who retired after their spoil had been collected, and were not seen for years again. Hostilities in consequence broke out on all sides; the power of Russia was soon confined to the fortresses occupied by its own troops, many of which yielded to the fierce assault of the mountaineers; and it was even with great difficulty that they succeeded in maintaining the great military lines of the Vladi-Kaukas and the Gates of Derbend. The Courts of Ispahan and Constantinople were not slow in perceiving the advantages which this state of things promised to afford them, especially as Turkey appeared at that period about to be involved in hostilities with Russia on the Danube. They fomented the irritation, and aided the incursions of the tribes to the utmost of their power; and at length an open war broke out between Russia and Persia, in which the question at issue was, which was to become master of the Caucasus? The prospect was sufficiently dark for Russia; her army beyond the Caucasus which the Czar could bring into the field, consisted only of eight battalions of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and some thousand irregulars, in all not ten thousand combatants; while that of the Persians was of triple the strength, consisting of 16,000 regular infantry, 12,000 regular cavalry, and 8000 irregulars, besides 24 pieces of cannon.

72. But then was seen, as in India under the guidance of Clive and Wellington, what can be done by the vigour and capacity of one man. The little Russian army was commanded by a

hero destined to distinguished celebrity in future times, GENERAL PASKEWITCH. Skilfully bringing all his guns to bear on the Persian centre, he opened upon it a concentric fire of such severity that it was already shaken, when the Russian battalions, advancing with the bayonet, completed its rout. Driven back in confusion, the whole centre broke, and the wings, which had never yet fired a shot, finding themselves separated and deserted, fled in confusion. The artillery and baggage of the conquered fell into the hands of the victors, and the Persian forces were soon driven out of the Russian territory.

73. Early next year operations recommenced, and the Russians, being considerably reinforced, were able to bring 16,000 men into the field. The effect was decisive. Sardar-Abad and Nakhitchewan were taken, ERIVAN carried by assault, and Tabriz opened its gates. Threatened with destruction, the Persians had no resource but in submission, and on 29th October 1827, a peace was concluded between the Courts of St Petersburg and Ispahan, on terms eminently advantageous to the former. By this treaty the Muscovite dominions in Asia were greatly augmented. The Khanat of Talish, the province and great fortress of Erivan, were ceded by the Persians, and the Muscovite dominion came to include the holy mountain of Ararat. These names will convey but little ideas to a European reader; but it will aid the facility of conception to say that it gave the Russians the entire dominion of the Caucasus, and as thorough a command of the entrances into Persia as would be given to France by the acquisition of the whole of Switzerland and Savoy, with the fortresses of Alessandria and Mantua, for an irruption into Italy.

74. The system of intervention, so successfully practised by the Russians in Asia, was not less ably taken advantage of in Europe. The peculiar situation of the provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, which adjoined the southern provinces of Russia, gave them great advantages for the prosecution of that policy. Although the two former

had been conquered by the Turks, yet they had never been thoroughly reduced to subjection, and were rather in the condition of tributary states than provinces of the empire. They paid an annual tribute to the Porte, but they were governed by their own rulers, or "hospodars," as they were called, who were nominated by the Sultan; and as the great majority of the inhabitants were Christians, they were chosen in general from the descendants of the princes of the old Byzantine empire, who dwelt at the Fanar in Constantinople. Servia, a strong mountainous and wooded country, had long aspired after, and in some degree attained, the blessings of independence. Under their intrepid leader, Czerny George, its inhabitants had, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, waged a long and bloody war with the Ottomans; and although it terminated, on the whole, to their disadvantage, and the Turks remained in possession of the principal fortresses in the country, and compelled a tribute from the inhabitants, yet their subjection was more nominal than real; the power of the Osmanlis did not in truth extend beyond the range of the guns of their fortresses; and in the rural districts the people, nine-tenths of whom were Christians, practically enjoyed the blessings of self-government and independence.

75. Subsequent to the time of Peter the Great, the Russians had repeatedly made such good use of this distracted state of the northern provinces of the Ottoman empire, as to have more than once brought it to the verge of dissolution. After the victories of Marshal Munich in 1739, and of the Austrians and Russians under Prince Cobourg in 1789, and the taking of Belgrade, the Russians were earnestly counselled by their general to march direct upon Constantinople, and rouse a national war by proclaiming the independence of the Greeks under a Christian prince; * and

* "Après la victoire qu'il avait remportée à Stawoutjanec, près Choczim, entre le Dneister et le Pruth, le Maréchal Munich écrivit de Jassy aux conseillers de son Impératrice, 'qu'il fallait profiter des circonstances favorables, et marcher réunis aux Grecs, sur Con-

although the intervention of the other European powers prevented that design from being carried into execution at that time, yet it was only postponed. Peace between Russia and Turkey is never more than a truce; the designs of the Cabinet of St Petersburg on Constantinople are unchanged and unchangeable. The Empress Catherine christened her youngest grandson, brother of Alexander, *Constantine*, because for him she destined the throne of Constantinople, and that of St Petersburg for the elder brother. Although the designs of immediate conquest were laid aside for the present, the foundation was established for future inroads in the right of intervention, stipulated for the Cabinet of St Petersburg in the affairs of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, by the treaties between the Russians and Turks in 1774, 1792, and 1812. The Divan, pressed by necessity, glad to avert or postpone the cession of fortresses or provinces, and not foreseeing the use which would be made of this right, acceded to it without difficulty, and thereby gave the Russians the means, at any time when they might deem it expedient, of availing themselves of some real or imaginary grievance, under which the Christian inhabitants of Turkey might be thought to labour, to declare war upon the Porte. All the subsequent wars between the two powers have taken their rise from these treaties.*

stantinople, que l'élan, l'enthousiasme et l'espérance de cette nation, ne se retrouveraient peut-être jamais portés à un pareil point."—VALENTINI, 192.

* This right of *intervention*, which has ever since borne so prominent a part in the differences and diplomatic relations of Russia and Turkey, is founded on the treaties of Kainardji in 1774, Jassy in 1792, and Bucharest in 1812. By these treaties, Russia, after having conquered, restored to the Porte, first the whole, and afterwards a large part of Bessarabia, upon the following among other conditions: 1. The Porte engaged to protect the Christian religion and churches, without hindering in any manner the free exercise of the former, or putting any obstacle in the way of repairing the latter, or building new churches. 2. To restore to the convents, or the persons from whom they had been taken, their lands in the districts of Brahamov, Choczim, and Bender, and to hold the ecclesiastics in that

76. The Court of St Petersburg made great efforts in the latter part of the eighteenth century to raise the population of the southern provinces of Turkey against their Ottoman oppressors. With such success were their exertions attended, that more than once the Morea, Albania, and the Isles, were roused into insurrection against the Turks, and for some years the Morea was practically independent. The effect of these insurrections, which were all in the end suppressed, was to the last degree disastrous to the inhabitants of the country, but it produced an inextinguishable and indelible hatred between them and their oppressors. At the period of its final subjugation by the Turks in 1717, the Peloponnesus was supposed to contain 200,000 inhabitants, but during the course of the century many fearful calamities contributed to thin their consideration which their sacred office required. 3. To have regard to humanity and generosity in the levying of taxes, and to receive them through deputies to be chosen every two years. 4. That neither the pacha nor any other person should be entitled to levy taxes, or make exactions of any description, excepting such as were authorised by decree or custom. 5. That the natives should enjoy all the advantages which they had in the reign of Mahomed IV. 6. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be allowed to have *chargés-d'affaires* with the Sublime Porte, of the Christian communion, to watch over the interests of the Principalities, and their agents were to enjoy the privileges of ambassadors by the law of nations. 7. The ministers of Russia were to be permitted to make representations in favour of the Principalities, and complain of the infraction of these treaties whenever circumstances might require it. 8. Russia restored the islands in the Archipelago which she had conquered, stipulating for the inhabitants the same privileges, and for herself the same right of intervention, as obtained in regard to the Principalities. 9. The treaty of Bucharest, in 1812, stipulated that the Servians should have the right of administering their own affairs, upon paying a moderate contribution to the Porte. It was natural and laudable in the Russian Government to make these stipulations in favour of their co-religionists in Turkey, especially when subjected to such a ruthless and despotic government as that of the Ottomans; but it was evident what innumerable pretences for interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey these claims were calculated to furnish. In truth, they inserted the point of the wedge which might at any time split the Ottoman empire in pieces.—See the treaties in SCHOELL, *Traité de Paix*, xiv. 67, 503, 539.

number. In 1756 a dreadful plague appeared, which carried off one-half of them. Before they had well recovered from this calamity, the ill-conducted expedition of Orloff in 1770 occasioned still heavier misfortunes; for the inhabitants were excited to rebellion, and after having expelled the Turks at first, they were abandoned by the Russians, and overwhelmed by a horde of Albanians, who exercised unbounded cruelty and rapacity over the whole country for the next ten years. In 1780 these severities produced another insurrection; and the Empress Catherine, by sending her fleet into the Mediterranean, effected a powerful diversion in favour of the Greeks; but they were again abandoned by their allies, the Ottomans renewed their oppression, the plague reappeared in 1781; and such was the devastation produced by these concurring causes, that the inhabitants were reduced to 100,000 souls. Disheartened by these repeated desertions and misfortunes, the Greeks in the next war, which broke out in 1789, refused to move, and the Empress transferred her intrigues to Epirus, where her agents succeeded in stirring up an insurrection of the Souliotes, who gained a brilliant victory over ALI PACHA, the Lion of Janina, as he was called, while the islanders carried on for some months a brilliant but fruitless contest with the navy of Constantinople.

77. These repeated and unsuccessful insurrections had produced a more universal and bitter feeling of exasperation in Greece against the Osmanlis than in any other part of the Ottoman dominions. Deeds of cruelty had been mutually inflicted, deadly threats interchanged, which could never be either forgotten or forgiven. The savage disposition and arrogant temper of the Turks, which is often obliterated during the tranquillity of peace, reappeared with terrible severity during these disastrous contests. Not a village in the Morea but bore testimony to the ravages of the Ottoman torch; not a family but mourned a father, brother, or son, cut off by the Turkish sabre, or a daughter or sister carried

off to the captivity of the Turkish harems. The Turks had almost as great injuries to avenge; for in the political, not less than the physical world, action and reaction are equal and opposite; and the cruel law of retaliation is the invariable and unavoidable resource of suffering humanity. The disposition of the Greeks, light, gay, and volatile as their ancestors in the days of Alcibiades, rendered them in a peculiar manner accessible to the influence of these feelings, and turned the ardent spirit of ancient genius into the inextinguishable thirst for present vengeance.

78. The first dawn of the Greek revolution appeared in the dubious hostility, and at last open rebellion, of Ali Pacha.* This celebrated man,

* Ali Pacha was born in a little village of Epirus, from which he took his name. His father, Veli-Bey, having been despoiled of his share of the little paternal inheritance by his elder brothers, engaged as a private soldier in one of those bands of nomad adventurers common in Albania, where men became alternately heroes and banditti. Having risen to command among his comrades, Veli-Bey re-entered his native village at the head of his band, and burned his brothers in the house which had been the subject of contention between them. After this he was appointed Aga of Tebelen, and married the daughter of a bey, named Chamco, a woman of great beauty, and a savage energetic character, in whose veins some of the blood of Scanderbeg is said to have flowed. She transmitted to her son Ali, who afterwards became the pacha, the energy, the passions, and the ferocity of her race.

Veli-Bey died young; but his widow Chamco, who was endowed with a masculine energetic spirit and indomitable courage, resolved to preserve for her children, by intrigue, the force of arms, and the influence of her beauty, which was still at its zenith, the power which her husband had acquired in Tebelen. She left her retreat in Tebelen, put on the dress of the other sex, and placing herself at the head of a band of the mountain chiefs of Albania, who were devoted to her by admiration for her courage and the influence of her charms, ventured to measure her strength with the enemies of her husband's house, who contended with her for the command in Tebelen. She was defeated and made prisoner; but, like the Greeks of old, she subdued her conquerors by her charms, and being ransomed by a young Greek, whom she had captivated by her beauty, she re-entered Tebelen, where she occupied herself for several years in the education of her son Ali and his sister. In one of his first expeditions he was defeated, like Frederick the Great and Wellington. "Go, coward!" said she,

at once one of the most heroic, the most tyrannical, and the most cruel of modern times, had, at the head of his brave and faithful, but half-savage Albanians, long maintained a doubtful neutrality, but real independence, with the Porte, and it was the extreme difficulty with which he was at last subdued which opened the eyes of Europe most effectually to the decline of the Ottoman power. He preserved a studious neutrality between the Sultan and the rebellious vassals and indomitable mountaineers; with thirty thousand disciplined Mussulmans under his orders, and yet maintaining a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, he rendered himself an object of importance to, and was courted by, both parties. He turned his hostility,

presenting to him a distaff, "that trade befits you better than the career of arms."

Ashamed of his defeat, Ali fled from his paternal home, discovered a hidden treasure in the ruins of an old chateau where he had taken refuge for the night, enrolled thirty banditti under his standard, with whom he pillaged the adjacent country. Surprised by the troops of Courd Pacha of Albania, he was brought into his presence in order to be beheaded; but his youth and beauty softened the heart of the ferocious chief, who pardoned him, and restored him to his mother in Tebelen. He then married the daughter of Delvino Emine, an alliance which at once gratified his love and forwarded his ambition. In consequence of it, he was secretly engaged in the first efforts of the Greeks to achieve their independence in 1790, when they reckoned on the support of Russia. This attempt, however, proved abortive, and it led to Ali's father-in-law being strangled by the Turks. He was succeeded in the pachalic of Delvino by the Pacha of Argyro-Kastro, to whom he gave his sister Chaimitza in marriage. She, however, was enamoured of Soliman, her husband's younger brother; and Ali having advised his sister to poison her husband, in order that she might espouse the object of her affection, and she having refused to do so, he instigated Soliman himself to murder his brother, which he did, and Ali made over his sister to him over the dead body of her husband.

The Sultan having afterwards become suspicious of Selim, Pacha of Delvino, Ali's steady friend and protector, and his designs having come to the knowledge of Ali, he resolved to make his own fortune by the ruin of his benefactor. For this purpose he invited Selim to his house, murdered him as he was drinking a cup of coffee, and sent his head to Constantinople. For this signal service he was rewarded with the pachalic of

at the instigation of the Porte, against the Souliotes, who had taken up arms in favour of the Russians, and reduced them to subjection with great slaughter; and on occasion of the conflicts of the Sultan with the janizaries, he advanced to the gates of Adrianople at the head of eighty thousand men. Such was his influence at this time with the Divan, that his two sons, Veli and Mouctar, were appointed to important commands in the Morea; while he himself, secure in his inaccessible fortress in the lake of Janina, revolved in his mind dark schemes of conquest and independence. At length the Sultan, having received intelligence of his designs, and dreading his daily increasing power, summoned him to Constantinople to answer some

Thessaly. He there soon accumulated great treasures by every species of extortion and oppression, with the fruits of which he bought the pachalic of Janina, in one of the richest and most delicious valleys of Epirus, where he constructed an impregnable fortress, amassed immense treasures, and collected a formidable army. He aided the Porte with these forces in suppressing the insurrection of the Souliotes, but still preserved in secret his old connection with the Greeks, and often drank in private to the health of the Virgin. Yet, still keeping up his system of hypocrisy, he marched with twenty thousand men against the Pacha of Widdin, who had declared for the Greeks, and destroyed him at the very time when he was encouraging in his palace the poetry of the Greek Rhigas—the Tyrtaeus of the modern war of independence. During one of his expeditions, his eldest son, Mouctar, being intrusted with the government in Janina, excited the jealousy or suspicions of Ali by an intrigue with a beautiful young Greek named Euphrosyne. Having sent his son off on a distant expedition, Ali surrounded in the night the house of Euphrosyne, and seized her, with fifteen other young women, her companions, who were all thrown into the lake. His wife Emine threw herself at his feet to implore the lives of some of them; instead of according it, he discharged a pistol at the wall so near her, that she fell down dead of fright at his feet. Soon after, he was seized with such admiration for a young Greek girl of twelve years of age, whose village he had delivered to the flames, that he brought her to his harem, espoused her, and inspired such a passion, though five times her age, in her youthful breast, that she remained faithful to him in all his subsequent misfortunes.—*Biographie Universelle*, Supplement, i. 172 (Ali Pacha); and LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 337, 345.

charges preferred against him ; and upon his refusal to obey the summons, he prepared, with all the energy of the Ottoman character, to reduce him to submission. Chourchid Pacha, a neighbouring satrap, received the command of an army of forty thousand men, with which he approached Albania ; but the reduction of that province proved not so easy as he had expected : and when the Greek revolution broke out, he had already been two years engaged in ceaseless hostilities with its sturdy mountaineers.

79. GREECE, which rendered itself immortal in ancient story, and is, perhaps, destined to be hardly less memorable in modern events, is a country of extremely small dimensions compared to the great figure it has made in human affairs. Including the Cyclades, its entire population, in 1836, was only 688,000 souls ; its superficies, 2470 square geographical leagues, or 21,480 square miles ; being less than Scotland, and not half the size of Ireland. The density of the population is only thirty-one to the square mile ; while in England it is three hundred—a fact speaking volumes as to the oppressive nature of the Turkish Government. Owing to the benignity of the climate, however, and the advantages of its situation for maritime purposes, it is extremely fruitful, and yields an amount of produce far beyond what could have been anticipated from its scanty population ; for its value amounted, within the Straits of Thermopylæ, in 1814, to 60,000,000 piastres, or £3,000,000 nearly. This amount, which must be considered very large, when the extreme scantiness of the population and mountainous nature of the greater part of the soil are taken into account, is mainly owing to the genial warmth of the sun, which renders rocky slopes, which in northern Europe would produce only furze or heath, capable of bearing rich crops of grapes, maize, and olives.

80. Though so limited in extent and deficient in inhabitants, however, Greece is extremely defensible in a military point of view, and second to none in difficulty of subjugation by an army with the artillery and carriages of mod-

ern warfare. The mountains are extremely steep, covered with forests, sharp-pointed stones, or brakes of thorny plants, and intersected by numberless deep ravines, the beds of winter torrents. These chains are so numerous, and intersect each other in so many directions, that it is quite impossible to get through the country without passing over some of them. The roads, good enough as long as they pass over the little plains—for the most part the bottoms of ancient lakes, with which the country abounds—become mere rugged paths the moment they enter the hills, bordered by precipices, and continually open to a plunging fire from above, where the enemy may be placed, often unseen, in prickly thickets or rugged cliffs. An invading enemy must either weaken itself at every step by detachments, or expose itself to have its communications cut off by the inhabitants, who retire, before its advance, into sequestered caverns and monasteries of solid construction, placed in inaccessible situations, and against which cannon can rarely be brought to bear. To transport artillery or heavy equipages is a prodigious labour, rendered the more toilsome as the bridges were nearly all broken down and never restored. The Turkish Government never think of repairing anything. Add to this, that every straggler is destroyed by the armed peasants, whose ordinary mode of life, and endurance of privations, make them excellent guerillas. By the possession of the sea, these difficulties, as in the early part of the Persian invasion, may be overcome ; but the skill and courage of the Greek sailors gave them the command of that element ; and the Turks, never at home in naval warfare, were distinguished by nothing but cowardice and incapacity in their maritime contest with the islanders of the Archipelago.

81. A celebrated English traveller has left the following account of the renowned land of Hellas : “ The last moments of this day were employed in taking once more a view of the superb scenery exhibited by the mountains of Olympus and Ossa. They appeared

upon this occasion in more than usual splendour, like one of those imaginary alpine regions suggested by viewing a boundary of clouds, when they terminate the horizon in a still evening, and are gathered into heaps, with many a towering top shining in fleecy whiteness. The great Olympian chain, and a range of lower eminences to the north-west of Olympus, form a line which is exactly opposite to Salonica; and even the chasm between Olympus and Ossa, constituting the defile of Tempe, is hence visible. Directing the eye towards that chain, there is comprehended in one view the whole of Pieria and Bœotia; and with the vivid impressions which remained after leaving the country, memory easily recalled into one mental picture the whole of Greece. In this imaginary flight the traveller enters the defile of Tempe from Pieria, and as the gorge opens towards the south, he sees all the Larissæan plain; this conducts him to the plain of Pharsalia, whence he ascends the mountains south of Pharsalus; then crossing the bleak and still more elevated region, extending from those mountains towards Lamia, he has Mount Pindus before him, and, descending into the plain of the Sperchius, passes the Straits of Thermopylæ. Afterwards, ascending Mount Ceta, he beholds, opposite to him, the snowy point of Lycorea, with all the rest of Parnassus, and the towns and villages at its base; the whole plain of Elatina lying at his feet, with

the course of the Cephissus to the sea. Passing to the summit of Parnassus, he looks down upon all the other mountains, plains, islands, and gulfs of Greece, but especially the broad bosom of Cithæron, Helicon, Parnes, and of Hymettus. Thence roaming into the depths, and over all the heights of Eubœa and of Peloponnesus, he has their inmost recesses submitted to his contemplation. Next resting upon Hymettus, he examines, even in the minutest detail, the whole of Attica to the Sunian promontory; for he sees it all, and the shores of Argos, Læcyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, and Athens. Thus, though not in all the freshness of its original colours, yet in all its grandeur, doth GREECE actually present itself to his mind's eye; and may the impression never be obliterated!" What a list of names! what magic in their very sound! And was it surprising that the resurrection of a country fraught with such recollections thrilled like the sound of a trumpet through the heart of Europe?

"Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy
fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his honeyed wealth Hymettus
yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress
builds,
The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain-air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare;
Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is
fair." *

* BYRON, *Childe Harold*.

CHAPTER XIV.

GREEK REVOLUTION—BATTLE OF NAVARINO—ESTABLISHMENT OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE.

1. ALTHOUGH the Greeks had for with more severity than any other nation in Europe, yet they had preserved the elements of nationality, and kept alive the seeds of resurrection more

entirely than any other people. Amidst all the severities of Turkish rule they had retained the great distinctive features of nationality, their country, their language, their religion. As long as a nation preserves these, no matter how long the chains of servitude may have hung about it, the means of ultimate salvation are not lost, the elements of future independence exist. The very severity of the Ottoman rule, the arrogance of their Turkish masters, the difference of language, religion, manners, laws, between the victors and the vanquished, had tended to perpetuate the feelings of the subjugated people, and prevent that amalgamation with their oppressors which, though it softens at the time the severity of conquest, does so only by preventing its chains from being ever thrown off. They had lost all—all but the sense of oppression and the desire of vengeance.

2. Notwithstanding the oppressive government and boundless exactions of the Turks, the Greeks in some places had come to enjoy a very high degree of prosperity, and various circumstances had contributed in the early part of the nineteenth century to increase in them to a great extent the material sources of national strength. The islanders of the Archipelago had contrived to engross the whole coasting trade of the Levant; their traffic was carried on in 600 vessels, bearing 6000 guns, and manned by 18,000 seamen.* Hydra and Ipsara, the chief seats of this flourishing commerce, had become large towns, strongly fortified, containing each 30,000 inhabitants on their barren rocks, the refuge, like the sandbanks on which Venice was built, of independence in the hour of disaster; while the beautiful fields of Scios, peopled by 80,000, exhibited every feature of a terrestrial paradise. Fanned

by the charming breezes of the Archipelago, illuminated by its resplendent sun, surrounded by a placid sea, which reflected its azure firmament, and was checkered by the white sails of innumerable barks—these islands seemed to realise all that the fancy of the poet had figured of the abodes of the blessed :—

“The Isles of Greece, the Isles of Greece,
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all except their sun is set.”*

The Turkish pachas never set their feet in these blessed abodes of industry and freedom. Secretly afraid of the naval strength of the Greeks, and aware that their sailors constituted their own entire maritime power, the Sultans of Constantinople had long commuted their right of dominion for a fixed annual tribute, which was collected by themselves, and, being regularly paid, took away all pretext for further intrusions. And thus the islands of Greece had long been remarked by travellers as a sort of oasis in the social desert with which they were surrounded, and as making manifest the general Turkish oppression by exhibiting the happiness which man could reach in those blessed spots when emancipated from its influence.

3. As a natural consequence of this extraordinary and sudden influx of material prosperity, there had arisen in the islands of Greece, and even in some of the principal town of the continent, an ardent thirst for knowledge, and an anxious desire to be readmitted into the European family, to which they felt they belonged by religion, language, and recollections. Crushed and trodden under foot by the Asiatics, their hearts were still European; ruled in their bodies by the Mussulmans, their souls were free with the Christian. The mosque was seen in the cities, but the monastery still stood erect in the mountains. The Crescent flamed in the eastern, but the Cross was arising in the western sky. To assuage the thirst for knowledge which

* This trade had augmented in the most surprising manner, and been attended with extraordinary profits, in consequence of the Continental blockade during the last ten years of the war, and the vast commerce which was carried on through Turkey into Hungary, and all the centre of Europe, which had come to exceed £3,000,000 of exports from Britain.

* BYRON, *Don Juan*, Canto iii.

arose with an extended intercourse with foreign nations and a rapid increase in the means of purchasing it, there had sprung up schools in many of the principal cities of Greece, and translations of several of the best modern works had already been printed in the Greek tongue.* They incredibly augmented the general fervour. The newly-instructed Greeks found to their astonishment that they were the descendants of a people, inhabited a country, and spoke a language celebrated beyond any other in the literature of western Europe, and from the genius of which nearly the whole illumination of the world had sprung. The image of ancient freedom, the triumphs of ancient art, the glories of ancient warfare, which had come down to them in their own country only through the dark and uncertain streams of tradition, now stood clearly revealed in the works of their own ancestors, written in their own tongue, and preserved with pious care by the Christians of the West. The contest between the European and the Asiatic was seen to have been as old as the siege of Troy; the animosity of the Christians against the Mussulmans to have burst forth with inextinguishable ardour during the fervour of the Crusades. No one doubted that, on the first hoisting of the standard of independence, the Christian nations would crowd as zealously around it as the tribes of Hellas had done round that of the King of men, and join them in the assault of Constantinople as zealously as they had followed Godfrey of Bouillon to the breach of Jerusalem.

4. Though these, however, were the secret feelings of the Greeks, they did not venture to express them openly; the sabre of the Turk was still sus-

* "Outre les Ecoles déjà fondées à Salonique, au Mont Athos, à Chio, à Smyrne, à Kydonie, à Bucharest, à Jassy, et même à Constantinople, où se rendaient des professeurs formés dans les meilleures écoles d'Allemagne et de France, il y avait dans les villes un peu considérable de la Grèce, des lycées, des gymnases, des bibliothèques, et jusque dans beaucoup de villages, des écoles d'enseignement mutuel, malgré la répugnance de la Porte Ottomane et même, dit-on, du clergé Grec."—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 378.

pended over their heads, and it might at any moment fall, and involve them in one common ruin. Unarmed, at least on the continent, with all their fortresses in the hands of the Mussulmans, and the only military force in the country at the disposal of their oppressors, it was evident to all that open insurrection would be the signal for general ruin. Great hopes were entertained that something would be stipulated in their favour at the Congress of Vienna; but jealousy of Russia, of which it was thought infant Greece would merely be an appanage, prevented anything of the kind being attempted in that assembly. In these circumstances, the Greeks took refuge in the usual resource of the weak in presence of the strong: they formed *secret societies*. A great association was formed of Greeks, not only in their own territory, but in Constantinople, Bavaria, Austria, and Russia—the object of which was to effect, as soon as circumstances would permit the attempt to be made, the entire independence of Greece by their own efforts. Several distinguished Russians were members of this society; in particular, Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek by birth, and whose situation as private secretary to the Emperor Alexander naturally encouraged the hope that the objects of the society were, in secret at least, not alien to the inclinations of that great potentate.

5. Like all other secret societies, this of the Hetairists had several different gradations. The first class, into which all Greeks without exception who desired admission were eligible, were only informed that the object of the society was to ameliorate the social condition of the Greeks. The next class, called the *Systemenoi*, or Bachelors, were selected with more discrimination, and were apprised in secret that the object of the society was to effect an entire revolution, and severance from Turkey. The third class, which was termed the *Priests of Eleusis*, were cautiously informed that the period of the struggle approached, and that there existed in the Hetairia

higher classes than their own. Nearly the whole Greek priests belonged to this class, and it embraced no less than one hundred and sixteen prelates of their persuasion. The fourth class contained only sixteen names, and it was never known who they all were, which only augmented its influence; but it was known to contain Count Capo d'Istria's, and it was whispered that among it were many illustrious names, in particular that of the Czar, the Crown Prince of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and many other of the first men in the East. These were mere rumours, however — the real members of that select body, whoever they were, were too well aware of the influence of the unknown to permit their names to be revealed; but the course of events gives reason to think that some at least of these illustrious personages were in the association, and formed part of its highest grade. For very obvious reasons, the seat of the grand circle, or ruling committee, was in Moscow, and their orders were written in cipher, and signed with a seal bearing in sixteen compartments as many initial letters. The society had secret signs and modes of recognition, some common to all the members, others known only to the higher grades, each of which had separate signs, known only to themselves; and all contributed according to their means to the common objects of the society.

6. As Capo d'Istria bore so important a situation as private secretary to the Emperor Alexander, he was very careful of the part which he ostensibly bore in the proceedings of the society. He took a share openly only in the measures for the extension of knowledge and the relief of suffering, aware that the impulse thus given would speedily lead to other objects in which it was not advisable for him to take a visible lead. Notwithstanding the usual levity of the Greek character, such was the intensity of the feeling from which the association emanated, that the secret of its existence was preserved in a most surprising manner. It was betrayed, indeed, by

a faithless brother, a Zantide butcher, to Ali Pacha; but that astute potentate, who foresaw a storm brewing at Constantinople against him, and never doubted that the Emperor Alexander was at the head of the society, preserved the secret revealed to him as a claim for protection in time of need. The Mussulmans, surrounded on all sides by the association, remained in utter ignorance of its existence; and when the insurrection burst forth in 1821, they were taken as much by surprise, and were as much astounded as if the earth had suddenly opened under their feet.

7. The eyes of all the Hetairists were fixed on Russia, not merely from a community of religion, but from the decided line of policy which for nearly a century past that power had adopted towards the Turkish empire. It was notorious to all the world that the Cabinet of St Petersburg had long been set on territorial aggrandisement in Turkey, and that the Porte had found in it the most formidable enemy of Islamism. Twice had Catherine excited an insurrection in Greece; the Turkish fleet had been delivered by the Russians to the flames in the Bay of Tehesmé; Constantine had been christened by that name, precisely because the Empress designed him for the successor of Constantine Palæologus, the last of the Cæsars; and the intervention of the European powers in 1789 had alone prevented that design being accomplished, and the Cross being restored to its original place on the dome of St Sophia. It was impossible to doubt that the power which had in this manner so clearly evinced its disposition to extend its influence in the Levant, would avail itself of the present opportunity which appeared so favourable to shake the Ottoman power to the foundation, by establishing an independent state in Greece. It was equally evident that it was from Russia *alone* that any substantial support would be given on this occasion; for, whatever were the inclinations of the inhabitants of the other European states, their governments were too strongly impressed

with the danger to the independence of other nations from Russian power to concur in any measures which undermined the only empire that presented an efficient barrier against it in the East.

8. A very melancholy event, in the year 1819, had strongly awakened the sympathy of the inhabitants of western Europe, and revealed the ardent feelings with which the Greek people were animated in regard to their native soil. The town of PARGA, on the sea-coast of the mainland, opposite to the Ionian Islands, the last remnant of the once great territorial possessions of the Venetian republic on the coast of Albania, had long been considered as a dependence of the state of which they had come to form a part; and in the interval between its cession to France, by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, and its transference to Great Britain by that of 1814, it had contained a French garrison, and its inhabitants had begun to taste the blessings of powerful Christian protection. The treaty of 1815, however, unfortunately made no mention of Parga; but, on the contrary, stipulated an *entire* surrender of the mainland of Turkey to the Porte. In consequence of this circumstance, the Government of Constantinople demanded the cession of Parga as part of the mainland; and in this they were zealously seconded by Ali Pacha, within whose territory it was situated, and who was extremely desirous of getting its industrious and thriving citizens within his rapacious grasp. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Parga, justly apprehensive of the consequences of being ceded to that dreaded satrap, solicited and obtained a British garrison, which in 1814 took possession of it, and effectually preserved its inhabitants from Mussulman rapine and rapacity. The inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to the English crown. Thenceforward they regarded themselves as perfectly secure under the ægis of the victorious British flag.

9. When it was rumoured, after the treaty of 1815, that Parga was to be

ceded to the Turks, the inhabitants testified the utmost alarm, and made an urgent application to the British officer in command of the garrison, who, by order of Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of the Ionian Islands, returned an answer, in which he pledged himself that the place should not be yielded up till the property of those who might choose to emigrate should be paid for, and they themselves be transported to the Ionian Islands. An estimate was then made out of the property of the inhabitants, which was found to amount in value to nearly £500,000; and the inhabitants were individually brought up before the governor, and interrogated whether they would remain or emigrate; but they unanimously returned for answer, that "they were resolved to abandon their country, rather than stay in it with dishonour, and that they would disinter and carry with them the bones of their forefathers." Commissioners had been appointed to fix the amount of the compensation which was to be awarded by the Turkish Government to such of the inhabitants of Parga as chose to emigrate; but they, as might have been expected, differed widely as to its amount, and in the end not more than a third of the real value was awarded. Meanwhile, Ali Pacha, little accustomed to have his demands thwarted, and impatient of delay, repeatedly threatened to assault the town, and reunite it to his pachalic, without paying one farthing of the stipulated indemnity. At length, in June 1819, the compensation was fixed at £142,425; and Sir Frederick Adam gave notice to the inhabitants that he was ready to provide for their embarkation.

10. The scene which ensued was of the most heartrending description, and forcibly recalled the corresponding events in ancient times, of which the genius of antiquity has left such moving pictures. As soon as the notice was given, every family marched solemnly out of its dwelling without tears or lamentation; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons, proceeded to the sep-

ulchres of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected their remains, which they put upon a huge pile of wood which they had previously collected in front of one of their churches. They then took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it till the whole was consumed. During this melancholy ceremony, some of Ali's troops, impatient for possession, approached the gates of the town, upon which a deputation of the citizens was sent to inform the English governor, that if a single infidel was admitted before the remains of their ancestors were secured from profanation, and themselves with their families safely embarked, they would instantly put to death their wives and children, and die with their arms in their hands, after having taken a bloody revenge on those who had bought and sold their country. The remonstrance was successful; the march of the Mussulmans was arrested, the pile burnt out, and the people embarked in silence, with their wives and children. The Mussulmans soon after entered, but they found only one single inhabitant in the place, and he was drunk, lying near the yet smoking pile.

11. A scene so melancholy, and so unwonted in modern times, excited, as well it might, the most profound sympathy in Europe; and as it proved, by a decisive act, how deep were the feelings of nationality which slumbered under the weight of Turkish oppression, it strongly awakened the general feeling in favour of the Greeks. The affair was made the subject of warm debates in both Houses of Parliament; but it was too late. Parga had been delivered up to its oppressors; its inhabitants, like the Athenians in the days of Xerxes, had fled, and its deserted streets had become the abode of the pirate and wild animals. The Opposition loudly declaimed against the cession of this town and expatriation of its unfortunate inhabitants, as a breach of national faith, a surrender of the national honour on the part of England, which could never be effaced.

But although it must ever be a matter of deep regret to every person animated with right feelings, that so deplorable a catastrophe should have taken place under the shadow of the British flag, and to those who had, in trusting sincerity, taken the oath of fidelity to the British crown, there does not appear to have been any direct breach of treaty in our conduct on this occasion. Parga had been either forgotten at the Congress of Vienna, when the general cession of Epirus to the Porte had been stipulated, or it had been intentionally ceded to that power. In either case we were bound by the faith of treaties to give it up; and the evacuation, however melancholy, was conducted with every possible regard to the interests and feelings of its inhabitants.

12. Matters were in this state, with the public feeling all over Europe strongly excited in favour of the Greeks, when the Spanish revolution of 1820 broke out, so fruitful in political consequences in every part of the world. Followed as it speedily was by those in Naples, Sicily, and Piedmont, and by an extraordinary fermentation alike in France, Germany, and England, it produced such a commotion in men's minds as led, in the course of the next year, to the GREEK REVOLUTION. The inhabitants of Hellas, already prepared by the efforts of the Hetairists for an approaching convulsion, deemed the hour of their deliverance at hand; the friends of the Greeks, or *Philhellenes* as they were called, in every part of Europe encouraged these ideas, and secretly made subscriptions in money and contributions in arms to carry it into effect. The desire for liberty, the fervour of democracy, combined with hatred of the infidel in stimulating the Greeks to an effort to restore their long-lost nationality; and the strongest passions which can move the human breast—the love of freedom, the animosities of race, and the hostility of adverse religions—came for once to pull in the same direction.

13. When this outbreak took place in the beginning of 1821, which deserves to be marked as one of the most

disastrous eras the Ottoman empire has ever known, the Turkish dominions were in a very dilapidated condition. They had lost the vigour of barbarism, and not gained the strength of civilisation. Between the two they appeared destined to sink into the dust. Nominally extending over the fairest portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa; embracing in extent nearly the whole which, on the division of the Empire, fell to the lot of Constantine, their real dominion was confined to a much narrower circle. Egypt and Algeria were only in form subject to their sway; the Pacha of Bagdad could little be relied on; even the nearer provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, containing 2,000,000 inhabitants, and yielding a revenue approaching to a million sterling, were rather tributary states than real parts of the empire. Governed by hospodars selected by the Porte from the most wealthy Greeks of the Fanar, who looked to these appointments chiefly as the means of augmenting their fortunes, they had been subjected to innumerable burdens beyond what actually flowed into the coffers of the Sultan, and the inhabitants were so discontented that they not only formed no addition to the strength of the empire, but rather were a burden to its resources. They had been three times occupied by the Russian troops, and as often incited to revolt by their commanders, within the last half-century, and in the end on every occasion restored, on peace being concluded, to the Turks, with stipulations in their favour, which the Porte constantly found the means of eluding. Thus the Ottomans, as well as themselves, had come to regard their dominion over them as merely temporary, to be made the most of while it lasted. Their agriculture was annihilated by an ordinance prohibiting the export of their grain anywhere but to Constantinople, whither they sent 1,500,000 bushels of wheat annually; and only three commodities — wool, yellow berries, and hare-skins — were allowed to be exported. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how discontented their inhabitants were, and how they longed

for the steady government and comparative freedom of industry which the Muscovites enjoyed. Servia, with its million of inhabitants, might be expected, at the first signal from Russia, to join its gallant youth to the Muscovite bands; and Albania, under the sceptre of the wily tyrant, Ali Pacha, was as likely to join the enemies of the Porte as to support its fortunes. The Turkish dominions are rapidly approaching that state which characterised the last days of the Lower Empire, when the distant provinces had all fallen off or become independent, and the whole strength of the state consisted in the capital, and the provinces which immediately surrounded it.

14. Add to this, that the military strength of the empire was in that state of decrepitude which invariably ensues when one method of carrying on war is substituted for another, and the *national* armaments are exchanged for those formed on the model of other states. The Turks, as already observed, were a nation of soldiers, and as every one of them was trained to the management of a horse and the use of arms, they were capable, when thoroughly roused, and deeply imbued with the military spirit, of forming immense armies, which had more than once proved extremely formidable to the eastern states of Europe. But as the Turks in Europe were only a third of the entire inhabitants, and they alone were intrusted with arms, the military strength of the empire, at least in that quarter, rested on a very narrow foundation; and, such as it was, it had sensibly declined during the last century. The Turkomans had become citizens, and habituated to the enjoyments of peaceful life; the janizaries were in great part tradesmen, who were unwilling to exchange the certain profits of business for the uncertain gains of war. Then the feudal militia had become greatly less warlike and efficient than it had been in former days, and no regular army had as yet been formed to supply its place. Such as were enrolled were often more dangerous to their own government than its enemies. So unruly were some of

its armed defenders, that it was hard to say whether the Sultan did not often run greater risks from their insubordination than from the open hostility of his enemies. Revolts of the janizaries had, in very recent times, brought the reigning family to the very brink of ruin, and been appeased only by abject submission on the part of the Government; and though various efforts had been made to introduce the European discipline among them, yet they had been constantly eluded, and the attempt to enforce it led to such discontent, as augmented the danger arising from their mutinous disposition and arrogant habits.

15. The insurrection, the embers of which had so long been prepared by the efforts of the Hetairists, and which the Spanish revolution at length blew into a flame, broke out first in Wallachia. The reason was that that province was nearest to Russia, upon whose support the insurgents mainly relied. It was brought to a point by the death of Prince Alexander Suzzo, the hospodar of Wallachia, who expired on the 30th January 1821. The Porte lost no time in appointing a new hospodar, Prince Charles Callimachi, the head of one of the most illustrious Greek families of the Fanar; but as the short interregnum which must ensue in some degree weakened the hands of Government, the Hetairists resolved to take advantage of it to raise the standard of revolt. It began with a band of Greeks and Arnauts, one hundred and fifty in number, who assembled in Bucharest unknown to the Turks, and marched out of the town under the command of a brave officer, Theodore Vladimaruko, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian service, and who was so called from his having received the order of St Vladimir from them. With this slender band he seized the small town of Czernitz, near the ruins of Trajan's bridge over the Danube, from whence he issued a proclamation, announcing that the hour of their deliverance was at hand, and calling upon the people to rise and shake off the tyranny of their oppressors. Such was the discontent which

generally prevailed, in consequence of the oppressive exactions of the Turkish satraps, and the depression of the value of their produce by being confined to the market of Constantinople, that the peasants all flocked to his standard; and in a few days Theodore found himself at the head of twelve thousand men, to whom were soon added two thousand Arnauts, who formed the police of Bucharest, but deserted to his standard.

16. Ere long another insurrection, equally formidable, broke out in Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. On the 23d February (7th March, new style), Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, an officer of distinction in the Russian service,* entered Jassy, the capital of that province, at the head of two hundred horse, from whence he issued a proclamation, calling on the Greeks of every denomination to take up arms, and promising them, in no obscure terms, the support of Russia.† The effect of this proclama-

* Prince Alexander Ipsilanti was descended from an illustrious Greek family of the Fanar, and his father had formerly been hospodar of Wallachia. The young prince was admitted early into the military academy at St Petersburg, from whence he obtained a commission in the Imperial Guard, and lost an arm in the battle of Culm in 1813. He gradually rose in the Russian service to the rank of major-general; but he became, after the peace of 1815, wearied of the inactivity of pacific life, and entered warmly into the designs of the Greek Hetairists. His known bravery and experience, and the rank he bore in the Russian service, pointed him out to the Grand Arch as the proper person to command their armies, and he accordingly received the commission of generalissimo—"Steward of the Stewards of the august Arch."—*Annuaire Historique*, vi. 582; GORDON, i. 83.

† "Inhabitants of Moldavia! know that at this moment all Greece has lighted the torch of liberty, and broken the yoke of tyranny. It reclaims its inalienable rights. I go where duty calls me, and I offer you, as well on my own part as on that of all my countrymen assembled here, whom I have the honour to command, the assurance of protection, and of perfect security to your persons and property. Divine Providence has given you in Prince Michael Suzzo, your present governor, a defender of your rights, a father, a benefactor. He deserves all these titles; unite with him to protect the common weal. If some desperate Turks venture to make an incursion into your territory, fear nothing; for a great power is ready to punish their insolence.—ALEXANDER IPSILANTI. Jassy, 23d February 1821 (old style).—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 381.

tion was prompt and terrible. Assured of the connivance, if not the support, of the governor of the province, promised the all-powerful protection of Russia, the whole Christian population of the town, whether Greek, Moldavian, or Arnaut, rose in insurrection, fell upon the Turks, great numbers of whom they massacred, and pillaged their houses. Similar excesses were perpetrated at Galatz, the chief seaport, where great numbers of Mussulmans perished; and the town, being set on fire, was in part consumed. The vessels in the harbour, with the guns on board, fell into the hands of the Greeks, to whom they proved of essential service. The whole armed Mussulman force in the two provinces consisted of six hundred horse, who were unable to make head against the insurgents, who soon amounted to twenty thousand men. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost enthusiasm among the Greeks at Odessa, among whom Ipsilanti's proclamation was publicly read amidst deafening cheers, and large subscriptions to provide for the support of the insurgents were made. Ipsilanti, encouraged by these auspicious events, organised a corps styled the Sacred Battalion, and which embraced the entire flower of the youth of the country. Their uniform was black, with a cross formed of bones in front, with the famous inscription of Constantine, "In this sign you shall conquer." *

17. The great thing required to give consistency to the insurrection, and cause it to extend over the whole inhabitants of Greece, was to hold out some security for the support of Russia. To favour this idea Ipsilanti spread abroad the news of approaching aid from Russia, and made large requisitions in horses and provisions for the alleged use of the troops of that power. In a few weeks he was at the head of 1500 troops, chiefly horsemen, at the head of which he had (as already mentioned) entered Jassy, and organised his little force in a regular manner, which, with the exception of the second battalion, 600 strong, consisted entirely of cavalry. Meanwhile the fermentation

* "In hoc signo vinces."

was extreme throughout all Greece and the isles, and the utmost alarm prevailed at Constantinople. In vain the Russian minister, Baron Stroganoff, gave the Divan the strongest assurance that the Imperial Government were strangers to the movement, and would in no way whatever countenance it; in vain the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople issued a proclamation denouncing the insurrection in the most emphatic terms, and calling on all the Greeks to remain faithful in their allegiance to their sovereign. The Ottoman Government, now thoroughly alarmed, persisted in regarding the danger as most serious, and in secret instigated by the agents of Russia; and on the 30th March a proclamation was issued by the Divan, ascribing the disorders which had broken out to the distrust which the malversations of the governors of provinces had inspired, and calling on all Mussulmans to forego all the luxuries of life, to provide themselves with arms and horses, and to recur to the life of their ancestors and of camps, the primitive state of the nation.

18. The first intelligence of these events was brought to the Emperor Alexander in April, at the congress of Laybach, engaged in deliberating with the other sovereigns on the affairs of Spain, Naples, and Piedmont. It may readily be conceived what a prospect was here opened to Russian ambition. The object which the Cabinet of St Petersburg had been labouring for a century to attain, seemed now to be placed within its grasp. Turkey, long sinking into decrepitude, now convulsed in its most important provinces by insurrection, seemed to be falling to pieces; the unanimous voice of the Greek nation called upon the Czar to take the lead in their deliverance; nothing, to all appearance, could prevent the conquest of Constantinople, and replacing the cross on the dome of St Sophia. The other nations of Europe were so entirely occupied with their domestic troubles, and the social dangers with which they were threatened from the effects of the Spanish revolution, that no serious resistance to this

conquest was to be anticipated from the jealousy which had hitherto alone prevented it. Everything within and without conspired to recommend a forward movement of the Muscovite troops; and there can be no doubt that the crossing of the Pruth by their battalions would have been the signal for a universal insurrection of the Christian population, and the entire expulsion of the Turks from their dominions in Europe.

19. It may readily be conceived that it must have been motives of no ordinary kind which induced the Emperor Alexander at this juncture to forego such manifold advantages, and remain neutral when he had only to give the signal, and the empire of the East must have fallen into his grasp. What those motives were is now known from the best of all sources—his own words, in confidential conversation with M. de Chateaubriand: "The time is past," said he, "when there can be a French, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian policy. One only policy for the safety of all can be admitted in common by all people and all kings. It devolves on me to show myself the first to be convinced of the principles on which the Holy Alliance is founded. An opportunity presented itself on occasion of the insurrection of the Greeks. Nothing certainly could have been more for my interests, those of my people, and the opinion of my country, than a religious war against the Turks; but I discerned in the troubles of the *Peloponnesus* the revolutionary mark. From that moment I kept aloof from them. Nothing has been spared to turn me aside from the Alliance, but in vain. My self-love has been assailed, my prejudices appealed to, but in vain. What need have I of an extension of my empire? Providence has not put under my orders eight hundred thousand soldiers to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to establish the principles of order on which human society reposes." In pursuance of these principles, Count Nesselrode declared officially that "his Imperial Majesty could not regard the enterprise of Ipsilanti as anything but

the effect of the exaltation which characterises the present epoch, as well as of the inexperience and levity of that young man, whose name is ordered to be erased from the Russian service." Orders were at the same time sent to the imperial forces on the Pruth and in the Black Sea to observe the strictest neutrality. In this resolution Alexander was warmly supported by Lord Castlereagh, who, impressed with the strongest apprehensions of the growing influence of Russia, and anticipating nothing less than the entire overthrow of the balance of power from the destruction of the Turkish empire, addressed to the Emperor a long and elaborate letter dissuading from any interference in the affairs of Greece.*

20. The publication of this resolution on the part of the Imperial Government was a deathblow to the insurrection in the provinces to the north of the Danube. The tumultuary bands which Theodore and Ipsilanti had raised proved wholly unequal to a contest in the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia with the strength of the Ottomans, now fairly aroused, and stimulated by every feeling of religious zeal and patriotic ardour. The fermentation soon became excessive in Constantinople. Large bodies of Ottomans daily crossed over from Asia Minor, all animated to the very highest degree with fanatical enthusiasm, and loudly demanding to be led instantly against the Giaours, whom they would exterminate to the last man. Nothing would satisfy the populace but liberty to massacre the whole Greeks in the capital; and it was only on the earnest remonstrances of the Russian, French, and English ambassadors, that the Divan was prevented from giving the reins to their fury. As it was, they hastened the march of the Asiatic troops through the capital to the Balkan and the Danube, and there was soon accumulated a force with which the Greeks in Moldavia and Wallachia, now discouraged by the policy of Russia, were unable to cope.

* Lord Castlereagh to Emperor of Russia, 16th July 1821.—ALISON'S *Life of Castlereagh*, iii. 164, 165, note.

21. But while these serious preparations were in progress for crushing the insurgents to the north of the Danube, the insurrection had broken out, and already become formidable, in the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago. COLOCOTRONI, formerly a major in the service of Russia, Peter Mavro, Michael, and other chiefs, who had been prepared for the event, had been collecting arms all winter in the caverns of Mount Taygetus; and having received orders from Ipsilanti no longer to delay their rising, they assembled their followers in the mountains, in the centre of the Peloponnesus, and raised the standard of revolt. In Patras, a strong and important fortress, the insurrection burst forth under circumstances peculiarly frightful. The Christians rose in arms, and set fire to the Turkish quarter; the Ottomans retired to the citadel, from whence they kept up an incessant bombardment on the burning city: the contending parties fought with incredible fury in the streets; no quarter was shown on either side; and at length victory declared for the insurgents, in consequence of the arrival of the prelate Germanos with some thousand peasants, half-armed, headed by their priests singing psalms, and promising eternal salvation to such as died combating for the Cross. This reinforcement proved decisive: the Turks were on all sides driven back into the citadel; the town and harbour fell into the hands of the insurgents; the crucifix, amidst boundless joy, was raised in the Place of St George, and a proclamation was issued by the assembled chiefs, which concluded with the words—“Peace to the Christians, respect to the consuls, death to the Turks.”

22. The intelligence of this success spread like wildfire through the Morea, and everywhere caused the insurrection to break forth. With incredible enthusiasm the peasants assembled in their vales; old arms were searched for and brought forth; and a variety of skirmishes took place, with various success. The general result, however, was favourable to the insurgents. Gra-

dually the Turks were driven back into their strongholds; and in a few days they possessed nothing in the Morea but the Acro-Corinthus of Corinth, the towns of Coron and Modon, the castle of the Morea, Tripolitza, Napoli di Romania, and the citadel of Patras. Attica followed the example: the Ottoman garrison of Athens, too weak to hold the city, shut itself up in the Acropolis, and the cross was re-erected in the city of Theseus. In the isles the flame spread with still greater rapidity, from the superior security which their insular situation and maritime resources afforded. The peasants in Crete rose, and compelled the Turks to take refuge in their strongholds; the whole islands of the Archipelago hoisted the standard of the Cross; and Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, the strongest and most powerful among them, fitted out armaments with incredible activity, to protect their shores, and intercept the commerce of the enemy.* The chiefs of Peloponnesus soon after assembled at Calamata, in the Morea, from whence they issued a proclamation, in which they stated that they had taken up arms “to deliver the Peloponnesus from the tyranny of the Ottomans; to restore to its inhabitants their liberty; to combat for it, for their religion, and for that land which had been illustrated by so much genius, and to which Europe is mainly indebted for the light and the blessings of civilisation. We ask nothing in return but arms, money, and councils.”

23. The intelligence of these events, succeeding one another with stunning violence, excited the utmost sensation at Constantinople, both among the

* “The insupportable yoke of Ottoman tyranny hath weighed down, for above a century, the unhappy Greeks of Peloponnesus. So excessive had its rigour become, that its fainting victims had scarcely strength enough left to utter groans. In this state, deprived of all our rights, we have unanimously resolved to take up arms against our tyrants. Our intestine discord is buried in oblivion, as a fruit of oppression: we breathe the air of liberty; our hands, having burst their fetters, already signalise themselves against the barbarians.”—PETROS MAUROMIKIALES, 28th March 1821; GORDON'S *Greek Revolution*, i. 133.

Greeks and Mussulmans. But the latter, who were a majority of the inhabitants, had the military force at their disposal, and were encouraged by the continual passage of armed and fanatical Turks from Asia towards the Danube, instead of being intimidated by so many and such threatening dangers, were only roused by them to fresh exertions, and inspired with more sanguinary passions. Instant death to the Christians, was the universal cry among the Mussulmans. Unable to resist the torrent, and in secret not averse to measures of severity, which, it was hoped, might crush the insurrection in the bud, the Divan resolved on an atrocious act, which, more than anything else, tended to spread and perpetuate the insurrection, and may be regarded as one of the principal causes which hastened the ruin of the Turkish empire. This was the murder of Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, a revered prelate, eighty years of age, who was seized on Easter Sunday, as he was descending from the altar, where he had been celebrating divine service, and hanged at the gate of his archiepiscopal palace, amidst the ferocious cries of a vast crowd of Mussulmans. The blameless life and exemplary character of this prelate, the proof of fidelity to the Government which he had recently given by his proclamation against the insurgents, the courage he evinced in his last moments, while they were unable to move his enemies, enshrined his memory in the hearts of his grateful countrymen. His blood cemented the foundations of the Christian empire in the East; he might say, with the Protestant martyr at the stake, "We shall light a fire this day which, by the grace of God, shall never be extinguished." After hanging three hours, the body was cut down and delivered to a few abandoned Jews, by whom it was dragged through the streets, and thrown into the sea. The same night the body was fished up by some zealous Christian fishermen, by whom it was conveyed to Odessa, and interred with great pomp on the 1st July, in presence of all the authorities, and

nearly the whole inhabitants of the place.*

24. This atrocious murder had been preceded and was soon followed by others equally ruthless, which demonstrated that the Ottoman Government was either compelled or inclined to give the reins to the savage passions of the Osmanlis, and that no hope remained to the Greeks but in the most determined resistance. On the 16th, Prince Constantine Morousi, dragoman to the Porte, was seized and instantly beheaded; and next day ten of the most illustrious persons in the Fanar shared the same fate. At Adrianople, the Patriarch Cyrille, one of the highest functionaries of the Greek Church, and with him eight other dignified ecclesiastics, were beheaded. The Christian churches were everywhere broken open, rifled of all their valuable contents, and exposed in their most sacred recesses to every species of profanation. Not a day passed that numbers of the Greek citizens of the highest rank were not murdered, their property plundered, and their wives and daughters sold as slaves. In ten days several thousand innocent persons were in this manner massacred. To such a length did these cruelties proceed, that, upon the unanimous representation of the European diplomatists, the grand-vizier was deposed, after having been only ten days in office, on the ground "that his conduct had been too severe." But the removal of this officer made no change in the system of severity which was pursued; on the contrary, it seemed to increase. On the 15th June, five archbishops, three bishops, and a great number of laymen, were hanged in the streets, without any trial, and four hundred and fifty mechanics trans-

* The Turks alleged to the Russians, in subsequent correspondence on the subject, that the patriarch was put to death because letters implicating him in the insurrection in the Peloponnesus had been intercepted the evening before his execution. But this was a mere pretext; for they never could produce either the originals or copies, though repeatedly urged to do so. "*De non apparentibus et non existentibus*," says the civil law, "*eadem est ratio*."—*Annual Register*, 1821, p. 253.

ported as slaves to the Assyrian frontier; and at Salonica the battlements of the town were lined with a frightful array of Christian heads, the blood from which ran down the front of the rampart, and discoloured the water in the ditch. Similar atrocities were perpetrated in all the great towns of the empire.

25. While these atrocious acts of cruelty were disgracing the Ottoman Government, and arousing the indignation or awakening the commiseration of the brave and humane in every part of Europe, Sultan Mahmoud, with that mixture of energy with violence, of capacity with cruelty, which formed the distinguishing features of his character, was making head against internal dangers, still more serious than those arising from the Greek revolution, and laying the foundation of a newly organised and more efficient military force in the capital. His chief difficulty was with the janizaries, who, having been excited to the highest degree by the Greek revolution, took the lead in all the massacres and atrocities which were going forward; and, discontented with the removal of the former grand-vizier, who had given the full reins to their fury, loudly demanded his recall to office, and the heads of six of their principal enemies in the council. The Sultan at first tried to subdue them by his firmness; but, destitute of any other armed force, he soon found that such a course could lead to no other result but his own destruction. Accordingly, though more thoroughly convinced than ever of the necessity of getting quit of these unruly defenders, he resolved to dissemble in the mean time, and submit till his preparations for resistance to their thralldom were complete. In consequence of these resolutions, he distributed great largesses among the troops, to which the new favourite Babu-Bachi added others still more considerable; and the discontents of the entire bands were appeased by a decree, in virtue of which the body of janizaries was to be represented in the Divan by three persons chosen by themselves from among their number.

This was followed, a fortnight after, by another decree of the Sultan, agreed to in full Divan, that a large body of troops should be organised in the European fashion, clothed and drilled like the soldiers of western Europe, and that the odious name of *Nizam Djedib*, which had cost the life of Sultan Selim by whom the attempt was first made, should be for ever abolished.

26. Dreadful as were the cruelties in Europe with which the Turks in its outset met the insurrection, they were exceeded by those perpetrated in Asia, for there the fanatical spirit was more violent, the intercourse with the nations of western Europe less; and the Mussulmans, strong in the consciousness of superior numbers, as well as in the exclusive possession of arms, had no restraint whatever on their atrocities. The deeds of violence perpetrated in Smyrna, always distinguished by the fanatical spirit of its Mussulman inhabitants, threw all others into the shade. From the moment of the breaking out of Ipsilanti's revolt, the Christian inhabitants of that great and flourishing city, who were not more than sixty out of one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, were kept in a continual alarm by the dread of a general massacre, which was openly threatened by the Mohammedans; and at length, on the 15th June, it took place under circumstances of unheard-of horror. News having arrived of a defeat of the Ottoman fleet off Lesbos, a band of three thousand ruffians broke into the Greek quarter, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants. The men who could be reached were all put to death; the women, especially such as were young and handsome, sold for slaves. The magistrates were cut to pieces because they would not give a written order authorising the general slaughter of the Christians. Several thousands fell under the scimitars of the Moslems; but, during the time required for such wholesale butchery, fifteen thousand of the better class of citizens got on board boats, and found shelter in the islands of the Archipelago. Such as could not escape

in this manner, for the most part took refuge in the hotel of M. David, the French consul, whose rooms and gardens were soon filled with a weeping crowd of women and children imploring his protection. His janizaries refused to act against their compatriots, and the doors were on the point of being burst open, when that noble-hearted man, with a single companion, placed himself in the gateway, and at the hazard of his life, and by the mere weight of character and courage, kept the assassins at bay till boats were got which conveyed the trembling crowd to the adjacent islands.

27. This melancholy catalogue of disasters, which proves of what mankind are capable when their passions are let loose by the remissness of government, or excited by its policy, may be concluded with an account of the calamities of Cyprus. That celebrated island, 146 miles in length and 63 in breadth, intersected along its whole extent by a range of central mountains bearing the classic name of Olympus, deserved, if any spot in the globe did, the appellation of an earthly paradise. Its population, however, which was above a million in the time of the ancients, from the effects of Turkish oppression had sunk, when the insurrection in the Morea broke out, to seventy thousand, of whom about one-half were Christians and the other Mohammedans. Separated by a wide expanse of sea from the mainland of Greece, and blessed with a delicious climate and mild character, the Cypriots remained strangers to the movement for two months after it had elsewhere commenced. The Mussulman forces in the island were very trifling; Famagusta, so renowned in the wars of the Ottomans with the Knights of Malta, almost in ruins, was garrisoned by only three hundred regular soldiers. In the end of May, however, the massacres commenced. The Porte sent a body of troops from the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Palestine, ten thousand in number, who effected the ruin of the island. Instantly on landing they spread through all the villages, and commenced an indiscriminate mas-

sacre and plunder of the Christian inhabitants. The chief towns of the island, Nicosia and Famagusta, were sacked and burnt; the metropolitan, five bishops, and thirty-six other ecclesiastics, executed; and the whole island converted into a theatre of rapine, violation, and bloodshed. The atrocities did not cease till several thousand Christians had fallen by the sabres of the Mussulmans, and their wives and daughters had been conducted in triumph to the Mussulman harems.

28. This dreadful series of atrocities, and especially the murder of the Patriarch, had the effect of spreading the insurrection through the whole of Greece. All saw that no hope remained but in the most determined resistance. The mountainous nature of the country and the entire want of roads rendered it possible to organise the insurrection with impunity in the hill fastnesses, and often enabled the insurgents to take a bloody revenge on their oppressors when they entered them. Besides the Morea, Attica, and the islands of the Archipelago, the flame spread far and wide wherever the Greek tongue was spoken, or Greek feelings cherished. The Souliotes all rose in Epirus, and in conjunction with the Ætolians made themselves masters of the fortress of Salona, and forced the troops of the pacha to shut themselves up in Picorsa and Arta. Six thousand men were soon in arms in Thessaly; the mountaineers of Olympus responded to the signal of freedom, and the insurrection spread even into the hill districts of Macedonia. Thirty thousand hardy mountaineers rose in the peninsula of Cassandra, and laid siege to Salonica, the seat of the pacha, a city containing eighty thousand inhabitants; and though they were repulsed in the assault of that place, they took a bloody revenge on the Mussulmans when they pursued them into their hills, and attempted to force the intrenchments which guarded their mountain passes, from which the Turkish hordes recoiled with great slaughter. Meanwhile the genius of poetry, roused as in the days

of Tyrtaeus at the call of patriotism, made the valleys and hills resound with heart-stirring strains;* and the necessities of men led to the formation of some sort of government amidst the general chaos. At Hydra a board of the principal inhabitants was formed, which soon obtained the direction of the islands: a council of military chiefs at Calamata gave something like unity to the operations of the land forces; and at Athens the venerable walls of the Areopagus beheld a senate established which obtained the shadow of authority over an insurgent people.

29. But while the insurrection was thus gathering strength and acquiring

* "*Δεύτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*"

Thus rendered by the kindred genius of Byron:—

1.

"Sons of the Greeks, arise!
The glorious hour's gone forth,
And, worthy of such ties,
Display who gave us birth.
Sons of Greeks! let us go
In arms against the foe,
Till their hated blood shall flow
In a river past our feet.

2.

"Then manfully despising
The Turkish tyrant's yoke,
Let your country see you rising,
And all her chains are broke.
Brave shades of chiefs and sages,
Behold the coming strife!
Hellènes of past ages,
Oh, start again to life!
At the sound of my trumpet breaking
Your sleep, oh, join with me!
And the seven-hilled city seeking,
Fight, conquer, till we're free.
Sons of Greeks, &c.

3.

"Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers
Lethargic dost thou lie?
Awake, and join thy numbers
With Athens, old ally!
Leonidas recalling,
That chief of ancient song,
Who saved ye once from falling,
The terrible! the strong!
Who made that bold diversion
In old Thermopylæ,
And warring with the Persian
To keep his country free;
With his three hundred waging
The battle, long he stood,
And like a lion raging,
Expired in seas of blood.
Sons of Greeks, &c."

—BYRON, iv. 219, 8vo edit.

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consistency in Southern Greece, it received its death-wound in the provinces to the north of the Danube. The support of Russia was indispensable to its establishment in that quarter; for the bands of the Wallachians and Arnauts, imperfectly disciplined and inferior in number, could never contend in the grassy plains with the admirable horsemen of the Osmanlis. This support the policy of Alexander, determined by terror of the Spanish and Italian revolutions, denied them. On the 9th April the Russian Consul at Jassy issued, by command of the Emperor, two proclamations, which were decisive of his intentions regarding the insurrection. By the first, Ipsilanti and his partisans were summoned forthwith to repair to the Russian territory, to meet the chastisement which awaited them as the disturbers of the public peace; while by the second the whole Moldavians in arms were commanded forthwith to submit to the lawful authorities. At the same time the assemblies of Hetairists, which had been formed on the Pruth in Bessarabia, were ordered to be removed into the interior of Russia. Upon receipt of these proclamations, the hospodars of Wallachia waited on Prince Michael Luzzo, who still held the reins of government, entreating him to leave their territory, which he accordingly did two days afterwards, taking refuge in Odessa: and a deputation was sent from the boyards to Constantinople, imploring the Sultan to appoint a new hospodar.

30. Ipsilanti was in his camp at Messid, on his march to Bucharest, when he received this disastrous intelligence; but he was not discouraged. "None of the sovereigns of Europe," he said, "will venture to declare against us. Who among them will allow history to say of them that he has abandoned Greece at the moment when it was marching to defend that beautiful land against the attacks of barbarians whom civilised Europe abhors?" His followers received his address with loud acclamations, and continued their advance without inter-

ruption towards Bucharest, which he reached in a few days, at the head of ten thousand men. From thence he continued his march towards the west, ostensibly to rouse the Servians, but really to be near the Austrian frontier in case of disaster; while Theodore, who remained in command at Bucharest, fortified himself in the convent of Kotrocezeni in its neighbourhood, and, despairing of success, openly received with great distinction an envoy of the Sultan, who came to propose terms of accommodation. Soon after, he abandoned Bucharest, which was entered by the Turks on the 28th, and, bending his steps towards Ipsilanti, was by him seized and publicly shot, on the 7th June, for his treachery to the cause of Greece.

31. Meanwhile the Ottomans, having now gathered up their strength, and received large reinforcements, chiefly from the savage and fanatical tribes of Asia, had completed their preparations for the suppression of the rebellion to the north of the Danube. Three corps, of nine or ten thousand men each, entered the principalities: one under the command of the Pacha of Widdin; another under the Pacha of Silistria; the third under Jussuf Pacha, governor of Brahilov. All were entirely successful. The Pacha of Brahilov came first into action. On the 13th May he came up with a body of six thousand men, with seventeen gunboats, at Galatz, and after a sharp action of some hours' duration, in which the Turks lost a thousand men, he cut them in pieces, seized all the gunboats, and, entering the town, massacred nearly the whole of the inhabitants. Upon this defeat the Hetairists evacuated Jassy, and the whole of Moldavia was regained to the troops of the Sultan.

32. Meanwhile Ipsilanti was actively pursued by the Pachas of Widdin and Silistria, to whom, after his victory at Galatz, the Pacha of Brahilov joined his forces. The game was no longer equal, for the Greek force was as much diminished by sickness and desertion as that of the enemy was increased. In addition to this, the Turks had established a secret correspondence

with the Arnauts, Pandours, and Wallachians, who composed the bulk of Ipsilanti's army, and who were prepared on the first opportunity to pass over to the enemy. Thus overmatched, the prince retired slowly before the hourly-increasing forces of the enemy: Bucharest was abandoned, as above mentioned, on the 27th May, and immediately occupied by the Pacha of Silistria. At length, as he could retire no farther, being close upon the Austrian frontier, Ipsilanti resolved to fight; and notwithstanding the great superiority of the Ottoman forces, they would have been defeated, and possibly the Christian throne of Constantinople re-established, had his whole troops remained faithful to their colours. He had disposed his light troops in two wings, so as to envelop the enemy when they advanced to the attack; and the right wing, composed of Moldavians under Georghaki, executed their orders with intrepidity and success; but the other wing, consisting of Arnauts and Wallachians, instead of doing the same, passed over to the enemy when they approached; others took to flight; and the Greeks, who stood firm, assailed on all sides, were put to the rout, and driven from the field, with the loss of the greater part of their artillery and baggage.

33. This disaster was attended with very little loss of life to the Greeks; but it increased the divisions of their army, discouraged the soldiers, and was the prelude to final ruin. Having collected all his forces, consisting of 4000 infantry, 2500 horse, and four guns, Ipsilanti, who saw that nothing but decisive success could restore his affairs, advanced on the 17th towards the enemy, the vanguard of whom was posted in the village of DRAGASCHAN. His dispositions were made with such ability that the situation of the Turks in the village, on the 18th, seemed hopeless; but as that day was a Tuesday, deemed of sinister augury by the Greeks, he deferred the attack till the following morning. Early on the morning of the 19th, Casavia, who commanded Ipsilanti's advanced guard, commenced the attack with more vig-

our than discretion. The Sacred Battalion advanced rapidly in support; but when it was seriously engaged, Casavia and his Arnauts fled in the most dastardly manner, leaving the Greeks alone engaged with a greatly superior body of Turkish horse. The "white turbans" were upon them before they had time to form square, but, falling back into knots and little circles, they long maintained the combat with the greatest resolution. At length, their ammunition being exhausted, they were nearly all cut to pieces, combating with heroic courage, like their ancestors at Thermopylæ, to the last man. A hundred horse under George, galloping up, rescued the sacred standard and two guns out of the hands of the enemy; but the destruction of the Sacred Battalion proved fatal to the little army. Twenty-five only of its number were saved from the sabres of the Turks, and escaped with Ipsilanti into Transylvania, where he met a less glorious fate than his companions, by being consigned to an Austrian dungeon. He published, the day after his defeat, a valedictory address to his soldiers, inveighing in bitter but not unmerited terms against the treachery of which he had been the victim.* The remainder of his troops dispersed, and the insurrection in Wallachia and Mol-

davia entirely ceased, except in guerilla bands, who for some time longer maintained a desultory and predatory warfare.

34. Had this stunning blow, which extinguished the revolt to the north of the Danube, been followed by a similar success in Greece Proper, the insurrection would have been entirely suppressed, and the land of Hellas might have groaned for a century longer under the Ottoman yoke. But Providence had decreed it otherwise; and a series of glorious efforts, though deeply checkered with disaster, at length effected the extrication of Greece from the hands of the barbarians. The first gleam of success, as in the days of Themistocles, came from the sea; the skill and hardihood of the sailors of the Archipelago asserted their superiority over those of Asia, in the days of Sultan Mahmoud, as they had done in those of Xerxes. With such vigour had the inhabitants of Hydra and Ipsara exerted themselves, that they equipped a large fleet of small vessels, armed with ten or fifteen guns each, with which they had obtained the entire command of the Archipelago, and made a great number of rich prizes from the Turks. Samos, a flourishing island, containing forty thousand inhabitants, had declared for the cause of Greece, and its insurrection had been followed by a general and frightful massacre of the Turkish inhabitants, in retaliation for the cruelties exercised upon the Christians ever since the commencement of the war. To check these incursions, which threatened to intercept the supplies of grain for the capital, the Turks fitted out an expedition, consisting of two ships of the line, three large frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, which set sail from the Dardanelles on the 19th May. It was soon met by the Greek flotilla, which, unable to face the broadsides of its line-of-battle ships in stand-up fight, hovered at a distance, observed its motions, and made preparations, by turning several of their old galleys into fireships, to effect its destruction on the first favourable opportunity. Such ere long presented

* "Soldiers! I can hardly bring myself to sully that honourable and sacred name by applying it to persons such as you. Henceforth every bond is severed between us; but I shall ever feel profoundly the shame of having been your chief. You have trampled under foot your oaths: you have betrayed your God and your country. You have done so at the very moment when I hoped to conquer or die gloriously with you. We are severed for ever! Go and join the Turks, the only friends worthy of you. Go and purchase slavery at the expense of your blood, and of the honour of your wives and children. But you, shades of the Sacred Battalion, who have been betrayed, and who sacrificed yourselves for the deliverance of your country, receive through me the thanks of your nation. Soon shall monuments render your names immortal. I abandon to the contempt of men, to the Divine justice, to the maledictions of our country, the perjured and cowardly traitors, Kaminari, Sawa, Dukas, Constantinos, Basta, Mano, who were the first to desert the army, and induced its dissolution.—ALEX. IPSILANTI.—Rimnick, June 20, 1821.—*Ann. Hist.*, iv. 400.

itself. On the 8th June, the Turkish admiral sent a vessel of seventy-four guns towards the Dardanelles, in quest of a reinforcement which he expected under the Capitan Pacha. It was soon followed by the Greek flotilla, and the captain, alarmed at their approach, took refuge in the Bay of Adramyti, where his vessel grounded. It was immediately surrounded by the Greeks, who opened a tremendous fire upon it on the bows and stern, to which the stranded vessel could make no reply. After bearing with great resolution this raking fire for several hours, the Turkish seamen took to their boats, and set fire to the vessel, which was totally destroyed. Eight hundred were sunk by the fire of the Greek vessels as they rowed towards the shore; and the Turkish admiral, overwhelmed with consternation at this disaster, took refuge with his whole fleet in the Dardanelles, leaving the command of the Archipelago and the coasts of Greece to the Greek cruisers.

35. This success was of the utmost importance to the cause of the Greeks, not merely as counterbalancing the disasters to the north of the Danube, but as giving them the entire command of the sea, a matter which has always been of the very highest importance in Hellenic warfare, as transportation by land is so difficult in its rocky territory, and the ocean is the highway leading to its numerous islands and deeply indented bays. Encouraged by their success, the Greeks, after threatening Smyrna, made a descent on the Mosconissi Islands on the 13th June, and having excited an insurrection in Aivaly, the ancient Cydonia, its chief town, containing thirty-six thousand inhabitants, a frightful conflict ensued in the streets, in the course of which fifteen hundred Turks perished, and they were driven out of the place, but not before they had set fire to and burned it to the ground. The unfortunate inhabitants, deprived of their homes, were transported by the Greek flotilla to Hydra and Ipsara, where they augmented the number, and the recital of their sufferings increased the ardour of the people. About

the same time, another division of the Greek fleet forced the passage of the Little Dardanelles, notwithstanding the fire of the Turkish castles; and having made their appearance in the Bay of LEPANTO, already so memorable in Christian warfare, an insurrection broke out in MISSOLONGHI, and Anatoliko, which hoisted the Greek flag, and was immediately followed by the defection of the whole of Ætolia and Acarnania.

36. On the mainland the operations of the Greeks were far from being equally successful. Chourchid Pacha, who commanded the Turks engaged in the siege of Janina, where Ali Pacha, though with very reduced means, still maintained a heroic defence, no sooner heard of the insurrection in the Morea than he detached a large body of men under Jussuf Pacha, who, penetrating the defiles near Corinth, which the Greeks had neglected to occupy, made their way to Patras, the citadel of which was still held by the Turks, and after relieving the garrison, fell upon the Greeks in the town, on whom they took a bloody revenge for the atrocities committed by them on the Mussulmans at the commencement of the revolution. Fifteen thousand Greeks perished on this occasion, and above twelve hundred found refuge with M. Ponqueville, the French consul. So disheartened were the insurgents in the interior with this disaster, that they nearly all disbanded in the centre of the Morea; and a very little more would at that juncture have entirely crushed the insurrection in Greece. "I," said Colocotroni, "having with me only ten companions, including my horse, sat down in a bush and wept." Driven to extremities, the Greek chiefs at length agreed to fight a last battle for the independence of their country, and for that purpose took up a position at VALTEZZA, a village situated in the hills, three hours' march to the north-west of Tripolitza, and possessing great natural strength. Kihaya Bey issued from Tripolitza to attack them at the head of five thousand Turks, chiefly horse; and he entertained such confident hopes of

success, that the soldiers had performed military dances in the streets of Tripolitza, before setting out, in token of approaching victory. In truth, the situation of the Greeks was all but desperate; for although the position they occupied was very strong, yet it had no water, and the water-casks in the village were only adequate for twenty-four hours' consumption.

37. The Turks approached the Greek position on the 27th May; and the action which ensued may well be dignified with the name of a battle, for although there were not five thousand men on each side, it determined the independence of Greece. The main body of the Greeks, supported by a few guns, which were placed on intrenchments hastily constructed, was posted in the village; but a body of fifteen hundred light troops, under Colocotroni, were stationed, unknown to the Ottomans, in the mountains on their right. The Greek fire was answered by discharges from the Turkish guns, which, being placed on lower ground, passed over the enemy's heads. Three times were the Turks and Albanians repulsed in their attack on the village, and Colocotroni having descended with his men on the flank of the assailants, an obstinate conflict ensued, which continued two days, and was at length determined in favour of the Greeks by the appearance of Niketas, who came up with eight hundred followers by a forced march from Argos, and threatened to cut off the retreat of the Ottomans to Tripolitza. The retreat soon turned into a total rout; the Greeks took two guns, and raised a trophy of four hundred Mohammedan heads. Their own loss was only one hundred and fifty men. Three days afterwards, the Turks, having issued from Tripolitza, were again defeated, and driven back into the fortress on the rocky heights, around which the insurgents immediately took post. These successes, though gained by such small bodies of men, were of the utmost importance, as counterbalancing the moral effect of the disaster at Dragaschan; for had a similar defeat been experienced at that time in

the Morea, the insurrection would have been crushed. Instead of this, the peasants now joyfully flocked to the standards of the Cross; twenty thousand men were soon in arms in Peloponnesus; and the Turks, cautiously keeping on the defensive, remained shut up in their fortresses, two of which, Navarino and Napoli di Malvasia, surrendered from famine in the beginning of August. The capitulation, however, was violated by the fury of the Greek soldiers, who broke into the towns and massacred several of the prisoners—an atrocity which so shocked Demetrius Ipsilanti, brother of the generalissimo, who had come to the Morea to take the command, that he threw it up. This menace had the desired effect, and the chiefs, seeing the necessity of establishing some sort of government, assembled at Calamata to concoct measures for its formation.

38. Meanwhile the Turks, having collected considerable forces at Salonica, had forced the passes of Cassandra, and spread fire and sword through its peaceful valleys; while large bodies of horse scoured all the plains of Thessaly and Boeotia, and, advancing almost without opposition, ravaged Attica, and raised the siege of the Acropolis of Athens, after it had continued eighty-three days. This disaster, however, was soon after compensated by a brilliant success. Odysseus, a brave Greek chief, after having worsted the Turks in several lesser encounters, fell back on the 6th September to the Straits of Thermopylæ (what magic in the name!) with 2000 men, where he was attacked by three pachas, who advanced from Larissa at the head of 5000 Mussulmans, chiefly Asiatics. The advantageous position of the Greeks, who were posted as tirailleurs among the rocks and thickets of that celebrated defile, compensated the inequality of numbers and want of artillery. The column of the Ottomans, encumbered, like its predecessors in the days of Xerxes, with baggage, was slowly advancing through the bottom of the defile, when it was suddenly assailed by a tremendous fire of musketry from an unseen enemy. Pushed

on, however, by the troops behind, the mass continued to advance, though sustaining a heavy loss, until they were attacked in flank by a body of four hundred Greeks under Lapas. Issuing then from their thickets, the insurgents rushed down the steep declivity, sword in hand, with loud cries, shouting "Victory to the Cross!" The shock was irresistible: panic-struck, the Turks fled on all sides, and were pursued several miles with immense slaughter. Twelve hundred were slain on the spot, seventeen standards and seven guns taken; and such was the consternation of the Ottomans that they broke down the bridge of Alamanne in their flight to Zeitoun. Two days after they were again defeated by Odysseus, with the loss of four hundred men and three guns; and the Turks in Attica, under Omer-Vrione, who had raised the siege of Athens, deprived of the expected succour, evacuated that country, and with great difficulty made their way by mountain paths into Thessaly; and the Greeks, reoccupying Athens, after some unsuccessful attempts at escalade, resumed the blockade of the Acropolis.

39. This brilliant affair, which was of great importance to the Greeks, by entirely ruining the enemy's plan of the campaign, was soon after followed by another of still more importance, in a military point of view, though not hallowed by such classical recollections. Demetrius Ipsilanti, who had been induced, by the formation of something like a regular government in the military council at Calamata, to resume the command, found himself at the head of nearly seven thousand men after the impulse given to the cause by the battle of Valtezza, and laid siege to Tripolitza. This fortress, standing on a cold and naked plain elevated two thousand six hundred feet above the sea, in the very centre of the Morea, and surrounded by peaks three thousand feet higher, was, previous to the war, inhabited by fifteen thousand persons, of whom one-half were Greeks. It was surrounded by a stone wall fourteen feet

in height, with a double row of loopholes for musketry, on which were planted thirty pieces of cannon. At its western extremity was a regular citadel, with bomb-proof casemates, but commanded by an eminence in its vicinity. The population of the town was doubled by the reflux of Turkish families to this stronghold, when the Greeks got the command of the open country; and when the blockade began to be straitened, in the end of August, thirty thousand mouths required to be fed, though not more than eight thousand sabres and bayonets could be relied on for a fight.

40. The powerful cavalry of the Turks for a considerable time kept the besiegers at bay, and enabled their own horses to forage in the plain. But Colocotroni, who commanded the besieging force, having established himself in some houses which commanded the pasture-grounds, the Ottoman horses were restricted to the withered herbage at the bottom of the rampart, in consequence of which they soon all died or became unserviceable. Shortly after, news arrived of the victory gained at Thermopylæ, and from Epirus, that Chourchid Pacha was so engaged with the siege of Janina that he was unable to send any succours to the Morea. This intelligence brought a great number of recruits to the standard of Colocotroni, eager to share in the spoils of Tripolitza, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men; and a few battering cannon were brought from the islands, and dragged by the peasants up to the plain which surrounded the fortress, but their fire did little execution, and was over-matched by the guns of the place. Famine and disease, however, soon made sad ravages among the crowded inhabitants in the town; and as this gave rise to frequent conversations about a capitulation, the Turkish commander, who confidently hoped to be relieved, put to death eighty Christian priests held as hostages in the town, in order to convince the garrison they had no chance of safety but in the most determined resistance. This severity led to a frightful reprisal, which, as usual, involved

the innocent and guilty in promiscuous ruin, and affixed the first dark stains on the cause of Greek independence.

41. On the 5th October, while conferences between the chiefs on the two sides were still going on, some Turkish sentinels having, for the sake of buying grapes, permitted a few Greeks to approach the wall, the latter, perceiving that it was negligently guarded, applied scaling-ladders, and soon got to the top. A whole company, with Captain Kephalas at its head, speedily followed, hoisted the *Labarum*, or Christian ensign, on the tower of Argos, and turned the guns planted on it on the town. As soon as the standard of the cross was seen on the walls, a tumultuous cheer rang round the Christian lines, and a general rush was made towards the rampart. Panic-struck, the Turks everywhere left the wall, and the assailants got possession of some of the gates, and rushed in. A scene ensued which baffles all description, and forcibly recalled to mind the most terrible pictures of human woe which the genius of antiquity has left to fascinate all future generations of men. The wrongs and cruelties of four centuries rose up in judgment against the Ottomans; retaliation, cruel and undistinguishing, was the universal passion—*væ victis* the universal cry. The conquerors, mad with vindictive rage, spared neither age nor sex; the young and the old, the armed and the unarmed, men and women, the Mohammedans and the Jews, were promiscuously massacred. The Albanians, fifteen hundred in number, retired into the court of the pacha's palace, and there claimed and obtained performance of the capitulation. They were marched out, set apart in Colocotroni's camp, and, a few days after, departed in safety to their homes. But, with this exception, the massacre was universal; flames soon broke forth in many places; the streets and houses were literally inundated with blood, and obstructed with heaps of dead bodies. The Greek chiefs in vain endeavoured to restore order, the infuriated soldiery listened only to the voice of passion: the slaughter continued

through the whole night by the light of the burning houses; it went on all the next day; and when it ceased at length, by the exhaustion of the victors, nine thousand bodies, of all ages and sexes, encumbered the streets of Tripolitza.

42. Though disgraced by such frightful cruelty, the sad result of the war of extermination which had begun between the Greeks and Turks, the capture of Tripolitza was an event of the very highest importance to the Greek cause. They found there a considerable train of artillery, arms and ammunition in abundance, and immense treasures, the long accumulations of Ottoman rapine, which laid the foundation of some of the principal fortunes in the Morea. The army which had taken Tripolitza, after its important conquest, was divided into two parts: one-half sat down before the Acro-Corinthus of Corinth, which stronghold, commanding the entrance into the Morea, surrendered in the middle of November; while the other went to reinforce the troops under the Archbishop Germanos, which were blockading the citadel of Patras, where Jusuf Pacha, having been strongly reinforced by succours from the army besieging Janina, had become very audacious, and had defeated the Greeks in several sorties. Meanwhile the Sultan, irritated rather than discouraged by the defeat his fleet had sustained in the beginning of summer, fitted out a new squadron in the Dardanelles, which put to sea in the beginning of July, and, being much stronger than any the Greeks could oppose to it, arrived in safety in the harbour of Rhodes, where it effected a junction with the Egyptian fleet. The combined fleet, consisting of four ships of the line and seventy smaller vessels, made sail for the Morea, where they revictualled all the blockaded fortresses having harbours, and regained the shelter of the Dardanelles in the end of October, closely watched by the Greek flotilla, which, without venturing to hazard a general engagement, prevented the Ottoman squadron from effecting anything else. On the 24th

November, the fleet re-entered the harbour of Constantinople, exhibiting as its only prizes thirty Greek sailors hanging from the yard-arm of one of the vessels. So elated was the Sultan, however, with the success of this maritime promenade, that he promoted the admiral, Kara Ali, to the rank of Captain Pacha! Woeful picture of national decline, when escape from defeat is considered equivalent to victory!

43. The intelligence of the disasters sustained by the Turks in the Morea, and the entire ruin of their trade by the Greek cruisers, again roused the Mohammedan population of Smyrna to a state of perfect frenzy. The wine-shops were filled from morning to night with armed bands of Asiatics, threatening instant death and total extermination to the Christians. The European consuls presented an energetic note to the Turkish governor, representing the frightful consequences which would ensue if these disorders were not repressed; but in vain. The Asiatics broke loose; above a thousand Christians were massacred in the following days; and the slaughter would have been much greater if the majority of the Christians had not found an asylum on board the French fleet, which fortunately lay at anchor in the roads at the time. At length, on the joint representation of the French and English consuls and the French admiral, an order was issued from the governor, closing the coffeehouses and spirit-shops, ordering the Asiatic troops to quit the city, and the Franks not to bear arms openly in the streets, by which means the massacre was stopped.

44. While these important events were in progress in Asia and Southern Greece, Chourchid Pacha, commanding the army before Janina, justified the high confidence which the Sultan reposed in him. Though obliged to detach largely into the Morea and Northern Greece, he never lost sight of his main object, the destruction of Ali Pacha. This old and savage chieftain, in the last extremity, justified his surname of the "Lion of Janina." Shut up with not more than four thou-

sand followers in his impregnable fortress in the lake, he continued his obstinate resistance, though he amused his besiegers with delusive offers of accommodation. Chourchid's chief difficulty was to preserve his lines of communication through the mountains, which were beset by twelve thousand Greeks and Souliotes, from whom he sustained, in the beginning of September, a bloody defeat in the defiles of Mount Pindus. Having received a reinforcement, however, of eight thousand men soon after, his force was raised to thirty thousand men, with which he both continued the blockade of Janina, and kept up his communication with Arta, Prevesa, and the sea, though not without extreme difficulty, from the incursions of the hardy mountaineers. Hassan Pacha, alarmed at the dangers of his situation in Arta, set out with all his forces, in order to force his way through the defiles to Janina; but he was met in the defiles of Pindus by MARK BOZZARIS, a chieftain destined to future glory, and driven back with great slaughter to Arta. Chourchid, however, was not discouraged, and by repeated efforts he succeeded in re-establishing his communication with Arta. There, however, the Turks, under the command of four pachas, were soon vigorously assailed by Bozzaris at the head of his brave Souliotes, who, after driving them back into the fortress, at length carried it by assault. The greater part of the garrison found refuge in the citadel, which still held out; but all the stores and treasures of the four pachas fell into the hands of the Greeks, to whom they proved of essential service. They held their conquest, however, only for three weeks. At the end of that time it was regained by Omer-Vrione, who was detached by Chourchid Pacha from before Janina, and the heads of the two pachas, who had sought refuge in the citadel, were sent to the Sultan, by whom they were displayed at the gates of the Seraglio.

45. The Greeks, who now began to feel the effects of the divisions consequent in all insurrections on success, were far from making that use of their victory at Tripolitza which might have

been expected, or, with more unanimity, might have been effected. Ipsilanti took the command of the army before Napoli di Romania, and prosecuted the siege with great vigour, in hopes of effecting the reduction of that important stronghold before the garrison was revictualled by sea in the following spring. This celebrated fortress, which in situation very closely resembles Gibraltar, is extremely strong, and by a few additions might be rendered impregnable. The citadel of Palamido, situated on a frowning rock eight hundred feet high, the base of which is washed by the sea, seemed almost beyond the reach of attack; and though the garrison consisted only of one thousand five hundred men, encumbered with ten times that number of useless mouths, yet there were four hundred guns mounted on the ramparts, and the main warlike stores of the Turks were deposited within its walls. Animated by the hopes of gaining so rich a prize, the Greeks, on the night of the 15th December, attempted an escalade. So excessive was the negligence of the Turks that it had very nearly succeeded; and with more unanimity and resolution on the part of the besiegers, it unquestionably would have done so. But some of the assaulting parties refused to advance, others failed, and the attack was repulsed, after which the siege was turned into a mere blockade. At the same time, the insurgents experienced a severe check in the ruins of Patras. Encouraged by the fall of Tripolitza, a body of five thousand Peloponnesians, by a sudden assault, made themselves masters of the town, and remained there, blockading the citadel, till the beginning of December. Then Jussuf Pacha, observing how bad a look-out the Greeks kept, and knowing how completely their chiefs were divided, marched from the Morea Castle with four hundred men, and, aided by a sally from the citadel, drove the Greeks out of the town. Mavrocordato and the generals escaped with difficulty to Argos, but the greater part of the insurgents in the town were destroyed; and the Turks immediately commenced the destruc-

tion of what remained of the buildings, in order to prevent them from again becoming a shelter to the enemy.

46. While these important events, big with the future fate of old Hellas, were in progress in the Morea, the Greeks experienced a dreadful reverse in the peninsula of Cassandra. The position of that mountain-ridge, washed by the waters of the Archipelago, and its close vicinity to the important town and harbour of Salonica, the centre of all the operations of the Turks in that quarter, rendered it an object of the highest importance to the Turks to extinguish the insurrection in its fastnesses. Accordingly, during the whole of October, large bodies of Asiatics were brought over from Smyrna, and on the 11th November, on a signal given by the discharge of a bomb, the Ottoman horde, ten thousand strong, rushed to the assault. Although the Greeks defended their intrenchments bravely, yet such was the fury of the onset, and the superiority of numbers on the part of the assailants, that they were broken through in several places, and at these openings the savage multitude rushed in with irresistible fury. It soon was no longer a battle, but a massacre. Such of the Greeks as could escape saved themselves in the mountains; but above three thousand fell under the Mussulman scimitars; and ten thousand women and children, with thirty thousand head of cattle, were taken and publicly sold in the market-place of Salonica. Taking advantage of the consternation produced by this dreadful event, the victorious pacha advanced to Mount Athos, where the trembling monks, though placed in their almost inaccessible eyries, were too happy to accept the proffered capitulation, by which they saved their lives and property on payment of 250,000 piastres a-year (£20,000.)

47. To complete the picture of this memorable year, it only remains to notice the operations in Crete. The mountaineers there, albeit endowed by nature with mild and pacific constitutions, were all in arms in consequence of the dreadful exactions and cruelty of the Turks, and the latter had brought

over large bodies of Asiatics to complete their destruction. The Sfakiotes, a hardy race, whose position in the hills had hitherto saved them in a great measure from the tyranny of the Ottomans, defeated them in an action at Soulo, near Canea, upon which the Turks massacred all the Christians in Candia, and seven hundred more in other towns in the island. All the bishops perished. The Sfakiotes, however, were not discouraged, but made several incursions into the plains, from whence they returned laden with the spoils of their oppressors to their mountains. Upon this, the Turks brought over ten thousand Asiatic janizaries, who penetrated into their fastnesses, and stormed Therissow, their principal stronghold, laying waste everything with fire and sword; but want of provisions soon obliged them to retire, and the Sfakiotes again resumed their incursions. The revolt upon this spread universally over the island, and the Turks were obliged to take refuge in Canea, where, towards the end of autumn, they suffered severely from dysentery and other diseases.

48. While the southern parts of the Ottoman dominions were thus the theatre of a frightful civil war, and the Turks, after many vicissitudes of fortune, were losing their hold of the richest and finest part of their territory, they were threatened with external danger both in the east and north scarcely less alarming. The Persians, deeming a rupture between Russia and the Porte inevitable, and probably secretly instigated by the agents of the Czar, declared war against Turkey in the beginning of August, and immediately invaded the pachalic of Bagdad with thirty thousand men. Although no great success attended their arms, yet it operated as an important diversion in favour of the Greeks, as it obliged the Sultan to employ an equal force in defence of his eastern dominions. Affairs also had become so threatening with Russia that an immediate rupture seemed inevitable, and the Turkish dominions, threatened alike in the south, the north, and the east, seemed doomed to destruction.

49. Notwithstanding the determination of the Emperor Alexander to abstain from all interference with the Greek insurrection, it was inevitable that during the progress of the contest various points of dispute should arise between the two powers at St Petersburg and Constantinople. They were not long, accordingly, in showing themselves. M. Danesi, the banker to the Russian embassy, was arrested early in June, ostensibly for a debt of 300,000 piastres (£3000), but really for having furnished funds to the Greek insurgents; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of M. Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador, who reclaimed him as forming part of the embassy, sentenced to be beheaded, from which he only escaped by going into exile. Hardly was this subject of discord appeased when another and more serious one arose, in consequence of the Porte having issued an order that all neutral vessels passing the Dardanelles should be searched, and prohibiting the exportation of grain through the canal of the Bosphorus. These orders were vehemently opposed by the Russian minister, as interfering with the rights of the Russian merchants in the Black Sea; and as strongly maintained by the Sultan, as necessary to prevent succours being conveyed to the Greeks under the Russian flag, and within the acknowledged rights of a belligerent power. The execution of the Patriarch, and the frightful massacres in Constantinople and other chief towns of the empire, were next made the subject of well-founded complaints on the part of the Russian ambassador, to which the Divan replied by remonstrances founded on the asylum afforded at Odessa to the Greeks who had escaped from them, and the right of every government to repress rebellion among its subjects by every means in its power. M. Strogonoff next protested against the entry of the Turkish forces into the Principalities, which was entirely disregarded; declared that, as long as the Turkish Government continued, the Russians would never refuse an asylum to any Greek who might demand it; and that, if

the system of violence continued, he would break off all diplomatic intercourse with the Porte. To all these remonstrances the answer constantly made was, that no foreign power had a right to interfere between the Turkish Government and its own subjects, and that the insurrection could be subdued in no other way.

50. These angry recriminations continued through the whole of May and June; and at length, in the middle of July, matters came to such a point that M. Strogonoff shut himself up in his palace at Buysekdere, and delivered the ultimatum of the Russian Government to the Porte, which was required to be accepted unconditionally within eight days, failing which he was to take his departure with his whole suite. The conditions exacted by Russia did not consist in any cession of fortresses or provinces, but in reparation for the insults offered to the Greek religion, expiation for the murder of its Patriarch, and the adoption of a more humane system of warfare in the contest with its Christian subjects.* If these terms were not acceded to within the prescribed time, the Porte was openly menaced with the utmost hostility of Russia, and the support of the Greeks by the forces of entire Christendom. No answer was returned by the Divan to this menacing communication, and the eight days allowed having expired, Baron Strogonoff applied for his passports. He was at first threatened with being sent to the Seven Towers, and the Asiatic hordes loudly demanded

the instant adoption of that severity; but the entire diplomatic body having protested against the recurrence to that barbarous usage, the passports demanded were delivered to him, and he set sail, with all his suite, and several Greek families who had taken refuge in the Russian embassy, for Odessa on the last day of July.

51. After the Russian ambassador had taken his departure, the Sublime Porte despatched a messenger to St Petersburg with an answer to the Czar's ultimatum, which was antedated 26th July, the last day assigned for its reception. In this state paper, which was very ably drawn, the Sultan, without disputing the truth of the charges made against him—which, in truth, were so notorious that they could not be denied—contented himself with throwing the destruction of the churches on the violence of the dregs of the people, who had been excited to madness by the Greek insurrection, justified the execution of the Patriarch by the alleged discovery of letters which implicated him in the insurrection in the Morea, vindicated the entry of the Ottoman troops into the Principalities by the obvious necessity of extinguishing a dangerous rebellion, and the general arming of the Mussulmans by the threatening and undeniable danger of the Ottoman empire; finally, the note stated that orders had been given for reconstructing the churches which had been demolished, and promising, on the Greek refugees being delivered up, to execute

* “Que les églises détruites ou pillées soient renouvelées sur le champ, et mises en état de servir à leur sainte destination; que S. H., en rendant à la religion Chrétienne ses prérogatives, en lui accordant la même protection que par le passé, en lui garantissant son inviolabilité à l'avenir, s'efforce de consoler l'Europe du supplice du Patriarche de Constantinople, et des profanations qui ont suivi sa mort; qu'une sage et équitable distinction s'établisse entre les auteurs des troubles, les hommes qui y prenaient part, et ceux que leur innocence doit mettre à l'abri de la sévérité du Divan; qu'à cet effet, on ouvre un avenir de paix et de tranquillité aux Grecs qui seront restés soumis, ou qui se soumettront, dans un délai donné; et qu'en tout état des choses, on se ménage les moyens de distinguer les innocens des coupables. Que si le Gouvernement Turc té-

moignait, contre toute attente, que c'est par suite d'un plan librement arrêté qu'il prend des mesures touchant lesquelles le Soussigné lui a déjà exposé l'opinion de son Auguste Maître, il ne resterait à l'Empereur qu'à déclarer, dès à présent, à la Sublime Porte, qu'elle se constitue en état d'hostilité ouverte contre le monde Chrétien, qu'elle légitime la défense des Grecs, qui dès-lors combattraient uniquement pour se soustraire à une perte inévitable; et que, vu le caractère de leur lutte, la Russie se trouverait dans la stricte obligation de leur offrir asile parce qu'ils seraient persécutés; protection, parce qu'elle en aurait le droit; assistance, conjointement avec toute la Chrétienté, parce qu'elle ne pourrait pas livrer ses frères de religion à la merci d'un aveugle fanatisme.”—*Note de M. le Baron STROGONOFF, July 13, 1821; Annuaire Historique, iv. 413, 414.*

rigorously and faithfully the whole treaties with the Cabinet of St Petersburg.*

52. According to the known usages of European diplomacy, the departure of the Russian ambassador from Constantinople was tantamount to a declaration of war between the two powers; and consternation was universal among the Christian inhabitants that this would lead to a general massacre of them, as it had done at Smyrna, Salonica, and several other places. In effect, it was very near occurring, for the Asiatic troops, as soon as the departure of the Russian embassy was known, began to parade the streets, and call on the people to rise and exterminate the Christians without mercy or distinction. Multitudes, apprehending instant death, took refuge in the hotels of the ambassadors of the neutral powers; and fortunately

* "Que tous les individus punis à la suite de l'insurrection, et surtout le Patriarche Grec et autres prélats, n'avaient subi que la peine qu'ils avaient méritée d'après le droit que tout Gouvernement a de faire arrêter et punir sans miséricorde, sans distinction de religion ou de condition, de pareils malfaiteurs, afin de maintenir le bon ordre dans ses états et parmi le peuple.

"Que les insultes faites à quelques églises Grecques n'étaient que des désordres communs par des réprouvés de la lie du peuple.

"Que l'adoption de la vie des camps au lieu de celle des villes, et l'armement général de la nation Mussulmane, n'étaient que des mesures indispensables pour le maintien du bon ordre intérieur, et ne regardait en rien les puissances amies ni les divers classes des Rayahs non coupables.

"Que les instructions données au commandant des troupes envoyées par la Porte en Valachie et Moldavie n'avaient d'autre but les que de réduire les rebelles et d'en purger provinces, dont on ne voulait ni changer l'ordre ni abolir les privilèges.

"Qu'aussitôt que la tranquillité aurait été rétablie, que le ci-devant Prince de Moldavie, Michel Suzzo, et ses adhérens, qui se sont évadés avec lui, ainsi que ceux des scélérats qui auront pu s'enfuir sur le territoire Russe ou Autrichien, auraient été remis au Gouvernement Turc, ou bien publiquement punis sur les lieux mêmes où ils ont été saisis, la Sublime Porte procéderait immédiatement à l'installation des Hospodars, et mettrait le plus grand soin à faire observer les anciennes conventions et à maintenir les privilèges des deux provinces comme dans le passé."—*Réponse du Divan à l'Ultimatum de M. le Baron STROGONOFF*, July 26, 1821; *Annuaire Historique*, iv. 656, 660, Appendix.

the English ambassador, Lord Strangford, enjoyed at that period the highest consideration with the Porte, and employed his great influence and abilities to avert a rupture, and bring the Divan back to sentiments of moderation, and a just appreciation of the difficulties with which they were surrounded. In this praiseworthy attempt he was cordially seconded by the ministers of France and Austria, and at length, by their united efforts, a decree was obtained from the Porte commuting the punishment of Danesi into exile, taking off the embargo which had been laid on Russian vessels, and promising an amnesty to such of the Greeks as should submit within a short period.

53. It was not so easy a matter, however, to appease the violence of the people as to bring back the Divan to sentiments of moderation; and the fermentation was such at Constantinople, all the autumn and winter, that a general massacre was hourly expected. Bands of Asiatics, worked up to the last point of religious fanaticism and savage fury, were continually traversing the streets, singing exciting songs, and calling on the faithful to rise and complete the destruction of the infidels. To such a pitch did the disorders arise that the janizaries openly demanded the head of the new favourite, Halal-Effendi, who was thought to be too much inclined to moderate measures, and even of Abdul-Ahmed, the son of the Sultan, and sole heir of the empire. The popular fury was only appeased by the daily sight of a number of Christians hung in the streets, and a long row of heads displayed every morning at the gates of the Seraglio. At length Lord Strangford prevailed on the Divan to abate somewhat of their unbending attitude, and open the door, if not to accommodation, at least to renewed negotiations, by an ultimatum on their part, in which they consented to adjourn the demand for the surrender of the refugees. But they refused to withdraw their forces from the Principalities till the rebellion was entirely put down, and claimed the right then to maintain such troops

in them as might be deemed necessary to maintain tranquillity.

54. The commencement of the year 1822 was signalised by an event of no ordinary importance in this contest: the formation of a regular government, and the proclamation of national independence in Greece. During the month of November preceding, a congress of chiefs and deputies assembled from all parts of Greece in Argos, which afterwards transferred its sittings to Epidaurus, and there a constitution was drawn up, and the national INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIMED. The act proclaiming it, signed by sixty-seven members of the congress, is remarkable as containing a forcible and not exaggerated statement of the dreadful nature of the oppression under which the nation had laboured, the reasons which had induced or rather compelled them to take up arms, and the grand object of national independence for which they contended,—very different from the democratic dreams which at the same time were agitating the states of western Europe.* The constitution proclaimed—which, in default of heirs of the old Byzantine emperors, was perhaps the only one

* “La Nation Grécque prend le ciel et la terre à témoin que, malgré le joug affreux des Ottomans, que la menaçait de son dépérissement, elle existe encore. Pressée par les mesures aussi iniques que destructives, que ces tyrans féroces, après avoir violé leurs capitulations ainsi que tout esprit d'équité, rendaient de plus en plus oppressives, et qui ne tendaient à rien moins qu'à l'anéantissement entier du peuple soumis, elle s'était trouvée dans la nécessité absolue de courir aux armes, pour mettre à l'abri sa propre conservation. Après avoir repoussé la violence par le seul courage de ses enfans, elle déclare aujourd'hui devant Dieu et devant les hommes, par l'organe de ses représentans légitimes, réunis dans ce congrès national convoqué par le peuple, son Indépendance Politique.

“Loin d'être fondée sur des principes de démagogie et de rébellion, loin d'avoir pour motifs les intérêts particuliers de quelques individus, cette guerre est une guerre nationale et sacrée; elle n'a pour but que la restauration de la nation et sa réintégration dans les droits de propriété, d'homme, et de vie, droits qui sont le partage des peuples policés nos voisins, mais qui étaient arrachés aux Grecs par une puissance spoliatrice.”—*Déclaration d'Indépendance*, Epidauré, Jan. 27, 1822; *Ann. Hist.*, iv. 679, Appendix.

which could at that period be adopted—was very similar to that of the Directory which for a few years governed France: civil and religious liberty, security to person and property, equal eligibility to office, the independence of the judicial body, were duly provided for. The supreme legislative power was vested in a senate elected by the people, conjointly with an executive council appointed by the senate. This council, in whom the entire direction of affairs was vested, consisted of five members; it declared peace and war, and was invested with the supreme direction of affairs; but its members were elected only for a year, and were amenable to the senate for misconduct in duty. Prince Mavrocordato was unanimously elected the first president; the council immediately entered upon the discharge of its duties; and the congress, having accomplished its task of forming a constitution, declared itself dissolved. The seat of government was soon after transferred to Corinth, the citadel of which had just capitulated. It is easy to see the ideas of the French Revolution here germinating in the minds of a nation struggling for existence: and certainly its authors seem to have been thinking more of the rights of man than of averting the sabres of the Osmanlis. Yet it is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration from the brave men who, when their chief fortresses were still in the hands of the enemy, still reeking with the blood of their best and bravest citizens, and when Mohammedan fanaticism was roused to the highest pitch for their destruction, ventured, with the resources of seven hundred thousand men, to throw down the gauntlet to a power possessing thirty millions, and before which all Christendom had so often trembled.

55. The Christian cause, thus irrevocably engaged, sustained, however, a grievous blow in the early part of this year by the destruction of Ali Pacha, who, although still a Mohammedan, and distrusted alike by the Greeks and Souliotes, had hitherto operated as a most important diversion, by retaining so large a portion of

the Ottoman forces round his wave-encircled walls. Notwithstanding the courage and energy of the veteran pacha, who boasted in his inaccessible fortress in the lake that his enemies would find "that the bear of Pindus was still alive," his resources were daily declining. For more than three months he had been closely blockaded. Provisions were beginning to fail, and the garrison, worn out with the toil of incessant watching, and destitute of hope, had lent a willing ear to the offers of Chourchid Pacha, who promised them a large share of the treasures of the Pacha, in the event of their delivering up the stronghold to him. This treachery was rendered the more easy from the defection of Ali's chief engineer, Caretto, who, alienated by the violence and caprice of that savage barbarian, had deserted his service, and brought to the besiegers a complete plan of the fortress, and the means adopted for its defence. Guided by this information, and aided by the defection of part of his Albanian garrison, the fortress was, in the beginning of January, occupied, after only a feigned resistance, by the troops of Chourchid Pacha. Ali, however, was not without a last resource. He had time to escape into an inner tower three storeys in height, which communicated only by a drawbridge with the remainder of the place, and which he had fortified in the strongest possible manner. It consisted of three storeys, in the highest of which was placed the pacha, his harem, and fifty armed and trusty followers; in the second his treasures, the amount of which report had greatly magnified; and in the lowest a powder-magazine, with every preparation ready at a moment's warning to blow the whole edifice into the air. There, with the means of negotiating in his hands, because he could in an instant deprive his besiegers of what they most coveted, his treasures and his head, the old chief awaited the proposals of his enemies.

56. Alarmed at the prospect of what the despair of so indomitable a chieftain might suggest, and desirous at all hazards of securing his head as an

ornament for the Seraglio, Chourchid Pacha had recourse to perfidy; and, strange to say, the old deceiver became the victim of his own arts. He held out the prospect of a favourable capitulation, in virtue of which the rebellious satrap was to enjoy his treasures, his harem, and the title of Vizier, with a suitable command in Asia Minor during his life. He stipulated, however, in return for so many concessions, that Ali should remove himself from his impregnable tower into an island on the lake, where a pleasure-house had been constructed, there to await the firman containing the pardon of the Sultan, and the entire restoration to his favour. The old pacha fell into the snare: the lion forgot the fox. He not only removed with his young and ardently-loved wife, and a few intrepid Albanians, who were resolved to share his fate, to the island, but he was, though with some difficulty, prevailed on to deliver to the officers of Chourchid Pacha a signet-ring, the well-known token which enjoined implicit obedience on all his servants. Armed with this instrument, the Turks instantly rowed across the lake, ascended the tower, showed the ring to the faithful guardian of the magazine and treasures, who stood at the door with a lighted match in his hand. The slave bowed with respect before the talisman, and extinguished the torch. He was instantly despatched by repeated strokes of the poniard, and the perfidious assassins, rowing back to Ali's island, presented to him the fatal firman, which, instead of the promised pardon, contained the order for his immediate death. As soon as he saw it, Ali exclaimed, "Stop! what are you bringing me?"—"The order of the Sultan," replied Hassan the officer; "he demands your head. Submit to the order of the Sultan; obey the decree of fate; pray to Allah; make your ablutions."—"The head of Ali," said the Pacha, "is not so easily won;" and, drawing his pistols, he laid Hassan at his feet with one, and with another the chief of the staff of Chourchid. A frightful conflict ensued between Ali's faithful guards and

his assassins, in the course of which Ali was mortally wounded by a ball in the side. "Run," said he, "and put to death Vasiliki, my wife, that she may follow me to the tomb, and the traitors may not sully her beauty." These were his last words. The dead body of Ali, drawn by the beard, was pulled to the door, where the head was cut off, and sent to the Sultan. Vasiliki, in tears, was led to Chourchid's tent, who treated her with respect, and accorded the permission to inter her husband, whom she adored, in a way suitable to his rank; and the valleys of Pindus soon resounded with the death-wail for the Lion of Janina.

57. Such were the transports when the head of Ali was brought to Constantinople, and exposed at the gate of the Seraglio in a silver dish, that one would suppose the whole enemies of the Sultan had been destroyed by a single blow. Surrounded with troops, with a thousand bale-fires on the adjoining heights, casting a light over its streets at night, witnessing during the day the ceaseless march of the Asiatic forces towards the Balkan, gazing on the head of their mortal enemy, the Pacha of Janina, at the gate of the Seraglio, the Turks of Constantinople believed themselves invincible.* In the camp at Adrianople the warlike

* The following inscription was put on Ali's head, a curious proof of the disorders of the Ottoman empire:—

"Il est notoire à l'univers que Dependilenti Ali Pacha depuis trente à quarante années avait reçu de nombreuses faveurs de la Sublime Porte. Loin d'en reconnaître le prix, il osa, contre la volonté expresse de la Porte, opprimer les peuples par ruse et par force : l'histoire ne présente pas l'exemple d'une perversité plus profonde que la sienne. Sans repos occupé de l'achèvement de ses coupables projets, il ne se contenta pas d'appuyer secrètement et ouvertement, par argent et par autres moyens, la rébellion et la trahison, partout où il pouvait en trouver les éléments, mais il sortit des limites de son territoire, excitant partout les troubles et plongeant dans la ruine nos infortunés sujets, gages confiés à nos soucis par le Juge suprême et tout-puissant. L'insurrection des Grecs éclata, et Ali, se livrant à ses projets de vengeance, employa de grandes sommes à armer les rebelles de la Morée, et des autres provinces, contre le peuple de la Foi. Cette dernière preuve de perversité devait rendre sa condamnation inévitable—VOICI SA TÊTE."—*L'Yaffa sur ALI PACHA; Annuaire Historique*, iv. 334.

enthusiasm was still stronger : cries of joy and incitements to violence were heard on all sides ; and to such a pitch did the transports rise there, that the grand-vizier was obliged to issue a proclamation, declaring that "he was about to march to exterminate the *infidel Muscovites*, and that he was only awaiting the last orders of the Sultan for the campaign." The entry of the grandson of Ali, a boy of eight years of age, his harem, and his treasures, into Constantinople, resembled a Roman triumph. But amidst all this exultation at the death of Ali, it proved fatal to his conqueror, who hoped to succeed to his government and his influence. The treasures sent to Constantinople by Chourchid Pacha, though considerable, were by no means so large as had been expected ; and this disappointment, joined to the ill success of the succeeding campaign in Greece, of which he had the chief direction, ultimately occasioned his fall.

58. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm produced by the fall of Ali, the Divan made the most extensive preparations for the next campaign. Chourchid Pacha, after subduing the Souliotes in his rear, was to unite all his forces employed in the siege of Janina, and, conjointly with the Pacha of Salonica, invade the Morea with sixty thousand men. The army of the grand-vizier, divided into two columns, was to advance from Adrianople, the one moving on Brailov, the other on Roudschuck, so as to keep the Russians, with whom a rupture was hourly expected, in check ; while the Pacha of Erzeroum, collecting thirty thousand men among the warlike tribes of Asia, was to make head against the Persians, and cause the frontier of Georgia to be respected. At the same time a powerful squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, two frigates, and twenty brigs, with eight thousand land troops on board, was to issue from the Dardanelles, and, after revictualling the forts which still held out in the Morea, afterwards carry reinforcements to Candia and Cyprus.

59. These designs were very imperfectly carried into execution. The

fleet, indeed, to which the Greeks had no adequate force to oppose, successfully accomplished its mission. It revictualled Napoli di Romania and the other fortresses in the Morea, made sail for Alexandria, and with stores taken in there relieved the strongholds of Candia and Cyprus. But the land forces were far from being equally successful, and their failure disarranged the whole campaign. By great exertions Chourchid got together 17,000 men in the neighbourhood of Janina, and with these, under the command of Omer-Vrione, he commenced, in the beginning of June, an attack on the Souliotes, preparatory to his grand expedition into the Morea. The Souliotes, even when strengthened by all the succour which could be obtained from the neighbouring mountains of Epirus, did not exceed 4000. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, and the skilful use which these brave mountaineers made of the rocky and inaccessible nature of their country, that all the attacks of the Ottomans were repelled. The women fought by the side of their husbands and brothers, fearing death less than Turkish slavery; and, after a desperate struggle of several days' duration, the Turks were finally repulsed. In vain Chourchid brought up 3000 fresh troops, and in person renewed the assault: the Souliotes were again victorious; and, after an incessant conflict of ten days among the rocks, ravines, and precipices, the Ottomans were finally routed, and driven out of the country, with the loss of their whole artillery, baggage, and stores, and above 4000 men slain and wounded. Despairing of success after this disaster, Chourchid drew off his troops into the plain, contenting himself with blockading the entrance of the passes, in order to straiten the mountaineers by want of provisions. Leaving the command of the blockading force to his lieutenant, Omer-Vrione, he himself set out with such forces as he could collect, to direct the operations in the Morea.

60. Meanwhile, a frightful disaster occurred in the Archipelago, which,

from the unexampled horror with which it was attended, and the sublime devotion by which it was avenged, forcibly attracted the attention of all Europe, and at length awakened the sympathy which led to the independence of Greece. The opulent, fertile, and prosperous island of CHIOS, the garden of the Ægean Sea, and literally speaking an earthly paradise, if any earthly spot deserves the name, had hitherto remained a stranger to the insurrection. Its eighty thousand inhabitants, satisfied with their condition, and horror-struck with the devastation which they beheld around them, long aimed only at preserving the blessings of peace and neutrality. But the Turks, instead of improving on these dispositions by gentle treatment, increased their exactions to such a degree that the rural inhabitants became ripe for revolt; and a Greek squadron, under Logotheti, having appeared off the island in the end of March, the insurrection broke out. The Turks shut themselves up in the citadel, where four thousand men were in arms; the Greeks took possession of the heights of Tourlotti, which commanded it, and for the next ten days a distant cannonade was kept up between the contending parties, without any material effect on either side. But meanwhile the Sultan, exasperated at the loss of an island which was so productive to the public treasury, was making the most vigorous efforts for its conquest. An army of thirty thousand fanatical Asiatics, eager for the plunder of the garden of the Archipelago, was collected on the opposite coast of Smyrna, and loudly demanded to be led to the promised scene of rapine and massacre; while a powerful fleet, consisting of six ships of the line, ten frigates, and twelve brigs, was collected in the Dardanelles, under the Capitan Pacha, Kara Ali, in person, and appeared on the 12th April off the island.

61. The Turkish commander offered an amnesty to the islanders if they would submit to surrender their arms, and deliver up the authors of the revolt. These terms having been rejected, the capitan began to land his

troops, which was effected, without much difficulty, under cover of the guns of the fleet, as the Greek squadron, unable to face the broadsides of the three-deckers, had been obliged to retire. Meanwhile, the garrison in the citadel, taking advantage of the general consternation, made a vigorous sortie, and a division of gunboats kept continually transporting the Asiatic troops from the opposite Bay of Tchesmé. Resistance was impossible against such an accumulation of forces; the intrenchments on Tourlotti were speedily stormed; and the Turks, rushing sword in hand into the town, commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians, which lasted without interruption for the four following days. Flames soon broke out in every direction, and speedily reduced one of the finest cities in the Levant to ashes: nine thousand men were put to the sword; the women and children were all sold as slaves; the very graves were rifled in search of concealed treasures, and the bones of the dead tossed about by the infuriated conquerors among the corpses of the recently slain. None in the town escaped the edge of the scimitar or captivity, excepting fifteen hundred, who sought and found refuge with the consul of France, by whom they were conveyed on board two French vessels of war in the harbour.

62. Not content with this inhuman massacre of unarmed and unoffending citizens, or seizure of innocent women and children, the Turks, on finding that the flames or the sword had left them no further victims in the city, rushed in tumultuous bodies into the country, and commenced the work of destruction in the rural villages. Large bodies of Asiatics, lured by the light of the burning town, assembled on the opposite coast in the Bay of Tchesmé, and were hourly rowed over to the devoted island to join in the massacre. In vain the consuls of France and Austria prevailed on the Capitan Pacha to proclaim an amnesty, which was accepted by the trembling inhabitants, on condition of delivering up the chiefs of the revolt, which was immediately

done. Nothing could assuage the thirst for blood, or appease the fanatical fury of the Mussulmans. Every corner of the island was ransacked; every house burned or sacked; every human being that could be found, slain or carried off into captivity. Modern Europe had never witnessed such an instance of bloodshed or horror. To find a parallel to it we must go back to the storming of Syracuse or Carthage by the Romans, or the sack of Bagdad or Aleppo by the arms of Timour. All the beautiful streets and superb villas of Chios were destroyed; its entire sacred edifices ruined; ninety churches in the island burned; forty villages delivered to the flames. Nothing was to be seen in the once smiling land but heaps of ruins, and a few ghastly inhabitants wandering in a state of starvation among them.

“ Unheard, the clock repeats its hours;
Cold is the hearth within its bowers;
And should we thither roam,
Its echoes and its empty tread
Would sound like voices from the dead!”

When the massacre finally ceased from the exhaustion of the assassins, twenty-five thousand persons, chiefly full-grown men, had been slain; forty-five thousand women and children had been dragged into slavery; and fifteen thousand had escaped into the neighbouring islands, all in the last state of destitution and misery, where the greater part of them died of grief or starvation. For several months the markets of Constantinople, Egypt, and Barbary were so stocked with slaves that their price fell a half; and purchasers were attracted from the farthest parts of Asia and Africa, whither the unhappy Greek captives were scattered.

63. But the justice of Providence neither slumbered nor slept. An awful but not undeserved retribution overtook the authors of this frightful tragedy. Its moving spring was the indignation of the human mind at such unheard-of atrocities; its instruments the heroic citizens of Hydra. Anxious spectators of the destruction of the beautiful island, so long the scene of their happiness and recreation, but yet

unable to face the line-of-battle ships of the Turks in stand-up fight, the chiefs of Hydra agreed, in a council held on the subject, on an attempt to destroy the Turkish fleet by fire. Again, as in the last days of the Byzantine empire, the cause of Christendom was defended by the torch and the *Greek Fire*, become more formidable to its enemies than either its cannon or its swords. Two hundred brave men volunteered to steer the fireships; forty-eight were selected under ANDREAS MIAULIS,* Nicolas Apostoli, and Androuzzo of Spezzia—names which, for cool courage, ardent devotion, and intrepid daring, may well be placed beside any recorded in history. There, too, an English sea-officer, attracted by the sight of danger, commenced that honourable course which has for ever connected his name with the emancipation of Greece.† The volunteers chosen received the sacrament and benediction from the bishop, and stepped

* Andreas Miaulis, son to a Eubœan merchant, was born at Hydra, and went to sea, at the early period of seven years, in one of his father's vessels. While yet a boy, his native courage and disposition evinced itself: he was lively, passionate, and obstinate; he married, at eighteen, the daughter of a worthy priest at Hydra, and soon got a ship, and commenced voyages on his own account. On one occasion, while in command of this vessel, he fell in with a Maltese pirate of superior strength, to avoid whom he ran his vessel ashore, let his crew go, but remained alone in his vessel. After some hesitation, arising from their suspecting a trick, the pirates boarded, seized Miaulis, whom they beat in the most cruel manner to force him to reveal his money: but he finally recovered his vessel from the pirates by the aid of some Albanian soldiers. At length his fortune increased so much that he bought the *Hercules*, a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burden, with which he beat off a French brig of fourteen guns. He was once taken by Nelson, who, pleased with his frank intrepid manner, set him at liberty. In 1817 he retired from active life, having made a moderate fortune; but in 1821 he took up arms at the call of his country. His courage was *à toute épreuve*, his patriotic spirit unconquerable. Once on a critical occasion, as the sailors refused to embark, he ordered himself to be carried in his litter, as he was ill at the time, on board his brig; the sailors immediately followed. Fire and energy are his great characteristics; but he was also distinguished by deep thought, decision of character, and unconquerable perseverance.

—GORDON'S *Greek Revolution*, i. 372, 374.

† Captain Frank Abney Hastings.

on board their fireships amidst the tears and prayers of their countrymen.

64. The united fleets of Hydra and Spezzia assembled at Psarra on the 5th May, and set sail on the 10th in quest of the enemy. They amounted to fifty-six sail, the largest carrying twenty guns, among which were eight fireships. They cruised about close to the Turkish fleet, which lay at anchor in a bay on the coast of Asia for several days, and exchanged a distant cannonade with their line-of-battle ships, with little effect on either side. At length, on the evening of the 31st, an attack was resolved on by the Greek chiefs; and Miaulis, with fifteen ships of war and three fireships, entered the channel between Chios and the Asiatic coast at eight in the evening. The consternation was extreme on board the Turkish fleet; several of the ships of war engaged the line-of-battle ships, and Kara Ali, in his three-decker, had a narrow escape from a fireship, which only failed in consequence of the torch having been applied a minute too soon. On this occasion the attack was unsuccessful; the islanders retired to the road of Psarra, and the Capitan Pacha, proud of his victory, remained at anchor in the straits.

65. Having received intelligence that the Ottoman squadron had been reinforced to thirty-eight sail, and that it was soon to unite with one of nearly equal strength from Egypt, the Hydriote chiefs became convinced that unless a successful attack was made, and that speedily, their country must inevitably be destroyed. Accordingly, it was resolved, during a dark night, to send in two fireships at the northern end of the straits, while at each end two vessels cruised about to pick up such of their crews as might survive their perilous mission. CONSTANTINE CANARIS, of Psarra, a name immortal in history, and George Pepinis, of Hydra, volunteered their services, with thirty-two intrepid followers; and having partaken of the holy sacrament, they embarked at nine at night, and sailed under French and Austrian colours close to the Ottoman fleet, by whom they were hailed and desired to

keep off. At midnight, a breeze from the north having sprung up, they ran in at once among the fleet. The Psarriote fireship, commanded by Canaris, grappled the prow of the Turkish admiral's vessel, anchored at the head of the line, a league from the shore, and instantly set her on fire. Instantly jumping into a launch they had in tow, they passed under her poop, shouting the old war-cry of Byzantium, "Victory to the Cross!" The Hydriote fireship was with equal success fastened to the other three-decker, carrying the Reala Bey's flag and the treasure. They were then picked up by their comrades; and the thirty-four heroes, after having performed an exploit perhaps unexampled, sailed straight through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and got clear off without a wound.*

66. The fate of the two ships which were fired was different. The Reala Bey's crew succeeded, by great exertions, in extinguishing the flames, though not before the vessel was rendered unfit for service, and detaching the fireship from the prow, which floated through the fleet in a state of conflagration, exciting universal consternation, and doing great damage to several vessels, until she stranded on the Asiatic coast. Not so with the admiral's ship. Canaris had fixed the grappling irons to the prow so strongly that all attempts to detach them were vain, and in a few minutes the superb three-decker was a sheet of flame. Hull, masts, rigging, all were in a blaze at the same time. The scene which ensued on board the vessel baffles all description. Two thousand three hundred persons, crowded on board a single line-of-battle ship, had no means of escaping the flames but by plunging into the waves. None would approach the burning vessel for fear of being involved in the conflagration. Kara Ali, the Capitan Pacha, refused to quit his ship; he was seized by his officers, and forcibly carried on board a boat; but a burning mast fell athwart it, and wounded him mortally on the head.

* They had a barrel of gunpowder on board, determined to blow themselves up rather than be taken.—GORDON, i. 368.

He was carried ashore, and rendered up his last breath on the shores of that Chios which he had changed from a smiling garden to a howling wilderness. Meanwhile the Turks in the town beheld with feelings of profound consternation the awful spectacle. Every vessel in the fleet, many of which were on fire, was distinctly seen by the prodigious light of the burning three-decker, the flames from which rose like a pillar of fire into the heavens. At length she blew up with an explosion so tremendous that every house for miles around was shaken to its foundation, every ship in the straits rocked as in a tempest; and the awful silence which immediately ensued was broken, as in an eruption of Vesuvius, by the clatter of the spars and masts which fell upon the fleet. The Turks in Chios, overwhelmed with terror, threw themselves with their faces on the ground, imploring the mercy of the Almighty. The victors returned in triumph to Ipsara, where they were received with transports of joy, crowned with garlands of flowers, and hastened to the altar to return thanks to God for the deliverance of their country; while the Turks in despair took refuge in the harbour of Mitylene, abandoning to the Greeks the entire command of the Archipelago.

67. The Turks in Chios took vengeance for their disaster by renewing the massacre of the few unhappy Greeks who yet remained in the island. Twenty thousand of them rushed into the Mastic villages, which had escaped the former devastation from the capitulation, and put every human being they could reach to the sword. In the beginning of August there were not eighteen hundred of the original inhabitants alive in the island, almost all old women, who had been concealed in caves, out of eighty-five thousand who peopled it a few months before. But the slaughter of a few thousand unarmed and starving Greeks could not affect the issue of the campaign, or diminish the weight of the blow which had been struck. Canaris, not less than Themistocles, had been the saviour of his country; the blow struck in the Straits of Chios

was as decisive as that formerly delivered in the Bay of Salamis. By depriving the Turks in the Morea of the expected co-operation and supplies from the fleet, it exposed them to starvation and ruin in that province, and was the principal cause of the defeat of the vast armament which the Ottoman Government had by great exertions got together for the subjection of southern Greece.

68. Aware of the great force which the Turks intended to bring against them, and justly distrustful of their own means of withstanding it, the Greek Government in the Morea made every exertion to prevent the threatened invasion by raising up foes to their enemies in rear. For this purpose they despatched eight hundred men, under Mavrocordato in person, to Missolonghi, in order to lend assistance to the Souliotes, and prevent Chourchid Pachá from detaching in aid of the expedition against the Peloponnesus. The reinforcement disembarked on the 4th June at Missolonghi, amidst the cheers of the inhabitants; but very little real good resulted from the expedition. Mavrocordato was soon found to have no talent for war: he failed in acquiring the confidence of the soldiery, from their perceiving that he did not deserve it. Several attempts made to open a communication with the Souliotes failed from the able dispositions of Omer-Vrione, who, having taken up a central position between Janina, Arta, and Prevesa, his three strongholds, at once secured his communication with each, and straitened the Souliotes, who, blockaded in their inaccessible precipices, were daily becoming more in want of provisions. Even the heroic Mark Bozzaris failed in cutting his way through to his gallant countrymen; and at length he was defeated on the 15th July, with the loss of four hundred men, by the Turks at Pelta. In this action a battalion of Philhellenes, or European sympathisers, was almost destroyed; and the survivors, disgusted with the divisions and treachery which they saw around them, retired from Greece. Disheartened by this disaster, Mavrocordato no longer

thought but of the defence of Missolonghi, which it was obvious would soon be besieged by the victorious Turks; and the brave Souliotes, abandoned to themselves, were ere long so straitened for provisions that they were fairly starved into submission, and compelled to accept the humane proposal of the governor of the Ionian Islands, who offered them an asylum in the British dominions, whither two thousand were transported in the end of September, with consent of Omer-Vrione, who was too happy to be delivered from such formidable antagonists.

69. While these disasters were closing everything but a guerilla warfare in Epirus, the efforts of the Greek Government to effect a division in Macedonia and northern Greece were not in the end attended with better success. In the first instance, indeed, the efforts of Odysseus and other Greek chiefs, aided by the unbounded rapacity and arrogance of the Turkish pachas, excited an insurrection in the hill country of Macedonia; and in April 1822, six thousand gallant mountaineers were in arms in the valleys descending from the snowy summits of Mount Olympus. But the pachas of Salonica and Thessaly, having considerable forces at their command, speedily took the field against them at the head of fifteen thousand men. With this imposing array they forced the passes of the far-famed defile of Tempe; and the mountaineers having refused to surrender, and slain a Turkish officer and three priests, who bore a flag of truce, they commenced an assault on Navacta, their chief stronghold. The defence was brave and obstinate; but at length numbers prevailed. The place was stormed, and a frightful massacre ensued, which amply avenged the ferocity of the Greeks at the sack of Tripolitza. Four thousand Greeks were slain on the spot; the victorious Moslems pursued the fugitives in all directions, cutting them down without mercy; one hundred and twenty villages were delivered to the flames; and a band of Jews, who had taken no part in the action, six

hundred in number, followed in the rear of the victors, merely for the pleasure of beating out the brains of the Christians with their clubs. One of them boasted that he had in this manner despatched sixty-eight victims. The Pacha of Salonica, after this victory, retired to that city, where he carried his vengeance so far as to put to death the wife of Kara Tasso, an Olympic chief, who had headed the insurrection, with frightful tortures, and massacred the whole hostages from Mount Athos who were in his hands. Kara Tasso crossed over to the island of Skopelo, where he pursued a partisan warfare, and often bathed his sword in Mohammedan blood.

70. Delivered by these sanguinary successes from all anxiety regarding his rear, Chourchid Pacha was enabled to concur in the grand measure of invading the Morea. The insurrection had extended to Eubœa, and that beautiful and fertile island was in the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of the fortresses of Negropont and Carysto, which were still, with the plains adjacent to them, in the power of the Mohammedans. It was of the last importance, therefore, to effect the conquest of the Morea as soon as possible, and thus prevent the whole of southern Greece from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Chourchid accordingly broke up from Janina on the 17th June, and having effected a junction with the pachas of Salonica and Thessaly, their united forces, thirty thousand strong, of which two-thirds were cavalry, passed the defile of Thermopylæ without resistance, and appeared before Corinth on the 18th July, where the citadel was delivered to them, though amply stored with provisions, by the treachery of a Greek priest who commanded the place. The Turks then advanced without opposition to Argos, the seat of government. The executive council, in extreme alarm, took refuge in Tripolitza, after issuing a proclamation calling on every Greek, under sixty years of age, to appear in arms at the appointed rendezvous of the chiefs. The Ottoman army, eighteen thousand strong, even

after leaving strong garrisons in Corinth and Argos, proceeded on with very little opposition to Napoli di Romania, the garrison of which they reinforced so as to enable it to resume the offensive and keep the blockading force at a distance from its walls.

71. But this was the limit of their success. The Turks found at Napoli, as the French did at Moscow, not the termination of their conquests, but the commencement of their ruin. Then appeared of what vital importance to the cause of Greek independence had been the blow struck in the Straits of Chios. Instead of a powerful fleet stored with ammunition and provisions as they expected, the Turks found in Napoli nothing but a starving garrison, demanding, not capable of giving, supplies. The surrounding plains, burnt up with the heat of summer, could afford nothing for the support of their numerous cavalry, the horses of which, already broken down by their long march, were now dying by hundreds daily from want of forage. In a few days the want of provisions for the men became so great that no resource remained but living on the dead bodies of the horses which had perished. Meanwhile the Greek chiefs, who on this occasion showed a noble example of unanimity and firmness, were daily gathering around them. Demetrius Ipsilanti, who had the chief command, took his measures with equal skill and resolution, and soon accumulated forces which entirely cut off their communications. Colocotroni raised the siege of the citadel of Corinth, and hastened to the scene of action with three thousand men; an equal force was landed from Hydra and the islands; the mountaineers flocked together from all quarters; and the Turks found themselves straitened by twelve thousand men, who hung around them on all sides, and rendered all attempts at foraging or levying supplies impossible.

72. Aware of the extreme danger of their position, dreading alike starvation if they remained where they were, or destruction if they adventured on the wasted line of their former ad-

vance, the Turkish general proposed to enter into a capitulation for the evacuation of the Morea. This the Greek chiefs declined, expecting, with reason, that he would be obliged to surrender at discretion. Upon this the Turks resolved to cut their way through. To effect this object, however, they had to pass by the defile of Tretes, which was guarded by NIKETAS, one of the ablest of the Greek chiefs, at the head of three thousand men; while Colocotroni, with one thousand more, marched to St George to intercept their retreat. The natural strength of the passes was enhanced by felling trees and piling up stones on the rocky slopes, which were sent thundering down upon the enemy when they appeared. With great difficulty, and after sustaining a very heavy loss from the Greek marksmen, who, securely posted in the rocks above, sent down a shower of balls on the wearied column beneath, Mahmoud Pacha succeeded in forcing his way through to Cleonæ, leaving the defile strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses. But the seraskier who commanded the second column was not so fortunate, for Ipsilanti and Niketas appeared on its flank, and the cavalry defiled through a long pass under a terrific fire from the overhanging heights, which they could neither bear nor return. Impatient of the danger, and seeing their comrades falling at every step around them, the horsemen drove on with frantic haste, tumbling over each other, and presenting a confused mass of men and horses, upon which every shot of the Greeks told with fatal effect. In this disastrous conflict the Turks lost five thousand men; on the preceding day two thousand had fallen, including a pacha; and the whole artillery, baggage, and stores fell into the hands of the Greeks. Altogether, when the Ottoman army left the Peloponnesus, there were not more than two thousand left to reinforce the garrison of Napoli di Romania, and seven thousand around Corinth under Jussuf Pacha, the poor remains of thirty thousand, of whom two-thirds were splendid horse, who

had entered the country six weeks before.

73. This memorable defeat, so glorious to the Christians, proved decisive of the campaign over the whole of Greece. Three times Chourchid Pacha endeavoured to force the pass of Thermopylæ, in order to convey succours from Salonica to Jussuf Pacha at Corinth; but Odysseus now stood upon his defence, defeated him with severe loss on every occasion, and forced the Turks to retreat to Larissa. Chourchid was soon after seized with dysentery, brought on partly by fatigue, partly by anxiety about his reverses; and he died on November 16th a natural death, just in time to avoid the bowstring of the Sultan, which had been sent to despatch him. The Acropolis of Athens, which had been long blockaded, at length capitulated from want of provisions on the 21st June, on conditions very favourable to the Turks, who were 1150 in number, of whom not more than a fifth were capable of bearing arms, the remainder being women and children. After the capitulation, however, had been signed, it was violated by the Greeks, who perfidiously commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners, of whom four hundred were slaughtered; and the whole would have perished, had it not been for the generous interposition of the European consuls. This important conquest gave the Greeks the entire command of Attica, but it affixed a dark stain to their cause, and contributed much to weaken the interest with which it was regarded in foreign states.

74. Despite all the victories of Omer-Vrione, part of the Souliotes and Acarnanians were still in arms in the mountains of Epirus; and conceiving that they would never be thoroughly subdued as long as Missolonghi remained in the hands of the insurgents, he resolved to lay siege to that place. Accordingly, in the end of October he crossed the Achelous in two columns, and invested the place; but it was defended by Mark Bozzaris, who had communicated his own heroic spirit to the garrison, aided by a French

artillery officer, who gave them the advantages of his science and experience. Though the garrison did not amount to four hundred men, with fourteen guns, Mavrocordato magnanimously threw himself into the place, saying it was there they should lay down their lives. By degrees their numbers were augmented to three thousand men by supplies received from the Morea and the islands by sea; an assault, six times renewed, was vigorously repulsed on January 5, with the loss of fifteen hundred men to the assailants; and the mountaineers having descended from their hills, and intercepted the communications in his rear, Omer-Vrione was compelled to raise the siege, abandoning his whole artillery and stores to the enemy. His losses during his retreat were extremely severe. The Mussulmans lost seven hundred men, swept away by the swollen torrent in recrossing the Achelous; and to such straits were they reduced by famine, that, after eating all their horses, they were forced to live on grass and wild herbs. Finally, after losing three-fourths of his army, Omer-Vrione reached Prevesa with three thousand men on 5th March, from whence he escaped alone in a boat by sea, thus abandoning the province as a fugitive which he had trampled on as a conqueror, and having lost twelve thousand men in his disastrous siege.

75. The insurrection was daily assuming more formidable proportions in Cyprus and Candia. In the former of these islands, in the month of August, sixty-two villages and towns had disappeared, or existed only in ruins. Adding insult to injury, the Turks, wherever they had the power, not contented with burning the houses, destroying the crops, and rooting up the vines and olive trees, exercised the most revolting cruelties on the inhabitants. The monks were in an especial manner the objects of their vindictive persecution; they stabled their horses in the churches, and actually bridled and saddled some of these unhappy ecclesiastics, and, forcing them to go on all fours, rode on them in derision till they dropped down dead of fatigue.

Still the mountaineers with heroic resolution maintained the contest, and in many instances took a bloody revenge on their persecutors. In Candia the Turks were in greater strength than in any other island, and by making a general appeal to the Mussulmans to take up arms, the pacha succeeded in arraying twenty-five thousand men around his standards. But all his efforts were shattered against the resolution of the Sfakiotes, who drew the Ottomans into their defiles, where they made such havoc of them that, after sustaining a loss of three hundred men, they were obliged to shut themselves up in Canea and the other fortresses on the island, leaving the whole plains as well as mountains in the hands of the insurgents. An expedition, having five thousand troops on board, came from Egypt; but though they at first gained some success, they also were in the end driven back into the fortresses, and the campaign closed under the same circumstances as it had begun.

76. Operations at land in the Morea closed by a more important conquest, in a military point of view, than the Greeks had yet achieved. This was the fall of Napoli di Romania, which was carried by escalade on the night of the 12th December. After the retreat of the Turks from the Morea, the blockade of the place was resumed by Colocotroni at the head of ten thousand Greeks, who, as usual, flocked to the anticipated scene of plunder; and having ascertained that the place was very negligently guarded on the summit of Fort Palamide, where the Turks trusted to the natural strength of the ground and height of the precipices, the Greek chiefs resolved on an assault by escalade. The garrison were already reduced to the last straits for provisions, having subsisted for weeks on refuse and garbage, and latterly on human flesh. They had no longer strength either to mount guard or work their guns. A convoy of fifteen hundred men, despatched from Corinth by Jussuf Pacha, was defeated in the defiles of Agion-Oros by Niketas. Deprived now of all hope of succour,

and exhausted by famine and sickness, the beleaguered Turks refused to ascend the rocky steep of Palamide, which remained almost destitute of defenders. Aware of these circumstances, the Greeks, amidst the gloom of a dark and rainy winter night, climbed up the rocky steep, applied their scaling-ladders to the rampart, and safely mounted to the summit. At daybreak the Turks in the fortress beneath beheld with speechless horror the standard of the Cross waving on the summit of the mountain citadel. Further resistance was now impossible, for the guns from the citadel commanded every part of the town. The Ottomans therefore were too happy to conclude a capitulation, which for once was well observed, and was the first example of a return to the usages of civilisation in this frightful war. By the aid of the English frigate, the *Cambrian*, which fortunately was in the roads at the time, the garrison, which only contained twelve hundred men still capable of bearing arms, was transported to Asia. The Greeks found immense military resources in the fortress. Four hundred pieces of cannon, most of them bronze, in good condition, with large stores of ammunition, fell into their hands. What was of still more importance, they had secured an impregnable fortress, a second Gibraltar, for their *place d'armes*, the harbour of which enabled them to derive full benefit from their naval superiority, and soon made it be selected for the seat of government.

77. To conclude the operations of this memorable campaign, it only requires to notice the last maritime operations of the year, which were not less brilliant than those at its commencement. Irritated rather than intimidated by the bad success of their former expedition, the Divan, after appointing a new admiral, Mahomet Pacha, in lieu of Kari Ali, who had been killed, fitted out a vast armament of ninety sail, including four line-of-battle ships, in the Dardanelles, with which they set sail, bound for Napoli di Romania, with ample stores to revictual all the fortresses in the Morea.

Unable to resist such a formidable fleet, the Greek squadron of sixty sail, the largest of which only carried twenty guns, contented themselves with following the enemy at a distance, and sometimes engaging in a useless cannonade, watching for an opportunity of sending in some of their fireships among the fleet. No such opportunity offered; but the Turkish admiral was so much intimidated by their sight, that he did not venture to enter the Gulf of Napoli di Romania; and giving up, when within sight of it, all thoughts of revictualing that fortress, the main object of his expedition, he made sail for Suda, leaving the beleaguered fortress to its fate, which, in consequence, soon after fell into the hands of the enemy.

78. The much-wished-for opportunity, which did not occur on this occasion, at length presented itself. On the 9th November, the Turkish fleet was lying at anchor in the Bay of Tenedos, waiting orders from Constantinople, when two Turkish vessels hove in sight, closely followed by two Greek brigs, with whom they maintained a running fight. In effect, the chased vessels, which bore the Ottoman colours, were fireships, one of which was commanded by the intrepid Canaris, and the other by a Hydriot hero, manned by seventeen of the seamen who had burned the admiral's vessel at Chios, dressed as Turkish sailors. Not suspecting the *ruse*, the Turks, with great interest, watched the chase, and opened their line, with loud cheers, to admit their supposed countrymen into safety. In an instant Canaris was upon them. The Hydriotes ran aboard of the admiral, and the Psarriotes fastened their bark to another ship of the line, containing the treasure, while Canaris called out, "Turks, you are burned, as at Chios!" The Capitan Pacha, by cutting his cables, narrowly escaped destruction; but the other two-decker was so strongly grappled by Canaris that it caught the flames, and, with sixteen hundred persons on board, blew up soon after with a terrific explosion. In utter consternation, the whole Turkish vessels cut their cables, and made

for the Dardanelles, in confusion; two frigates ran ashore, and were wrecked, in the flight; and the entire command of the sea was abandoned to the Greeks, who sailed from the Dardanelles, without opposition, to Alexandria. So daring did they become, that not only did they entirely intercept and ruin the Turkish commerce, but made prizes of thirteen vessels, including one with a million piastres on board, in the harbour of Damietta. This glorious result is mainly to be ascribed to the cool daring and personal prowess of Canaris, who, after he had left the fireship and descended into his bark, seeing that it was not properly inflamed, went on board again alone and set it on fire! His single arm had already in this naval campaign destroyed above three thousand of his enemies. The utmost rejoicings took place at Hydra and Ipsara for this additional success; and the former having received a gift of forty guns from a distant countryman, their rocks were bristling with cannon, and were well-nigh impregnable. At Ipsara, Canaris was again crowned with laurel by his grateful countrymen; and the public satisfaction was wound up to the highest pitch by a declaration from the captain of the Cambrian, who was present on the occasion, that the British Government, now guided in its foreign policy by the liberal hand of Mr Canning, would recognise the Greek blockades.

79. Such was the Greek campaign of 1822, glorious to the arms of that country, not unmemorable in the annals of the world. Never possessing the resources of more than six hundred thousand souls, they had, single-handed, confronted the strength of the Ottoman empire, having twenty millions of Mussulmans at their command, and come off victorious in the strife. Not only had they repulsed the invasion of above fifty thousand armed Turks, and destroyed three-fifths of their number, but they had made themselves masters of their principal strongholds. Notwithstanding the loss occasioned by the death of Ali Pacha, their standards still waved on the

ramparts of Missolonghi; the Souliotes were yet in arms in their mountains; Athens and Tripolitza had been recovered, Napoli di Romania taken, Corinth lost only by treachery. The Morea had been delivered; from Arta on the Adriatic to Volo on the Ægean, the entire country, including the islands, had been regained to the Cross. At sea their triumphs had been still more decisive. Twice had they driven the Turks from the Ægean Sea; two ships of the line had been destroyed, several frigates stranded, innumerable merchantmen taken, by a power which had not a vessel mounting more than twenty guns at their disposal. The annals of ancient Greece contain nothing more brilliant, those of the world few events, in a moral view, more sublime.

80. But these successes, great as they were, had not been achieved without proportional losses; and they had been so great that, if the contest were continued much longer, it was extremely doubtful whether the territory of Greece would not be regained to the Crescent by the entire destruction of its inhabitants. Already had they been thinned in a fearful manner. The Turkish system of putting to death all the male inhabitants, and selling all the women for slaves, had told desperately on their scanty numbers. Although the contest had only continued two years, two hundred thousand Greeks—a third of the entire population of the revolted provinces—had perished by the sword or famine, or been sold as slaves. It was impossible that any people, how brave and heroic soever, could long go on under such a drain of its inhabitants. And though the losses of the Ottomans had also been very great, yet were they nothing in comparison; for, supposing fifty thousand of them had been cut off, that was a four-hundredth part of their numbers, whereas the Greeks had been weakened by a third of theirs.

81. The losses of the Turks in this disastrous year, however, did not proceed solely from the swords or the torches of the Greeks. Nature seemed

to have conspired with man for the ruin of the empire of the Osmanlis. At ten at night, on the 13th August, some smart shocks of an earthquake were felt at Aleppo and Antioch, and in a few seconds a shock took place so violent that whole streets in both cities were thrown down, and twelve thousand persons were buried in their ruins. This catastrophe was followed by several other shocks of lesser force for the next fortnight; and at length another succeeded on the 30th, of such violence as entirely ruined the city of Aleppo, and drove all its citizens who escaped instant death into the adjoining country. About the same time the *cholera morbus*, since so well known in western Europe, made its appearance in Bagdad; the Persians defeated the Turks in a pitched battle, with such loss that their army, fifty thousand strong, entirely dispersed, and the victorious Persians, meeting with no opposition, advanced to Bas-sora. In consequence of these disasters, and deeming the dissolution of the empire of the Osmanlis at hand, the Pacha of Acre revolted against the Porte, and hoisted the standard of independence on his impregnable ramparts. Disorders not less serious took place in Jassy, from the savage temper of the unruly janizaries, who, during the night of the 10th August, set the city on fire in several places, and immediately commenced a general massacre of the Christians. Several thousands of the latter fell under the Turkish scimitars; one hundred and sixty of their assassins, in a state of intoxication, perished in the flames which they themselves had raised; and of the entire city only one hundred and fifty houses, and a part of the palace, out of two thousand, escaped destruction in the conflagration.

82. An occasion such as this, when disasters of all kinds were "accumulating round a sinking throne and falling empire," was the most favourable that could possibly have been desired to advance the designs of Russia against the throne of the Sultan. Yet it passed over without any advantage having been taken by the Czar of the

crisis. The Russian ambassador, who was still at Odessa, continued to use the utmost efforts to soften the cruelties of the Turks, and claimed execution of the treaties in favour of the Christians in Moldavia and Wallachia, in which he was strongly supported by those of France and England; and at length, by their united efforts, a note was presented by the Reis-Effendi, which contained the last concessions to which the Divan could be brought to accede. It announced that the Porte, in conformity with ancient usage, had named two Christian hospodars, natives of those provinces. In return for this concession, the Turks demanded the extradition of the Greek refugees, and the surrender of the disputed fortresses in Asia; and announced at the same time, that in order to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in favour of the Greeks, all merchant vessels in the harbour of Constantinople were to be subjected to search—a provision which left the door open to interminable future disputes.

83. An earnest application was made by the Greek Government to the Congress of Verona to be admitted into the European family, and taken under the protection of the Western powers.* It met, however, with no success; the Count Metaxa, who was the bearer of

* "Les sentimens de piété, d'humanité, et de justice, dont la réunion des Souverains est animée, font espérer au Gouvernement de la Grèce que sa juste demande sera convenablement accueillie. Si, contre toute attente, l'offre du Gouvernement venait à être rejetée, la présente déclaration équivaudra à une Protestation formelle que la Grèce entière dépose en ce jour au pied du trône de la Justice Divine — Protestation qu'un peuple Chrétien adresse avec confiance à l'Europe et à la grande famille de la Chrétienté. Affaiblis et délaissés, les Grecs n'espèrent alors que dans le Dieu fort. Soutenus par sa main toute-puissante, ils ne fléchiront pas devant la tyrannie: Chrétiens persécutés depuis quatre siècles pour être restés fidèles à notre Sauveur et à Dieu notre Souverain Maître, nous défendrons, jusqu'au dernier, son église, nos foyers, et nos tombeaux; heureux d'y descendre libres et Chrétiens, ou de vaincre comme nous avons vaincu jusqu'ici, par la seule force de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et par sa divine puissance."—*Adresse du Gouvernement de la Grèce aux Souverains Alliés*, Nov. 1, 1822; *Annuaire Historique*, v. 405.

it, was not even admitted to the Congress. The dread of revolutions, and risk of recognising in any shape insurgent states, was at that period so strong with the allied sovereigns, and especially the Emperor Alexander, that it rendered them deaf alike to all the feelings of humanity and all the suggestions of wisdom; for certainly so fair an opportunity never had been presented for establishing a Christian power on the shores of the Bosphorus, and rearing up a counterpoise to Russia in the very country which was the principal object of its ambition. The reason was, that it was thought this would be a dangerous concession to the revolutionary principle, to combat which in Spain and Italy was the principal object of the Congress; and such was the strength of this feeling that it rendered men blind to the fact that the movement in Greece was religious and national, not revolutionary; and that it was a war of races, not castes, which had sprung up on the shores of the *Ægean Sea*.

84. The long continuance and repeated disasters of the Greek war increased during the course of this year the discontents of the national party in Constantinople to such a degree, that it became evident that a change in the ruling power in the capital had become unavoidable. Public opinion is not less, on important occasions, the tribunal of last resort in Constantinople than in the capitals of western Europe; but its oscillations are more violent, and its decisions more sudden and sanguinary. It was a constant subject of complaint with the janizaries and the Asiatic troops that the new system would prove the ruin of everything, that the treatment of the insurgents was far too gentle, and that the empire would never be righted till the old system was restored, and the infidels were everywhere destroyed with fire and sword. The ruling favourite of the Sultan, Halet Effendi, and his creature the grand-vizier, Saleh Pacha, were in an especial manner the objects of public obloquy for their supposed influence in these changes. At length, in the beginning of November, mat-

ters came to a crisis, in consequence of the appearance of a decree of the Sultan prohibiting, on the plea of the public necessities, the use of gold and silver ornaments by all Mussulmans, and requiring them to be brought to the public treasury to be melted down, where they were taken at 25 per cent below the real value. The public clamour now became so violent that the Sultan in vain endeavoured to appease it by the exhibition of a number of Christian heads, or of heads of pachas supposed to favour them, daily at the Seraglio gate. Having satisfied himself, by a nocturnal perambulation of Constantinople in disguise, that the public voice could no longer be disregarded, the Sultan resolved upon a concession; and by a decree on the 9th, the mufti and the grand-vizier were deposed, and Halet Effendi exiled. The latter, however, was too powerful a character to be allowed to rest in retirement. The new ministers, who were chosen by the janizaries, extorted an order from the Sultan for his execution; he was seized and strangled, and his head exposed at the gate of the Seraglio, with an inscription, charging him with every imaginable crime. The new mufti was Sedke-Sude, the new grand-vizier Abdallah Pacha — both leaders of the janizary party, which for a time got the entire command of the government.

85. A frightful catastrophe occurred at Constantinople in the spring of 1823, which, in the excited state of the public mind, added much to the sinister presentiments with which men's minds were filled. On 1st March a dreadful fire broke out in the vicinity of Tophani, the imperial cannon-foundry, which spread with incredible rapidity. A violent wind, which frequently changed its direction, spread the flames on all sides, and in a day the whole quarter of Pera and Galata was in flames. The losses sustained were immense; and if the wind had not providentially changed to the north, all that beautiful quarter of the city would have perished. As it was, 8000 houses were consumed; 1200 pieces of cannon, immense trains of artillery-waggons,

several entire barracks, became the prey of the flames; above 1000 persons perished, and 40,000 were thrown houseless and starving on the streets. The Mussulmans, struck with consternation at the magnitude of the disaster, exclaimed, "God is with the infidels!" Others, filled with the fanaticism of the period, maintained it was a judgment for their sins, and that the only way to propitiate the Almighty was to massacre the Christians. A few, however, opened their hearts to more humane sentiments; and some voices, especially of women, were heard to exclaim, when the conflagration was at its height, that "God was avenging the innocent blood shed at Chios!"

86. Seriously alarmed by the disastrous issue of the preceding campaign, the Sultan commenced the year with the most vigorous measures. The grand-vizier was deposed (the usual consequence of disaster), and his successor, Ali Bey, enjoined to "meditate night and day on the pressing concerns of the Morea and of Persia, so as to secure the interests of religion and of his highness's entire possessions." Orders were at the same time sent to the pachas of the Danubian provinces of Macedonia and Epirus, for a general levy of all Mussulmans between fifteen and fifty years of age, to assemble in a general rendezvous in Thessaly early in May. The utmost efforts were also made to repair and fit out the fleet, and with such success, that by the end of April a powerful squadron of frigates and smaller vessels was ready for sea in the Dardanelles. The bad success of the preceding years had determined the Divan to discontinue the use of the ponderous ships of the line, which were exposed to so much danger from the Greek fireships amidst the shoals, straits, and deeply-indented bays of the Archipelago. The Sultan's eldest son, Prince Ahmed, died on 16th April; but another was born a few days after, who was named Abdul-Metschid — that is, "Servant of the God of glory."

87. Despairing, after the fall of Napoli di Romania, of maintaining his ground in the citadel of Corinth, Dra-

ma-Ali, who commanded there, resolved to send to Patras all the useless mouths with which he was encumbered, and to keep only such as were essential for the defence of the Acro-Corinthus. Five thousand, accordingly, were sent, who forced the pass styled the *Achaian Gates*, though not without experiencing considerable loss. On arriving, however, at the defile of Acrata, they encountered Niketas, who had posted his men in the most advantageous manner among the rocks and bushes which overhang the strait. The Mussulmans were not aware of their presence till they were fully engaged in the defile, when a plunging fire opened on them on all sides along the whole extent of the line. Resistance being hopeless, Niketas proposed a capitulation, but it was accepted only by two hundred and fifty, who were conducted prisoners to Tripolitza. The remainder defended themselves with the courage of despair, and held out for some time; but they were at length all destroyed, or perished of famine, except a few who escaped, more like skeletons than men, by sea to Patras. Their whole baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Such was the termination of the grand expedition of thirty thousand men into the Morea, begun six months before with the prospect of effecting the entire conquest of Greece.

88. The successes of the Greeks had now been so great, that their independence appeared to be established on a solid basis; and if they had remained united, and been recognised as an independent state by the Congress of Verona, it is probable the contest would have ceased, and they would have been admitted into the European family at this time. But success brought, as usual, divisions in its train; the chiefs were soon at variance with each other and with the legislature; and the Greeks ere long were exposed to greater danger from their own dissensions than from the arms of the Ottomans. Not to mention jealousies innumerable between the different chiefs, there was one grand source of division which pervaded the whole persons intrusted with the adminis-

tration of affairs, arising from the want of a central power, and the long extinction of any *national* spirit in the inhabitants of the country. The military chiefs wished to be independent, and to carry on the war like guerilla chiefs, each on his own account; while the civil deputies were desirous of subjecting them to the authority of a central government, chosen by the representatives of the people. To such a length did the discord come, that when the deputies of the National Assembly met in February at Astros in the Morea, they could not submit to meet in any room, but held their deliberations in a garden, where the two parties were separated from each other, and the debates, if they could be called such, were conducted by angry messages, often mingled with threats, conveyed from one to the other. Even the leaders were at variance. Mavrocordato and Ipsilanti were not on speaking terms: it was only by great exertions that a small number could be secured for the executive council; and, such as it was, its authority was only really established in the islands. On the mainland the election of representatives was found to be impracticable, and the authority of the chiefs, like that of separate guerilla leaders, was alone obeyed within their respective bounds. The sittings of the legislature closed after a stormy session, in which little was done to forward the common cause against the Turks, but a considerable step made to limit the authority of the military chiefs, by a decree that the commanders-in-chief by sea and land were to hold their power only during the duration of their respective expeditions.

89. The plan of the next campaign arranged by the Divan at Constantinople was on a very magnificent scale; but its execution was on a very different one, which revealed the growing weakness and decrepitude of the empire. The Pachas of Roumelia, Adrianople, Salonica, Larissa, and Eubœa, were to unite their forces, which, it was calculated, would amount to eighty thousand, to attack the Isthmus of Corinth, across which the Greeks

had constructed lines of defence, in front, while a corps of Mussulmans, transported by sea, took the position in rear. Mustapha, vizier of Scodra, was ordered to undertake the siege of Missolonghi with forty thousand men; while Yussuf Pacha, Omer-Vrioune, and others, were to co-operate in Thessaly and Attica; and the new Capitan Pacha, with a grand fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, was to sweep the *Ægean* Sea, and reduce the revolted islands to subjection. In making these plans, however, the Turks entirely overlooked two circumstances which proved of vital importance to the issue of the campaign; viz., the danger of famine for their troops, from the magnitude of the devastation which they themselves had previously committed, and the exhaustion of their own Mussulman population, from whom alone the soldiers were drawn, from the losses already sustained. These two circumstances caused their principal enterprises to miscarry, and saved the Greeks at a time when their own divisions brought them to the very verge of destruction.

90. The Greeks were far from having an equal force at their command; but they had powerful auxiliaries in the rugged and mountainous nature of their country, the devastation produced by the preceding campaigns, the skill which the mountaineers had now acquired in the use of arms and the defence of the passes through which the invaders required to advance, and the admirable courage and ability of the seamen by whom their fleet was navigated. The Greek Government decreed the formation of an army of 50,000 men; but they were so irregularly paid, and dispersed under separate leaders, that they resembled rather guerilla bands each acting on its own account, than regular troops all obeying a common direction; and nothing but the most imminent common danger could bring them to combine in any plan of united operations. By sea their armaments were more effective. With such vigour were their preparations there made, that by the beginning of May they had 98 vessels

of war ready, bearing 1760 guns, and manned by 10,560 admirable seamen.

91. The first events of the campaign were favourable to the Greeks, and seemed to presage successes not less decisive than the last. In Epirus, the heroic Mark Bozzaris was at the head of five thousand men, with whom, after the raising of the siege of Missolonghi, he kept the Turks in Arta in check, and defeated a large body of Albanians, whom he chased to the edge of the Ambracian Gulf, and menaced Prevesa itself. In Eubœa and Thessaly the insurgents drove the pachas into the fortresses of Negropont and Carystos, and spread the insurrection to Volo, and through the plains around that place. But the completion of the Ottoman armaments, which went on very slowly, at length put a period to this auspicious state of things. In the middle of May the Turkish fleet, composed of sixty sail, set out from the Dardanelles, and passing within sight of Samos and Ipsara, on which it did not venture to hazard a descent, disembarked five thousand Asiatics in the island of Eubœa, who speedily raised the blockade of Negropont and Carystos, and forced the Greeks to seek refuge in the mountains. The entire population of Athens, on the approach of the Ottomans, took refuge, as on the approach of Xerxes, in the island of Salamis; the Acropolis alone, garrisoned by Ghouras with eight hundred men, still held out. After this success, the Capitan Pacha made sail for Volo, where he landed another body of five thousand men, which, uniting with the troops collected by the Pacha of Larissa, severely avenged the previous successes of the Greeks in that quarter. Odysseus, however, had taken post in Thermopylæ, and barred any passage that way into southern Greece; upon which the Turks made sail for the coasts of the Morea, and reinvaded Patras and the castles of Morea and Coron, the only strongholds still held by the Turks in that quarter, and which were reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions.

92. Soon, however, a more serious

danger awaited the Greek cause. The grand Ottoman army destined for the invasion of the Morea, having received intelligence of the arrival of the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Patras, put itself in motion for the Isthmus of Corinth. Menaced by so great a danger, the Greek Government issued a proclamation calling on all Greeks to take up arms to defend their country; and Mavrocordato, nobly sinking his superior rank, followed the army in the quality of secretary to the council. Niketas, Colocotroni, and Odysseus had united their forces, and taken post at the convent of St Luc, situated near the ruins of the ancient Ascoa, at the foot of Mount Helicon. Their united forces, however, only amounted to eight thousand men, and the Turks were thirty thousand, including a large proportion of horse, so that the Greeks were compelled to remain on the defensive, and maintain a desultory series of actions among their rocks and thickets. At length, the Turks having made an attack on the monastery of St Luc, where they expected to find immense treasures, a general conflict took place, in which victory, after being long undecided, at length remained with the Greeks. The Turks lost six thousand men in this disastrous affair. They were again attacked, as in former days, while retiring in the plain of Chæroneia, by the Greeks, as they were engaged in the passage of the Cephissus, and defeated with great slaughter. Finally, this splendid army, which was to have raised the blockade of the Acro-Corinthus and achieved the conquest of the Morea, was obliged to retire to Tricala, weakened by half its numbers, where it awaited reinforcements from Salonica. The inhabitants of Athens, now delivered from their alarm, returned from Salamis, and reoccupied their city; Attica was entirely evacuated by the Turks; the blockade of the Acro-Corinthus resumed; and that important stronghold, deprived of all hope of succour, at length surrendered by capitulation, after having exhausted all its means of subsistence.

93. So great were their successes that,

had they been duly improved by unanimity and vigour, the Greeks might have entirely delivered their territory from their oppressors ; for the remaining fortresses held by the Turks, deprived of all chance of being relieved, would have become an easy prey. But the unhappy divisions which had arisen among the Greeks, from the consequences of their success, now rose to such a pitch in the Morea that the rival captains, instead of bearing their united strength against the enemy, took up arms against each other. Civil war aided in the desolation of a country afflicted by so many disasters, threatened by so many dangers. Blood was shed in the streets of Tripolitza between the adverse factions ; the president, Mavromichælis, despairing of being able to carry on the government, resigned his office and retired to Hydra ; and Colocotroni, in whom the real authority now centred, withdrew to Napoli di Romania, from whence he directed the whole military operations of continental Greece.

94. More glorious operations, and a more heroic spirit, signalised the campaign in Epirus and western Greece during this eventful year. Notwithstanding the successes of Mark Bozzaris in the beginning of the year, and the revolt of the Albanians in August, which delivered him from seven thousand of his most formidable enemies, he was reduced to such straits before the end of that month as to render it extremely doubtful whether he should be able to keep the field. The Pacha of Scodra, a man of uncommon energy and resolution, had, in obedience to the orders of the Sultan, effected a levy in his pachalic, and approached Missolonghi at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Bozzaris had not more than three thousand at his disposal, for the revolted Albanians had all returned home. With forces so inferior it was evidently impossible to effect anything by open force ; but Bozzaris and his brave companions resolved on a nocturnal attack, by which it was hoped the enemy, who kept a very bad look-out, might be surprised. He went to a Souliote battalion, well known as one of the bravest in Greece,

and, after unfolding to them his design, asked them if they would accompany him in his enterprise. They all expressed their determination to conquer or die. Out of them Bozzaris selected a hundred and fifty of the bravest and most active, whom he proposed to head in person, and attack the centre of the enemy's camp, while the remainder of his troops were divided into three columns, to distract him by simultaneous assaults in other quarters.

95. In the night of the 19th August, Bozzaris received the sacrament with his chosen adherents, and assigned as their rallying-point, if they lost sight of him in the dark, the tent of the pacha. The column selected for attack was the Turkish advanced-guard, five thousand strong, which was encamped at Carpenitza in the bottom of a valley, intersected by vineyards and ditches. The action which ensued exactly resembled the nocturnal enterprises which have been immortalised in the *Iliad*. Buried in sleep, without either sentinels or intrenchments, the Turks were suddenly surprised by the swords of the Souliotes which gleamed amongst them. Above all the roar of the conflict was heard the voice of Bozzaris, who never ceased to exhort his companions to conquer. Knowing the voice, the Mussulmans, in the dark, directed all their shots to the quarter from whence it came. One took effect, and wounded him severely below the girdle. He concealed the wound, however, and continued to head his comrades, who were making the utmost carnage among the Ottomans. The attack of the other divisions completed their confusion, and before daybreak they fled in all directions. Eight hundred men were slain on the spot, a thousand prisoners, eighteen standards, seven guns, and immense military stores taken by the Souliotes, who did not lose one hundred and fifty men. But they sustained an irreparable loss in Mark Bozzaris, who was shot through the head as day began to dawn, and soon after expired. He was borne off the field by the weeping Souliotes, interred

with the highest military honours at Missolonghi, and the Government published a decree in his honour.* Like Epaminondas, he had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy fly before he breathed his last, and he died exhorting his countrymen to shed every drop of their blood in defence of their religion and their country. The annals of antiquity contain nothing more sublime.

96. This gallant action postponed, but could not avert, the stroke of fate. The Pacha of Scodra, having recovered from the defeat experienced at Carpenitza from Bozzaris, forced with great difficulty the defiles of the mountains which separated him from Omer-Vrione; and having effected the junction of the two armies, their united forces, twenty thousand strong, sat down before Missolonghi. Its garrison consisted only of three thousand regular troops; but to these were added double that number of armed inhabitants, who were inspired with the utmost resolution, and were confident in their means of defence. The strength of this renowned fortress, situated below the level of the sea, depends chiefly on the lagunæ, which, as at Venice, guard it from the approaches of the enemy. The Capitan Pacha had left three large frigates and twelve brigs in the bay, which blockaded it by sea; and the Turks, as it was now sufficiently garrisoned, resolved to commence the siege with an attack on the fort of Anatolico, a small town built on a low islet at the entrance of the lagoons, and garrisoned by five hundred men, with thrice that number of armed in-

habitants, commanded by Constantine Bozzaris, brother of the fallen hero, who had inherited the mantle of his glory. The chief apprehension of the inhabitants was from failure of water, but a bomb from the besiegers, having broke through the pavement, discovered a spring; which, being regarded as a divine interposition, inspired the garrison with the most sanguine hopes of success. Thus elated, the whole population worked with incessant vigour in repairing their fragile ramparts and batteries; and although the Turks kept up an incessant fire, and threw in two thousand shells, the place still held bravely out. Meanwhile the rainy season commenced, the Turkish camp was flooded; some convoys of provisions were intercepted by the mountaineers in their rear; a few additional guns arrived by sea at Anatolico; the garrison refused to capitulate, and the Pacha of Scodra, despairing of success, raised the siege, and returned home, with the loss of half his army, after cutting down six thousand olive-trees, destroying his ammunition, burying his cannon, and leaving all his provisions to the enemy.

97. The plague, which raged with great violence in Canea during the whole winter of 1822, and carried off five thousand of the crowded population of that fortress, suspended all military operations in Candia during that period. In the end of May, Tombazi, who was invested with the command, landed in the island with fourteen pieces of cannon and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. With this aid he compelled the governor of Kipamos, a fortress which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Turks, to capitulate, on condition of the garrison being conducted to Canea, which was accordingly done in safety by the honourable humanity and courage of the Greek chiefs, who discharged a twelve-pounder into the middle of their own men, in the act of rushing on fifteen hundred of the captives for a massacre. This success extended the insurrection into the mountains around Khadeno, which had hitherto remained quiet; and five thousand men soon en-

* "Beloved Greeks! Lo, another Leonidas figures in your history. The first with three hundred companions faced the universe, and, resolving to die in obedience to the laws of Sparta, fell in the night upon myriads of foes. Our modern one, at the head of eight hundred brave soldiers, charged sword in hand and determined to conquer, and vanquished ten thousand. Eight hundred Turks, and among those Pliapa Pacha, lay dead: few of our heroes fell a sacrifice to their faith and country. In this glorious battle died the immortal General Bozzaris, and went to the regions of eternity, to darken by the rays of his exploits the lustre of former heroes"—*The President MAVROMICHELIS*, Salamis, Aug. 31, 1823.

vironed the Turks there, who with much difficulty, and after bravely cutting their way through the Greeks, effected their retreat, though with very heavy loss, to Canca. The Greeks disgraced themselves by the massacre of two hundred sick who were left behind. Stimulated to exertion by these disasters, the Turkish Government sent orders to the Pacha of Egypt to send succour to Candia, and in the end of June he disembarked five thousand troops in Canca. This great reinforcement revived the drooping spirits of the Turks, and at first diffused great consternation among the Christians, insomuch that the Sfakiotes talked of surrendering. Dissensions broke out among them; they were defeated in a decisive battle at Armoughi, from whence Tombazi himself escaped with difficulty. Six hundred women and children, who had taken refuge after this disaster in the vast natural grotto of Stonarambella, were, after being blockaded for a month, inhumanly smoked to death like bees by the Turks, who piled up wood against the entrance, to which they set fire. The Egyptian general followed up his successes with equal vigour and cruelty; six-and-thirty villages were reduced to ashes, the defiles and inmost recesses of Mount Ida forced, and ere long three thousand Cretans were put to the sword, and seven thousand women and children sold as slaves. So great was the destruction of human life, that Tombazi published a proclamation, that as great part of the lands in the island were without persons to cultivate them, they would be allotted to the first occupants: a temptation which attracted three thousand persons from the neighbouring islands to the scene of devastation. But notwithstanding this, it was evident that the insurrection in Candia had received its death-blow; and it had already appeared, what was so fatally proved in the sequel, that however capable of withstanding the tumultuary levies of the Turks, the Greeks could not resist in the open field the disciplined battalions of Egypt.

98. The naval campaign of the Turks during this year, for which such vast preparations had been made, and from which so much had been expected, did not at all redound to the honour or advantage of their arms. Being not in sufficient strength to engage them in open fight, the Greeks were reduced to the necessity of observing them at a distance, and keeping them in a constant state of alarm by the terror of their fireships. They did this, however, so effectually, that the Ottomans derived very little advantage from their naval superiority. So far from it, Miaulis, with a small Greek flotilla, engaged the Turkish fleet, on its return from the Gulf of Patras, off Lemnos, set two frigates on fire by means of his fireships, and excited such consternation in the whole squadron by the sight of the flames, that they fled in confusion to the Dardanelles. In fine, as the result of the naval campaign, Carystos was relieved, Toikari reduced to subjection, and a few brigs and schooners of the Greeks taken; and with these trifling prizes the Turkish admiral re-entered the Dardanelles in the end of November. No sooner was the sea cleared than a Greek expedition of eighteen sail set out from Napoli di Romania, bearing a reinforcement of three thousand men, and large subscriptions in money from the Greeks in the Morea for Missolonghi, evidently threatened with a second siege. In their way they met the Algerine squadron, which had been left by the Capitan Pacha, and long infested the Gulf of Lepanto, defeated it, and drove a vessel laden with treasure on the coast of Zante, which they made prize.

99. The domestic dissensions which had during the year paralysed the operations of the Greeks in the Morea, prevented them from taking advantage of their glorious successes. To such a length did they arise before Christmas, that the different members of the Government were at open war with each other. Mavromichælis and Colocotroni, the leading members of the executive council, had drawn the whole real power into their own hands at

Napoli di Romania, while the legislative assembly at Argos paid no regard to their orders. Like Napoleon, Colocotroni resolved on a *coup d'état* to get quit of his opponents. For this purpose he despatched two hundred men under his son, to whom Niketas afterwards added a band of his own. The united body reached Argos when the senate were sitting; but they were so overpowered by the majesty of the legislature, and overawed by the firm countenance of the prefect of the town, that they did not venture on a dissolution, but contented themselves with an attempt, which proved ineffectual, on the archives, which were removed on board a vessel in the night. Foiled in this manner in both objects, they returned to Napoli. The legislative body, after this insult, retired to Cranidi, a strong fort on the Gulf of Corinth, where it declared its sittings permanent, and fulminated a decree dismissing the whole executive from their situations. Part of the Morea, Missolonghi, and the islands, adhered to Mavrocordato and the legislature, part to Colocotroni and the executive. But meanwhile the collection of the revenue entirely ceased; the public treasury was empty; the chiefs levied contributions on their own account, with which they maintained their troops; and the infant state, while yet in the cradle, and painfully struggling for its existence with a powerful enemy, was exposed to the horrors and the weakness of civil war.

100. While Greece was thus in its interior undergoing the convulsions and paralysed by the weakness incident to every people emerging into freedom from former slavery, the interest of the nations of western Europe in her behalf was daily and rapidly on the increase. The learned and the reflecting were charmed with the resurrection, fraught with such recollections, and bearing such names as Greece; the religious watched with interest the efforts of a gallant people to shake off the Mohammedan yoke, and restore the Christian faith; the revolutionists sympathised with the revolt of any body of men against

their government, and beheld in the deliverance of Greece a step towards the emancipation of mankind. The effect of this general interest and sympathy appeared in numerous public meetings in several places in England, presided over by persons of high rank and great consideration, where resolutions, expressive of the deepest interest in their cause, were passed, and large subscriptions made in their behalf.* Similar subscriptions were made in various places in France and Germany; and a number of ardent youths in all the three countries enrolled themselves in battalions, styled "Philhellenes," in which they proceeded to the Morea to share in the dangers and glories of Greek independence. The unsuitableness of these corps for the guerilla and partisan warfare, which was alone practicable in Greece, rendered them of little real service in the contest; but the subscriptions in money were of great moment, and powerfully contributed to uphold the resources of the infant state. At this time, also, several individuals went to Greece to tender their services in its behalf, eminent

* "In England, where the sublime spectacle of a nation awakening into light and freedom could not but be regarded with sympathy and admiration, a thousand proofs have been given of the interest their cause has excited. At length an association has been formed to give a practical and efficient direction to these feelings, and they now make a solemn appeal to the nation in behalf of a country associated with every sacred and sublime recollection, for a people formerly free and enlightened, but long retained by foreign despots in the chains of ignorance and barbarism. While the attempts of the Greeks were limited within a narrow circle, and it seemed probable that they would be instantly crushed by the Ottoman power, it might be doubtful how far it was prudent to encourage a struggle which might aggravate the evil it was intended to remove. But the war has now changed its character; it is clear it can end in nothing but in the independence or absolute annihilation of the Greek people. If the Turks could not put down the insurrection in its early stages, when the Greeks possessed neither arms, nor military knowledge, nor regular government, what can they do now against a renovated nation and the active sympathy of the Christian world?"—*Address of the Greek Committee*, Lord Milton in the chair, May 3, 1823; *Annual Register*, 1823, Appendix to Chron., 73; GORDON, ii. 85, 86.

alike by their rank, their courage, and their genius. Among these must be reckoned M. Blaquière and Colonel Leicester Stanhope, whose talents and address proved of the utmost value to the Greek cause; while Lord Byron, who arrived in Argostoli, in the Bay of Cephalonia, on the 3d August, brought to the cause the resources of a fortune generously bestowed, and the lustre of an immortal name.

101. Lord Byron, on his arrival at Missolonghi, whither he bent his steps, as the place threatened with the earliest danger, found the community so torn with internal divisions, that nothing short of an entire dissolution of society was to be apprehended from their continuance. It was no easy matter, even with the weight of his great name and liberal power, to accomplish the object of stilling these dissensions, for the divisions of the Greek leaders had reached the point of civil war. The legislative body, in order to dispossess the military faction from this stronghold, resolved to transfer the seat of government to Napoli di Romania, which, in every point of view, was the proper place for it; and they accordingly embarked on board the Hydriote fleet, which was entirely at their devotion, and arrived on the 18th March in the bay of that fortress, and summoned the garrison to open the gates; but the governor, Kanos Colocotroni, positively refused to do so. Upon this the assembly declared him a rebel, and ordered the siege of the place by sea and land. Matters had proceeded to the like extremities in Tripolitza, where Colocotroni himself held out with the whole garrison against the central government. But Niketas and other chiefs deserted his cause; the garrison of the Acro-Corinthus declared for the legislature, and that of Tripolitza itself exhibited symptoms of wavering. Discouraged by these defections, Colocotroni agreed to surrender Tripolitza and retire to his country estates, which was agreed to, and the senate returned to Argos; but Panos still held out in Napoli, and the country was so divided that it was hard to say where the government

really resided. At length, however, as Napoli was closely blockaded by sea and land, the garrison began to see that the sense of the country was against them, and by degrees came round to the central government. The governor of the fort of Vourtoi, one of the outworks of the place, suddenly declared for it, and Colocotroni, despairing of success, surrendered the fortress on the 19th June. He himself soon after sent in his adhesion; Odysseus did the same; the Government, with prudent moderation, accepted all their offers of submission. On the 24th June the seat of authority was transferred to Napoli di Romania, and on the 14th July a general amnesty was proclaimed, which at length put a period to these disastrous dissensions.

102. While these divisions were paralysing the strength and darkening the prospects of Greece, the affairs of the infant state were much more prosperous abroad. The English cruisers now, in obedience to orders received from Government, admitted the Greek blockade—a step, and not an unimportant one, in the recognition of their independence; and they were highly elated by the intelligence that the English Cabinet, in consequence of some disputes with the Dey as to an infraction of the subsisting treaty with that power, had declared war against Algiers. More substantial benefit was derived from the contraction of a loan of £800,000, which, by the exertions of the Greek committee in London, was obtained by the Government at the rate of £59 sterling paid for £100 stock inscribed. Although the conditions of this loan were altogether so onerous that the Greek Government only obtained £280,000 for £800,000 debt contracted, yet the transaction was eminently beneficial to them, and proved, in a great measure, the salvation of the republic, for in the distracted state of its government the collection of the revenue had almost entirely ceased; and but for this seasonable supply the armaments by sea and land must have been dissolved, from the want of any funds for their support.

103. And, in truth, never had Greece

stood more in need of vigorous efforts for its defence, for the forces which the Ottoman Government was preparing to bring against it were immense. No ways discouraged by the bad success of the preceding campaigns, the Sultan made the utmost exertions for the prosecution of the war; and, taught by its reverses, the Government laid their plans with much more skill and judgment for the future. They had learned by experience to appreciate the value of the Egyptian troops, who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion; and they held out to the pacha of that country the most tempting lure to induce him to engage heartily in the contest, by the promise of the revolted provinces as an addition to his pachalic when they were subdued. The plan arranged was this: **IBRAHIM PACHA**, who already had all but subdued Candia, was to transport a large force of regular troops to the Morea, while his powerful fleet was to blockade its harbours and secure the subsistence of the troops; the fleet from Constantinople was to muster in the Dardanelles, and make a descent upon Hydra and Ipsara, which, it was hoped, might be subdued; while the Pacha of Roumelia and Omer-Vrione were to march with the whole military strength of continental Turkey against western Greece and Missolonghi. In all, above one hundred thousand men were directed by sea and land against the infant state; and as nearly twenty thousand of that number were to be the disciplined battalions of Egypt, it was easy to foresee that Greece had never run such dangers as she was now to incur.

104. The Capitan Pacha set sail from the Dardanelles in the middle of June, with a fleet of forty sail, having on board a large body of land troops. He first reinforced with three thousand men the garrisons of Carysto and Negropont, which Odysseus and Dramantis had reduced to the last extremity, in Eubœa, and enabled the Turks to resume the offensive; and, passing over to Attica, compelled the Greeks under Ghouras to shut themselves up in the Acropolis. While these successes were gained in that quarter, still more im-

portant operations were in progress in the southern parts of the Archipelago, where Ibrahim Pacha brought the redoubtable battalions of Egypt into action. He first proceeded to the isle of Casos; and though bravely repulsed in a first attack, was successful in a second, and very soon completed the subjugation of the island.

105. The great effort of the Turks, however, in their naval campaign, was directed against the islands of Spezzia and Ipsara. The Capitan Pacha, Chosrow, had lain a month in Mitylene, where he collected twenty thousand fanatical Asiatics, thirsting for the blood of the Christians, many of whom he embarked on board his fleet, with which great reinforcement he set sail for Ipsara. The island at this period contained fifteen thousand inhabitants, of whom a third bore arms. It is a small and sterile island, containing beyond the town only a few acres of ground; but, being the abode of liberty and independence, it had attained a very high degree of prosperity. Two hundred cannon were mounted on its circuit; a line of telegraphs was established round it; the inhabitants, relying on their past victories, were confident of success, and even impatient for the attack; and a beautiful flotilla of schooners, brigs, and fireships lay ready in the port to resist the enemy. Relying on these circumstances, the Psarriotes refused all offers of accommodation, and bravely determined to resist to the last extremity. Yet were their means of defence more specious than real; for they possessed no regular citadel or fort, and the defence of the island rested entirely on a number of detached batteries, the loss of any one of which would endanger the whole.

106. On the 1st July the armada of the Turks hove in sight, and soon surrounded the island. It consisted of an eighty-gun ship, two of sixty-four guns, six frigates, ten corvettes, and twenty brigs, with thirty transports, having on board fourteen thousand regular troops, besides a crowd of fierce Asiatics. When this immense armament was seen, a council of war was held, at which Canaris, like Themisto-

cles, strongly advised them to combat by sea. Unfortunately his advice was overruled; and the magistrates, afraid of being deserted by the sailors, not only doomed the navy to total inaction, but landed part of the crews to make them co-operate in the defence of the place. The consequences were fatal. The Turks, on the 3d July, drew in their vessels to the mouth of the harbour, where they commenced a furious cannonade on the town, which was returned with great spirit and no disadvantage by the islanders, both from their ships and batteries. It was obvious from this sea-fight that, if the principal defence had been made there, the Greeks would have had the advantage; but as the rudders had been taken out of the vessels by order of the magistrates, to prevent the sailors deserting, they could not manœuvre at sea, which deprived them of their principal means of offence; and meanwhile, under cover of the smoke, the Turks unobserved landed a body of troops on a little cove at the north-west angle of the island. They then stormed a redoubt with three guns, and, rushing forward with frightful yells, gained possession of the rocks which overlook the town, on which they immediately hoisted the Ottoman standard. At the sight of this a cry of horror rose among the more timid of the islanders, and several batteries were abandoned. The bravest now saw that the fate of their country was decided, and a general rush took place towards the boats, where multitudes perished by drowning, through the numbers crowding in, or the barks being sent to the bottom by the Turkish guns. All resistance then ceased in the town, which was sacked and burnt, and the whole inhabitants put to the sword.

107. Like Chios, Ipsara sank in flames and blood; but its closing scene was very different, and worthy of the heroic character of its inhabitants. A certain number, comprising the principal citizens, escaped on board nineteen brigs, carrying away such of the fugitives as they could pick up from the waves, and conveyed them in safety to Hydra, where they were re-

ceived with generous hospitality. Six hundred Macedonians threw themselves, with their wives and children, into the fortified convent of St Nicholas, on which were mounted twenty-four pieces of cannon. With these they defended themselves with such resolution that they were still masters of it at night; and on the following morning the Capitan Pacha renewed the assault with his whole troops. Several attacks were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; but at length the garrison, hopeless of relief, and having lost two-thirds of their number, determined to perish like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. They sent a soldier with a lighted torch to fire a powder-magazine outside the walls; and as he fell, pierced by several balls, before reaching it, five others were sent on a similar errand, and all shared the same fate. Upon this the Greeks resolved to blow themselves up with the powder they had within the monastery, but in such a way as to involve their enemies in their ruin. They ceased firing, accordingly, for some time; and the Turks, thinking the defenders had all fallen, after a pause rushed tumultuously forward to the assault of the walls, which were sealed on every side. Suddenly the Hellenic flag was lowered; a white flag, bearing the words "Liberty or death," waved in the air; a signal-gun was discharged, and immediately after, a rumbling noise, followed by a loud explosion, was heard, and the monastery, with its whole defenders, and thousands of the assailants, were blown into the air. Two only of the Greeks were extricated alive from the ruins; of the assailants three thousand perished during the storm or in the explosion.

108. The military spoil made by the Turks in Ipsara was immense, and the blow to the Hellenic cause from its loss so great as to justify the saying at the time in the islands, that one of the eyes of Greece was put out. Two hundred pieces of cannon, great stores of powder, and a beautiful flotilla of ninety vessels, fell into the hands of the Ottomans. The inhabitants of the

island, with the exception of those who had saved themselves in boats the evening before, and a few hundreds who hid themselves in caves in the island, were destroyed. Among those who escaped was the heroic Canaris, who, after displaying the utmost valour in the defence, threw himself into a boat and got off. The Turks, highly elated with their victory, sent five hundred heads and eleven hundred ears to Constantinople, which, with thirty-three standards taken, were displayed in ghastly rows at the gate of the Seraglio, and excited the people to the highest pitch of fanatical exultation. Ten females only were made slaves; for the Psarriote women, in a heroic spirit, drowned themselves, with their infants, to avoid becoming the spoil of the victors.*

109. The destruction of Ipsara, with its heroic termination, made a prodigious sensation in Christendom, and much strengthened the general conviction that some intervention of the Western powers had become indispensable, if a Christian state was to be rescued from utter destruction at the hands of the Mohammedans. But in the immediate neighbourhood it had no such depressing effect; the result was rather the reverse. The council of Hydra acted a noble part on the occasion. So far from thinking of submitting, they fitted out every disposable vessel, and soon had two squadrons at sea, one of which, under Miaulis, went to the south to watch the Egyptian fleet, which was approaching; while another under Canaris made for Samos, which was menaced with the fate of Chios and Ipsara.

* "Les infidèles Arnauts, que les rebelles Ipsariotes avaient appelés à leur secours, ont été tous passés au fil de l'épée, et ont ainsi fait l'épreuve de la puissance Musulmane. Dix chefs de l'insurrection, et environ 300 hommes, ont été faits prisonniers; 110 bâtimens, et plus de 100 pièces de canon, sont tombés en notre pouvoir; enfin, tout l'île d'Ipsara a été soumise par la grâce du Tout-Puissant. Plus de 500 têtes d'infidèles, plus de 1100 oreilles, et 33 drapeaux, ont été envoyés à la Sublime Porte par le dit Pacha, et jetés à terre avec mépris."—*Inscription (Jefla)*, July 24, 1824, à Constantinople aux Portes du Seraglio: *Annuaire Historique*, vii. 417.

The danger to that island was imminent, for twenty thousand Asiatics, flushed with the blood of the Christians whom they had massacred at New Echelles, in Asia Minor, awaited only the approach of the fleet to embark and exterminate the inhabitants of Samos. Meanwhile Odysseus and the other chiefs of eastern Greece, burying their divisions in oblivion, sent twelve hundred excellent troops to strengthen the garrison of Hydra, which became so strong as to be able not only to defy attack, but even resume the offensive. An expedition was fitted out to retake Ipsara, where a garrison of one thousand men had been left by the Capitan Pacha. It landed in the same bay where the Turks had effected their descent, defeated and made prisoner the garrison, and captured or destroyed all the gunboats in the harbour, thirty in number. Finding the island entirely destroyed, and two hundred wretches merely wandering among the ruins, they entirely evacuated it, taking away this remnant of the inhabitants to Hydra.

110. Menaced with an immediate descent and utter ruin, the inhabitants of Samos prepared vigorously for their defence. Having received assurances of support from the Government at Napoli di Romania, Lycurgus, the governor, assembled all the male population of the island capable of bearing arms, twelve thousand in number, on the coast; and having sent all the women and children to the mountains, every preparation was made for a vigorous defence. It depended, however, mainly on the naval force assembled for the protection of the island; for if the Turks once effected a landing, it was easy to foresee it would undergo the fate of Chios and Ipsara. The combined fleet of Spezzia and Hydra, of forty sail, ere long made its appearance, under the command of Sakh-touri; and the Ottoman fleet, also of forty sail, but much larger vessels, soon hove in sight. After several indecisive actions in the straits, in one of which Canaris advanced with his fireship into the middle of the enemy's fleet, and threw them into such con-

sternation that they all took to flight, the Turkish admiral on the 17th made a grand attack. The moment was terrible: forty ships on each side the straits, between Samos and the Asiatic shore, lay facing each other; on the opposite shores sixty thousand combatants stood watching the conflict; and on the hills in the island a trembling crowd of thirty thousand women and children gazed with speechless anxiety on the issue of a conflict on which the lives and liberties of all were dependent. At ten in the morning the fireships were launched: the Hydriote ones failed from the pusillanimity of the crews, who abandoned them before they reached the enemy; but Canaris was at hand to repair the loss. Steering his fireship direct on a frigate of fifty-four guns, he grappled her so strongly that all attempts to separate the ships were vain; the Turks, six hundred in number, all leapt overboard, and soon after the vessel blew up with an explosion so terrible that twelve boats around it were destroyed, and several persons even on shore were killed by the falling of the spars and masts. Two other schooners, carrying twenty and thirty guns, were soon after burned by the Hydriote vessels; and at five in the evening the whole Turkish fleet moved off to the southward, with the loss of three fine vessels, one hundred guns, and twelve hundred killed and wounded. Samos was delivered, and the inhabitants returned to their houses, and crowded to the churches to return thanks to Heaven for their deliverance.

111. The object of the Turkish admiral, after his repulse at Samos, was to join the Egyptian fleet, and with the combined forces make a descent upon the Morea. The Egyptian fleet set sail from Alexandria on the 19th July, having been detained two months later than was expected, in consequence of a dreadful fire in the barracks at Cairo, which destroyed immense military stores, and in which four thousand persons lost their lives. The armament, however, when it did set sail from Alexandria, was very formidable, and the most numerous which had ap-

peared in the Mediterranean since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. The combined fleets effected a junction in the Gulf of Boudroum, the ancient Halicarnassus, on the 25th August, and they were then found to amount to one line-of-battle ship, 25 frigates, 25 corvettes, each mounting from 24 to 28 guns, 50 brigs and schooners, many of them carrying 18 or 24 guns, and 240 transports. The land forces consisted of 12,000 regular infantry, drilled and organised after the European fashion, 2000 Albanian light infantry, 2000 cavalry, 700 gunners and sappers, and 150 pieces of heavy or field artillery. Altogether the armament had on board 80,000 sailors and soldiers, and above 2500 cannon; a force almost as great as that with which England made the descent on Walchern in 1809. To oppose this crusade, the Greek admiral had only 70 sail, manned by 5000 sailors, and bearing at the utmost 800 guns.

112. With admirable gallantry Miaulis, notwithstanding this grievous disproportion of force, advanced to meet the enemy; and several actions without any decisive effect took place in the beginning of September. At length, on the 12th September, the Hydriote Papantoni laid his fireship alongside of the Tunisian admiral's frigate of forty-four guns, and 750 men, all of whom, when she took fire, leapt overboard. Soon after the admiral was picked up by the Greeks, and made prisoner. This success so intimidated the Ottomans that they sheered off, and the combat ceased. Such was the terror which the Greek fireships inspired that the Capitan Pacha stood aloof altogether; and it was a common saying in the fleet, that he might as well have been at Constantinople. On the 19th, Miaulis succeeded in burning two Turkish vessels, mounting, the one nineteen, the other twelve guns, after which the Capitan Pacha ran into the Dardanelles. The two fleets were almost constantly engaged daily until the 13th November, when Miaulis, notwithstanding his inferiority of force, ventured to engage the whole Egyptian squadron in a general

battle, and with such success that a fine frigate and twelve lesser vessels, with fifteen transports, were burned or destroyed, and Ibrahim fairly fled out of the Archipelago with his ships of war, leaving his transports to follow the best way they could. They steered for Rhodes, and put up in the Bay of Marmorice for the winter. He was then able to calculate his losses in this naval campaign, which was incomparably the most disastrous at sea which the Mohammedans had yet sustained. They had two fine frigates, two corvettes, and two brigs blown up, one corvette wrecked, fifty sail of transports taken or destroyed, an admiral and four thousand seamen slain, and five hundred Arabs carried prisoners to Napoli. Including those who fell at Ipsara and died of sickness, this naval campaign had cost the Turks not less than fifteen thousand men, without any advantage but the destruction of that island. The Hellenic Government with reason expressed in several decrees their high sense of the services of Admiral Miaulis and his brave followers, and they were welcomed on their return to Hydra with the honours due to valour, zeal, and perseverance.

113. The campaign of the Greeks by land this year, though distinguished by honourable events, was by no means unchecked by disaster. The Sultan had given orders to the Pacha of Wid-din to raise thirty thousand men for the conquest of eastern Greece; but the Turks had become so disinclined to a service which experience had taught them was fraught with so many dangers, that he never was able to bring five thousand men into the field. On the 18th July, Ghouras defeated two thousand janizaries, who had come across from Negropont, at *Marathon*, and delivered Attica for a time from the incursions of the Turks in that island—an event which naturally excited a great sensation in western Europe. The Turks, however, being soon after reinforced by a large body of horse from Bæotia, Ghouras took refuge in the Acropolis, and the Athenians again migrated to Salamis. Upon this, Rou-misia Valesi, who had received the

most pressing orders from the Sultan to proceed to Lepanto, and co-operate with Omer-Vrione in the attack on Missolonghi, having collected ten thousand men, endeavoured to force the defiles near Gravia, which were occupied by four thousand Greeks; but he was repulsed with great slaughter, and the loss of two guns and seven standards. The Ottomans, after this check, endeavoured to reach Salona and the Gulf of Lepanto, by crossing the highest passes of Mount Parnassus; but here again they found the Greeks strongly posted, and were repulsed. Upon this the pacha fell back to Salonica, and the Turks who occupied Athens, being unable to find provisions, retired from that city and Attica, and the Greeks returned from Salamis to their houses and shops around the Acropolis. Deprived of this powerful aid, Omer-Vrione was unable to undertake any serious operations against Missolonghi; and the campaign in Epirus consisted of nothing but a series of skirmishes, most of which terminated to the advantage of the Greeks.

114. Thus had the Greeks the glory, in this the fourth year of the war, of repelling, by sea and land, the assault of above a hundred and twenty thousand Moslems, including the disciplined battalions of Egypt, and that with forces not a fourth part of their amount. Great, indeed, must have been the spirit, indomitable the perseverance, unconquerable the courage, which could enable a body of Christians, not now numbering, after the losses they had sustained, above five hundred thousand souls, without foreign aid, to contend so long with an empire having the resources of thirty-five millions of men at command. But such a contest, however glorious, could not continue for such a length of time without wearing out the national resources; and the risk was now great, that, from the very magnitude of their sacrifices, the greatness of their triumphs, the Greeks would be involved in ultimate ruin. Crushed for centuries by the severities of Mohammedan exaction, they had no reserved stores of wealth, either public or private, to

fall back upon, to maintain the contest. The treasury was empty, the troops for the most part unpaid, the taxes incapable of collection. The naval armament which saved Samos and repulsed Ibrahim's invasion, had been mainly fitted out by the fragment of the Greek loan which Christian cupidity had permitted to reach the shores of the Archipelago. From an official report laid before the National Assembly this year, it appeared that the whole surface of western Hellas, from the mountains of Agrapho to the gates of Missolonghi, was one vast scene of desolation, presenting to the eye only uncultivated fields and burnt hamlets; and the petty revenue derived from the fisheries and custom-house barely sufficed for the humble expenses of Mavrocordato's household. The mountains of Thessaly and Bœotia had become a perfect wilderness; their inhabitants, reduced to half their former number, were peculiarly deficient in men—a want which, even to this day, is severely felt. Experience had proved that a regular army and navy were indispensable, since the powerful fleet and disciplined battalions of Egypt had been brought into action; but how was either to be maintained without a treasury, without taxes, without resources? Yet, in spite of all these disheartening circumstances, and when bleeding at every pore from the ghastly wounds of former years, the Greeks nobly maintained the contest. Amidst all their misfortunes, not a voice was ever raised for capitulation; and under circumstances when reason might have despaired of success, and wisdom counselled submission, they still bore aloft the standard of religion and independence.

115. But in the midst of these glorious external efforts, internal faction was again rearing its hydra head; and the people, who were daily threatened with extermination from without, turned their suicidal arms against each other. In truth, the democratic government established by the constitution was so ill suited to the dispositions and wants of the people that dissensions were un-

avoidable. Colocotroni and the military chiefs, in whom power in continental Greece was really vested, had only dissembled in their submission to the executive council; they waited merely till the third annual election of the legislature might give, as they hoped, a majority to their adherents. In this hope they were disappointed; the election, in September 1824, again gave a majority to the executive council, and they, in consequence, named Panuzzo Notara president, and the Archbishop Theodorito vice-president, of the legislative council. The composition of the executive council, in like manner, was favourable to the democratic party, and entirely adverse to the views of the military chiefs. This was the signal for the recommencement of the civil war. Colocotroni declared against the executive council near Tripolitza; several chiefs either joined him or disbanded their followers. A conflict ensued, which, however, was neither so long nor so serious as the former had been. After several actions the rebels were defeated, and Colocotroni obliged, with his sons, to deliver himself up to the executive council at Napoli, by whom they were sent state-prisoners to Hydra, where they were confined in the monastery of St Elias. This success completely re-established the authority of the executive council and the legislative assembly; but the contest, while it lasted, proved eminently prejudicial to the Greeks, for it nipped in the bud the rising prosperity of the Morea, in which it was estimated that, during the two years it had been free from the ravages of war and the oppression of the Ottomans, one-third of new land had been brought into cultivation.

116. Ghouras, who had been mainly instrumental in quelling the insurrection in eastern Greece, was so elated with his success that he gave mortal offence to Odysseus, whom he suspected of leaning in secret to the side of the malcontents, and to whom he refused both pay and rations for his troops. The consequence was, that the Greek captain, driven to desperation, entered

into secret negotiations with the Turks, with whom, of his own authority, he concluded a truce for the province of Livadia. Subsequent public acts having strengthened the suspicion that he was in secret allying himself with the Crescent, his officers and men, who, amidst all their divisions, were true to their faith and country, all abandoned him. Aware of the habitual treachery of the Turks, he rejected all the offers of an asylum offered him by their chiefs, and in preference surrendered himself to Ghouras, by whom he was committed a close prisoner to a tower in the Acropolis of Athens. His family were lodged, before his surrender, in an inaccessible cavern in Mount Parnassus. Ghouras tried to save the life of his former comrade and friend, and long delayed his execution; but at length the clamour against him in Athens became so violent that he was obliged to consent to his being strangled in prison. On the 17th June the body of Odysseus was discovered dead at the foot of the tower where he had been confined. It was given out that he had been killed by a fall in attempting to escape; but no one doubted that he had been strangled in prison, and thrown out. Ghouras afterwards never heard, without pain, the mention of his name, and often said, with a sigh, "In that business I was misled." The cavern in Parnassus was afterwards given up to Government, and an amnesty granted to Odysseus's family.

117. A curious and valuable statistical document was published at this time by the Greek Government, singularly descriptive of the desperate tyranny of the Turkish rule. According to a census taken in November 1824, the population of Athens was 9040 souls, and the gross revenue of Attica collected in eight months, from July 1824 to February 1825, only £2000! In the days of Pericles, Athens contained 21,000 freemen and 400,000 slaves; and the gross revenue of Athens after the battle of Chæronea, when all its foreign colonies had been lost, was £220,000, equivalent to at least £500,000 a-year of our money. The

population of Athens is now (1854) 30,000, and it is annually and rapidly increasing. Facts such as these require no comment: they speak volumes, and accuse alike the tyranny of the Mohammedan and the selfishness of the Christian powers of western Europe.

118. The year 1825 opened under brighter auspices to the Hellenic cause than had hitherto shone upon it. The authority of the central government was firmly established, the discord between it and the military chiefs had ceased, and the energies of the state might be turned with united strength against its foreign enemies. A new loan had been contracted for in London of £2,000,000, at the rate of £55½ paid for £100 of debt acknowledged, so that money was not likely to prove wanting. This ample fund, however, was so mismanaged and frittered away by the Greek committee in London, that it proved of much less real service to the Greek cause than might have been expected. Sensible from the experience they had had in Candia of the formidable nature of the Egyptian regular troops, the Government established several corps, which were to receive pay, and act as regular soldiers; but the jealousies of the chiefs, and the disinclination of the peasantry to lengthened service, made the recruiting go on very slowly. Proud, with reason, of their glorious successes in the preceding campaign, the Greeks entertained a sovereign contempt for the Arabs and Egyptians; and as it had become evident that the Turks on the mainland would not turn out any more to attack them, they deemed their dangers entirely surmounted. All eyes were turned to Patras, which had been long closely blockaded by sea and land, and was now reduced to great extremities from want of provisions. At sea they divided their ships, as last season, into two fleets, one of which watched the Dardanelles, while the other was intended to keep an eye on the Egyptian fleet.

119. The Mohammedans turned the winter to much better account, equipping ships, levying men, laying up magazines of ammunition and provi-

sions, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. Numbers of French officers had taken service in the army of the Pacha of Egypt, and brought to it the knowledge and the resources of modern military art; and the force which he was now prepared to put at the disposal of his son, Ibrahim Pacha, was immense. Thirty thousand Arabs had been trained and disciplined under foreign officers in the European manner, and had attained extraordinary perfection both in the use of firearms, and in steadiness of movement in large masses. Three expeditions, each consisting of eight thousand men, were successively to sail from Alexandria to convey this force to Candia and Rhodes; from thence they were to be transported to the Morea; and such was the magnitude of the naval force at his disposal, that it was not anticipated that the Greeks could make any serious resistance to the passage of the land force. The efforts of the Turks by land were to be entirely confined to the siege of Missolonghi, the bulwark of western Greece, for the prosecution of which twenty thousand men were to be placed at the disposal of Redschid Pacha by the concurring efforts of all the surrounding pachas; and they were to be aided, if necessary, by a detachment from Ibrahim Pacha's Egyptians, after they had completed the conquest of the Morea. No attempt was to be made to reduce that province by invasion from the land side, as experience had proved that, in the wasted condition of the country, any army adequate to the undertaking would perish from want of provisions, or fall under the deadly fire of the Greek musketeers.

120. As was anticipated, the expedition succeeded in crossing the sea without opposition. The first division, conveying seven thousand troops, sailed from Alexandria on the 20th, and appeared, to the amount of fifty sail, under the walls of Modon on the 24th February. Ibrahim immediately disembarked four thousand foot and four hundred horse, which he encamped around the fortress, and the same day reconnoitred Old Navarino, which is

only two leagues distant. He next ordered back the ships to Suda for reinforcements, and on 21st March seven thousand more landed at Modon, the Greeks meanwhile not being in sufficient strength to disturb his encampment. Feeling himself strong enough to undertake the siege of Navarino, Ibrahim took a position before it on the 21st with twelve thousand men. Upon this the Greek Government, at last fully awakened to a sense of the impending danger, appointed Condurriottis general-in-chief in the Morea, left Missolonghi to its own junta, appointed Ghouras to combat Odysseus, whose fidelity by this time was more than suspected, and directed one division of the fleet to cruise off the Dardanelles to watch the Capitan Pacha, and the other to proceed to Suda to watch the Egyptian squadron. Condurriottis, who had Mavrocordato with him, having collected twelve thousand men from all parts of the Morea, took post between Navarino and Modon, in order to intercept the communications of the Egyptians between the two places.

121. Ibrahim, well aware of the influence of early success in all wars, but especially in wars of opinion, resolved upon immediately commencing operations. Accordingly, on the 19th, he attacked the Greeks with four thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and then, for the first time, the superiority of the Egyptian arms and discipline became apparent. The Greeks were disposed in a semicircle, with Kara Tasso on the right, and Corta Bozzaris on the left, and for some time made a spirited resistance. At length, however, Ibrahim, at the head of one thousand men, pierced their centre with fixed bayonets, a weapon to which, strange to say, the Greeks were hitherto strangers; while at the same time the horse, dashing up a ravine deemed inaccessible, completed their rout. Corta Bozzaris cut his way through with great difficulty; but most of his brave followers were slain in rescuing him, and the Greeks left six hundred dead on the field. This battle, though the forces engaged on neither side amounted to

five thousand men, had a decisive effect on the issue of the campaign. It established the superiority of the Egyptian troops, and the inability of the Greeks to contend with them in the open field; and by relieving Ibrahim of all apprehensions of being disturbed during the progress of the siege of Navarino, mainly led to the reduction of that place, and the establishment of the Egyptian forces in a solid way in the Morea. At the same time the consternation of the Greeks was increased by the receipt of intelligence that Redschid Pacha had seized the defiles of Mæri-Noros, and appeared with all his forces before Missolonghi, which was already invested.

122. Such was the consternation among the Greeks produced by these concurring events, that Ibrahim next day attempted to carry the place by escalade; but he was repulsed, and compelled to commence his operations against it in regular form. With this view, he directed his attack in the first instance against the isle of *Sphacteria*, immortalised by Thucydides in his narrative of the Peloponnesian war. Towards success in this enterprise it was indispensable to acquire a naval superiority, and this was soon secured by the arrival, on 1st May, of the Egyptian fleet of ninety sail, including ten frigates, whom Miaulis, with seventeen sloops, in vain endeavoured to resist, which disembarked four thousand men, with ample stores and ammunition, to aid the besiegers. The Egyptian fleet, fivefold superior in force to the Greek, surrounded *Sphacteria*, and established a barrier of fifty sail between it and Miaulis, who cruised in the offing, watching in vain for an opportunity of sending in his fireships, or assisting his beleaguered countrymen. The island itself was accessible only at a single point on the west side, which was defended by a battery of three guns, manned by two hundred men under General Anagnostoras, with three hundred Hydriote sailors to work the cannon. The little garrison defended itself for long with heroic courage; but fifty vessels of war surrounded it, and by landing one body of troops after another, at length succeeded in over-

powering its gallant defenders. They were all slain, bravely combating to the last: Anagnostoras and Sohahini, the Hydriote commanders, were found among the thickest of the dead. The brig of Psamado remained in the harbour of the island to bring away its captain. The boat sent for this purpose, however, was sunk by the multitude which crowded in, and Psamado, left on the shore grievously wounded, was last seen with one hand waving his cap to encourage his crew, with the other brandishing his scimitar in the face of his enemies. The condition of the brig itself seemed now altogether desperate, for after having lost half its crew, it had to fight its way with only eighteen guns through the enemy's fleet of fifty sail, mounting fifteen hundred! But then was seen what, in circumstances the most hopeless, human heroism can effect. With consummate skill and undaunted courage, the crew, disdaining all summonses to surrender, succeeded in steering their devious course through the forest of their enemies' masts, and bore to Hydra, with the standard of the Cross still flying, the intelligence of a disaster which had inflicted a greater loss on that island than they had sustained in the four preceding campaigns. What mainly contributed to the success of the brig in this marvellous action, was the knowledge which the enemy had of the resolution of the crew to blow her up rather than be taken, which deterred them from coming to close quarters.

123. The capture of *Sphacteria* determined the fate of Navarino in the days of Ibrahim, as it had done in those of Pericles. Ibrahim next directed his efforts against Zanchio, a castle in the bay inside of the island, situated on a sandy tongue of land, and garrisoned by nine hundred men. After a gallant resistance it was forced to capitulate, but not before the walls had been reduced to a heap of loose stones, and the terms were honourably observed by Ibrahim; but Gregory, Bishop of Modon, who was taken prisoner in a sally, was treated with every indignity, his beard being plucked out by the roots; and he died in a dungeon

some months afterwards. Master of this castle and the island, Ibrahim redoubled his efforts against *Neo Castron*, or New Navarino, the garrison of which had but a scanty supply of provisions and twenty barrels of gunpowder left. Having exhausted these, and seeing no hopes of being relieved by sea, they were obliged to capitulate, which they did on condition that they should be transported to Calamata, under protection of a French and Austrian vessel. Ibrahim religiously observed the capitulation, and the garrison, which still consisted of eleven hundred men, was conveyed in safety to the place agreed on. Forty-six guns fell into Ibrahim's hands in the place. He treated the prisoners kindly, and offered them every inducement to enter his service; but, to the honour of the Greeks be it spoken, not one man proved unfaithful to his religion and his country.

124. Although the Greek fleet were not able to prevent the fall of Navarino, yet they performed several shining exploits in endeavouring to relieve it, which presaged in a manner the disaster so terrible to the Crescent of which its bay was destined to be the theatre. On the evening of the 13th, Miaulis, taking advantage of a favourable wind, glided, with twenty-eight ships, into the channel between the isles of Cabrera and Sapienza and the coast, and approached the Egyptian fleet lying at anchor under the walls of Modon. Keeping the enemy in check with part of his squadron, he launched, with the aid of the rest, six of his fireships against the ships in the roads. They proved entirely successful. One of them grappled the *Asia*, of fifty-four guns; others fastened on two corvettes and three brigs of twenty-four guns each, all of which, with twenty transports, were in flames in a few minutes, and totally consumed. The burning vessels, which cast a broad light over the bay, were drifted into the harbour, and it was only by the utmost exertions that Ibrahim succeeded in saving the remainder of the fleet, and all the stores and magazines of the army which were

there deposited, from destruction. As it was, the fire communicated to a large magazine of provisions in the town, which was entirely consumed.

125. Another naval victory of still greater magnitude graced the annals of the Greek navy at this period. On the 24th May, the Capitan Pacha put to sea from the Dardanelles with the Turkish squadron, consisting of a ship of the line of sixty-six guns, two frigates, six corvettes, and fifty brigs and transports, many of which bore the *Austrian* colours. As they had on board a vast quantity of ammunition, shells, projectiles, scaling-ladders, and platforms, it was supposed their destination was Hydra or Samos. In reality, however, they were intended for the siege of Missolonghi, on the vigorous prosecution of which the Divan were now intent. Sakhtouri no sooner heard of the approach of the Ottoman fleet than he set sail from Hydra, and came up with them as they were beating through the straits between Andros and Eubœa, and, instantly breaking their line, sent the dreaded fireships among them. Two of them grappled the sixty-six gun ship, and blew her up, with eight hundred men on board, the whole treasure of the fleet, and the Capitan Pacha's flag. He himself narrowly escaped, by getting into a smaller vessel a few minutes before the explosion took place. Another frigate of thirty-four guns was at the same time burnt by the fireships on the left. Upon this the Turkish fleet fled in all directions; twenty found refuge in Carysto and Suda, but five Austrian transports were taken, with thirteen hundred barrels of powder and great military stores; and another corvette, chased by two Greek brigs, was run ashore on the rocks of Syra, and burned by her crew, who afterwards surrendered to the unwarlike inhabitants of the island. So much were the Greeks elated and the Turks depressed by these advantages, that the former proceeded to blockade Suda, and drove the Ottoman fleet of forty sail into the harbour, after burning a fine corvette of twenty-eight guns. But a storm having dispersed the

Greek fleet, the Capitan Pacha weighed anchor on the 23d, and reached Navarino on the 4th July, where he disembarked four thousand Albanians, six hundred horse, and twelve hundred pioneers, who proved of the utmost value to the land forces in the Morea.

126. By the acquisition of Navarino, Ibrahim had secured an excellent base of operations resting on that place, Coron, and Modon, and communicating readily by sea with his reserves in Suda and Alexandria. Having gained this advantage, his next move was to extend himself in the interior; and for this purpose he advanced against Arcadia in two columns. The first succeeded in surprising and sacking the town of that name; but Ibrahim's own column, which took the road over the mountains of Aya, sustained a ruder encounter. In the pass of Pedimon they met Papa Flessa, one of the bravest chiefs of the Morea, who, although deserted by eight hundred of his troops, nobly stood his ground, like another Leonidas, at the head of three hundred resolute men. They long made good the pass, and repulsed all the attacks of the Mussulmans, ten times more numerous; until at length Ibrahim, drawing his scimitar, himself headed a general charge of his Arabs on the Greeks, whose ammunition was now exhausted. In the desperate hand-to-hand struggle which ensued with sabres, bayonets, and the but-ends of muskets, all the Greeks were slain except two, who, severely wounded, passed for dead among the dead bodies of their countrymen. The corpses were collected in a heap by the victorious Arabs, who cut off the heads of their antagonists: on their tumulus, as on that of their predecessors at Thermopylæ, might be placed the well-known lines—

“Go, stranger, and at Lacedæmon tell,
That here, obedient to her laws, we fell.”

127. After this success, the army of Ibrahim was mustered to ascertain its strength, with a view to future operations. It was found to consist of seven thousand eight hundred combatants, the remains of fifteen thousand who

had landed in the Morea; to such a degree had sickness, famine, and the sword of the Greeks diminished his formidable battalions. Ibrahim, however, was not a man to halt in the career of success; and, profiting by the terror which his victories had inspired, he resolved to push his advantages to the utmost, and advance upon Tripolitza. Colocotroni, on his side, had collected seven thousand mountaineers, with whom he tried to arrest the enemy in the defiles. After a vigorous resistance, however, Ibrahim succeeded in turning the Greeks, and forcing them to abandon their posts; and the road to Tripolitza being now open, Colocotroni sent orders to the inhabitants to burn their houses and evacuate the place, which was accordingly done, and it was occupied by the Egyptians without resistance on the 23d. Having placed a garrison there, and given his troops a few hours' rest, Ibrahim continued his march towards Napoli di Romania. From a lofty point of the road he caught a view of Hydra, and, stretching out his hand, exclaimed, “Ah! little England, how long wilt thou escape me?” So rapid was his march, so unexpected his approach, that no preparations had been made in the capital for defence; and had he at once advanced to the gates, he would in all probability have made himself master of it. Ipsilanti, however, took post with two hundred and fifty men at the important position of Myli (Mills), where the chief magazines of the Government were placed, and defended it with such resolution that the Arabs were forced to retire with the loss of four hundred men, and Napoli was saved. Ibrahim, finding that his *coup-de-main* on the capital had failed, and not being in sufficient strength to attempt its reduction in form, turned aside to Argos, which was burned and abandoned at his approach.

128. When Ibrahim made his dash at Napoli di Romania, Colocotroni and the other chiefs of the Morea assembled with twelve thousand men in his rear, with a view to cut off his communication with Navarino. As

he was without magazines, and the country was entirely wasted, they hoped to reduce him to the necessity of capitulating, as they had done Drimalis's men two years before. But they soon found they had a very different enemy to deal with from his confused rabble of Osmanli horsemen. The Greek generals stood firm at Tri-corphæ, through which Ibrahim required to pass in his retreat, and this brought on a general action. It was long contested with the utmost bravery on both sides; but at length a body of horse having appeared behind Tri-corphæ, and got into the rear of the Corinthians, they took to flight, and their rout drew after it that of the whole army. Four hundred were slain on the spot, including thirteen chiefs of note, and eight hundred made prisoners. Old Colocotroni himself, after having done all he could to rally his men, with difficulty saved himself on a baggage-mule. Such was the terror inspired by this victory, that the soldiers of the Morea never again ventured to face the Egyptians in the open field; and such was the ascendancy which they had acquired, that on the morning of the 21st, Ipsilanti's corps, four thousand strong, dispersed at the sight of an Egyptian battalion and a few horsemen. After this, the campaign, in a military point of view, in the Morea, was at an end, as the Greek chiefs never ventured again to meet the enemy in large bodies; but they occupied the mountains, and cut off several Arab detachments which were ravaging the plains, from which Ibrahim, after burning the houses, drove away the inhabitants as slaves without mercy. A market was opened at Modon for the sale of captives of both sexes, who were crowded in dungeons, loaded with irons, unmercifully beaten by their guards, and often murdered in pure wanton cruelty during the night. Such, indeed, was the severity with which they were treated, that, in comparison with it, the old Turkish system of beheading or blowing from the mouth of a gun every male prisoner above sixteen years of age, might be considered as merciful.

129. While these successes were shaking the Greek power in the Morea, and establishing Ibrahim in a solid manner in that peninsula, Redschid Pacha had commenced his operations before Missolonghi, and that memorable siege had begun which has given that town a name beside Numantia and Saragossa in the archives of the human race. Redschid, whose manners were as popular as his abilities were distinguished, established himself at Janina early in January, where he began paying assiduous court to the Albanians, many of whom he induced to join his standard. Deeming himself in sufficient strength to undertake the siege, he suddenly appeared before Missolonghi on the 17th April. That town, built on the edge of a marshy plain, bounded by the hills of Zygos, is protected towards the sea by shallow lagoons, extending ten miles along the coast, and five miles broad, and, like the lagunæ of Venice, navigable, save in a few tortuous channels, only in the flat-bottomed boats of the natives, who derive abundant wealth from the produce of their ample fisheries. The main channel to the south is commanded by the mud-bank and block-house of Vassalidi; those to the north by the fortified islets of Poros and Anatolicon. Under Lord Byron's direction (who unhappily died on April 19, 1824), and with the aid of the funds his generosity contributed, the Greeks had applied themselves diligently to strengthening the fortifications of the place, and something like bastions, ravelins, and lunettes had been constructed in advance of the mud rampart faced with stone, which, with a ditch in front, constituted the sole original protection of the place. But they were far from being complete; for the entire artillery mounted on the fortress, exclusive of those on Vassalidi and Anatolicon, was only forty-eight guns and four howitzers. But the garrison swelled to five thousand fighting men by the influx of the armed peasants flying before the approach of the Turks, and, directed by Nothi Bozzaris and Niketas, was animated by the best spirit; and, recol-

lecting with conscious pride its successful defence during the first siege, anticipated nothing but triumph from the result of the second.

130. For ten days after the arrival of the Turks, the operations on both sides consisted of petty skirmishes only; but on the 7th May the first parallel was opened at the distance of six hundred paces from the east of the town. During the remainder of May and June, Redschid, who had by no means the skill in sieges of Marlborough or Berwick, continued to push his approaches under an incessant fire from the guns of the place. On 2d July the besieged sprang a mine, and, sallying out, gained considerable success, and took seven standards; but a week after their hopes were cruelly dashed by the appearance of the Capitan Pacha in the bay with fifty-five sail, carrying five thousand men, and great stores of siege equipage, which, notwithstanding the losses he had sustained in the conflicts in the Archipelago, he had contrived to bring through. Animated by this reinforcement, the siege was prosecuted with redoubled activity; and although they bravely repulsed several assaults, the situation of the garrison was by the middle of July well-nigh desperate from want of provisions. Their only hope was in the Hellenic marine, which at length made its appearance on the 29th under Sakhtouri and Miaulis. Apprehensive that the Greeks would succeed in throwing supplies into the place, the Turkish commander resolved on an immediate assault, which was delivered on August 2. For two hours and a half a terrible fire of all arms was kept up on the breaches, and a mine having been sprung under a battery, the Turks advanced in five columns with such resolution that twenty standards were planted on the ruins of the work. The Greeks, however, returned to the charge, bayoneted all the Turks who had got in, and ultimately repulsed the assault at all points, with a loss of fifteen hundred men to the besiegers.

131. This success was followed by an advantage still more important,

gained next day at sea. Notwithstanding their great inferiority of forces, the Greeks, led by Miaulis and Sakhtouri, boldly advanced against the Turkish fleet; and after exchanging a few broadsides, three fireships made a dash at the Capitan Pacha. He was so terrified at their approach that he crowded all sail to escape; the whole fleet followed his example, and such was the general terror that, in passing Zante on the 5th May, they hauled their wind to avoid an encounter with seven Greek brigs, and never ceased their flight till they found shelter in the harbour of Alexandria. Encouraged by this brilliant success, and entirely relieved from want by the supplies which the Greek fleet threw in on the following day, the garrison concerted a general attack on the Turkish lines with the commanders of the squadron. The Greek launches, accordingly, well manned, entered the lagoons by the Vassalidi channel, captured five Turkish boats, and drove Jussuf Pacha himself ashore. At the same time fifteen hundred chosen men made a sally from the town, carried four batteries by assault, and returned to their walls, after a bloody contest of four hours, with arms, twelve standards, and some hundred prisoners.

132. This succession of adverse events made no impression on the stern and resolute soul of Redschid Pacha. Having failed in taking the town either by famine or assault, he resolved upon a plan akin to that by which Alexander reduced Tyre in ancient, and Richelieu, Rochelle in modern times. He began constructing a vast mound of earth, which he pushed forward from his lines towards the Franklin battery. It was soon one hundred and sixty yards long and twelve broad, and entirely bestrode the intervening gulf; and the advanced end of it being higher than the battery, his troops commanded it, and, firing down, slew nine Greeks. The battery thus became untenable, and the Turks effected a lodgment in it, where they immediately intrenched themselves. The Greeks upon this retrenched themselves on each side of the bat-

tery, and for fifteen days both parties laboured assiduously in laying sand-bags, fascines, and gabions, and heightening their respective bulwarks. At length, however, the Turks solidly established themselves in the Franklin battery, and, sinking three mines, threatened to blow up the inner retrenchments. The Greeks, seeing that if this was done they would soon be masters of the place, prepared a fougasse with three of their largest bombs under the head of the sap, which they fired on the 31st. The explosion, which was very violent, was the signal for a general rush of the Greeks into the battery, which was as stoutly defended by the Turks. At length, after a bloody contest, which lasted till midnight, and in the course of which the bastion was taken and retaken seven times, it finally remained in the hands of the Christians, who not only regained their own work, but destroyed the entire head of the mound, by which it had been so seriously endangered.

133. Though the losses of the besieged during the last month in these repeated and sanguinary assaults had been very severe, yet they had been nearly made up by supplies of men from the country, the communication with which was still kept open, and, since the naval blockade had been raised, by succours thrown in by sea. In the beginning of September the garrison was still four thousand strong, and fourteen thousand rations were daily distributed to them and their families. The losses, on the other hand, of the besiegers had been fully as great as those of the besieged, and it was hard to say which stood in the most perilous situation, for the mountaineers hung in rear of the Ottoman army, and on the least reverse their hostility might be expected to be most formidable. The Greek journals were already raising the shout of victory, and anticipating the speedy abandonment of the siege by Redschid Pacha, and with a commander of less resolution and firmness this would probably have been the case; but he was not

less persevering than his opponents—difficulties only the more strongly roused his ardent soul. With incredible diligence he again collected his scattered materials, and pushed forward his mole a second time towards the Franklin battery. Again the Greeks worked out a mine under its head, which they loaded with a fougasse, and exploded when the Turks were within the bastion. The battery, the head of the mole, and a crowd of Mohammedans upon it, were at once blown into the air: a storm of grape and musketry completed the destruction of the entire front of the column, and the remainder took to flight, leaving twelve hundred of the bravest of their number slain or badly wounded on the mound.

134. Such was the loss of Redschid Pacha in these desperate assaults, that his army, by the end of October, had dwindled to three thousand men, a force not larger than that of the besieged. Withdrawing, therefore, entirely his advanced works, he merely strengthened his lines round his magazines, in order to maintain his ground near the place till the return of spring enabled the Capitan Pacha to bring him reinforcements. The Greeks were in the highest spirits; their cruisers were constantly in sight; not an enemy's flag was to be seen; ample supplies of provisions were brought in from Zante in flat-bottomed boats; and they were already planning a combined attack by sea and land on the Turks, which the strength of the works erected by them around their magazines alone prevented them from carrying into effect. But the Sultan, irritated rather than intimidated by this succession of disasters, and regarding the fall of Missolonghi as an event with which the termination of the Greek war, and possibly the existence of his own empire, was wound up, was at the same time making the most formidable preparations for its subjugation. He determined on a combined attack on the place with the whole forces of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary. With this view the Capitan Pacha received orders to put to sea directly

from Alexandria, with all the troops the Pacha of Egypt could collect, which were to be placed under the command of Ibrahim, who was to bring up all he could assemble from the Morea. Eight thousand regular infantry, eight hundred irregulars, and twelve hundred cavalry, were embarked on board a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five vessels, of which seventy-nine were of war, including nine frigates, and with these formidable forces he cast anchor in the Bay of Navarino on the 5th November. Meanwhile Ibrahim, with four thousand men, proceeding towards Missolonghi by Patras, crossed the straits from thence, forced with heavy loss the marshes of the Alpheus, and, fighting all the way, often at great disadvantage, united his forces to those of Redschid in the middle of December. Considerable bodies of troops now joined him by sea. The Greeks on their side had also received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and large supplies of provisions and ammunition, which Miaulis brought up, and with great skill and valour threw in, despite the Turkish blockade. This so raised their spirits that they anxiously expected the general assault with which they were threatened from the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt, now mustering twenty-five thousand land troops, besides the sea forces.

135. During these prolonged operations the garrison of Missolonghi had evinced the most unshaken fortitude. Between sickness, famine, and the sword, they had buried fifteen hundred of their number; the town was in ruins, the walls and bastions breached in almost every quarter, and the strength of the survivors of the garrison exhausted by incessant watching and combating for nine months; and in spite of the supplies they had received, provisions were again becoming scarce, and they were threatened with the horrors of famine in addition to their other calamities. Yet even in these desperate circumstances they had never flinched for an instant—not a thought of surrender had ever crossed their minds; the standard of

the Cross waved as proudly on their ruined ramparts as ever it had done in the days of their triumph and festivity. As far as their eyes could reach, the sea was covered with Mussulman pen-dants; and the daily increasing number of batteries and field-works in the plain, studded with the wreck of the siege, gave fearful note of the preparations making against them; while a priest, two women, and several children, impaled alive in front of the besiegers' lines, told but too plainly the fate which awaited themselves if they fell into the hands of their ruthless enemies. Yet even in these awful circumstances, and when threatened with an assault from twenty thousand ferocious barbarians, they had the resolution to refuse an offer of capitulation, even when transmitted by a British naval officer, whose vessel was at anchor in the bay.

136. The whole of February and March was spent in a succession of conflicts, at different outworks, between the contending parties, in which, though success was various, and the besieged always combated with the most heroic courage, the scales upon the whole preponderated in favour of the besiegers. The islet of Vassalidi was first stormed, the battery of Dolma next carried, and at length the garrison of Anatolicon, having exhausted all their means of defence, capitulated, and were conveyed to Arta, stipulating only for their lives. The convent of the Holy Trinity, a fortified post half a mile to the south-east of Missolonghi, was next taken, after a frightful assault, in which one thousand Turks and Arabs fell, and their dead bodies floated about in the lagunæ, literally staining their waters with blood. Such was the consternation of the Moslems at this bloody conquest, that if the besieged had thought fit to evacuate the place the following night they would have encountered no opposition. But they were sustained amidst all their disasters by their heroic spirit, and entertained hopes of being relieved by the Greek fleet; so they held by their ruined and blood-stained battle-ments.

137. In this hope, however, they were disappointed. Miaulis, with the Greek flotilla, consisting of forty sail, hove in sight, and by means of a narrow creek concealed by reeds contrived to communicate with the garrison, from whom he learned their extreme distress. But the force of the Turks was such as to exclude the possibility of a direct attack; and he had not sufficient small craft to force his passage, now that Vassalidi was lost, up to the town; he was forced to write to Napoli for more small craft to execute his project. But ere he could do so the fate of Missolonghi was decided; the last act of the glorious tragedy had arrived. Since the 1st April no rations had been distributed; the firing had driven away every kind of fish, and the people subsisted on cats, rats, raw hides, and sea-weed. But even these deplorable resources were ere long exhausted; absolute famine stared the wretched inhabitants, with their wives and children, in the face; the earth was strewn with the wounded, the sick, the famished, and the dying, for whom there was neither food, nor beds, nor medicines, nor assistance. Three days more, and not a living soul would remain within the walls from absolute famine. Yet even in these desperate circumstances they again refused to capitulate on the same terms which Anatolicon had accepted, and determined that if they were forced to abandon the place it should be with arms in their hands. They resolved on the desperate attempt to cut their way through the enemy's lines with their wives and children, and if they could not escape, at least die with arms in their hands, combating for their religion, their country, and their hearths.

138. Between the 10th and 20th April great numbers of persons in the town died of famine, and the rapid diminution of the miserable means of subsistence proved that the desperate attempt could no longer be delayed. An attempt of Colonel Fabvier to disturb the besiegers in rear, with fifteen hundred men from Attica, was defeated. Miaulis in vain strove to force

the maritime blockade with a third of the forces of his opponents. In these circumstances a census was taken of the remaining inhabitants, and it was found there were three thousand men capable of bearing arms, a thousand unfit to wield them, and five thousand women and children. It was agreed that the sortie should take place on the night of the 22d, and be executed in the following manner: The three thousand fighting men, with all the convalescents, and remaining inhabitants, issuing silently from the eastern face of the rampart, were to lie prostrate till they received a signal from their friends without: they were then to break into two divisions, each headed by fifteen hundred fighting men, who were to throw themselves headlong on the besiegers' lines, and having forced them, endeavour to open a passage through Ibrahim's camp for the non-combatants, women, and children: both were then to reunite in a vineyard a league and a half from Missolonghi, and pursue their way together towards Salona.

139. This extraordinary and heroic attempt met with a success which could hardly have been anticipated. The women generally put on male attire, and carried pistols and daggers in their girdles; weapons were given to such of the boys as had strength to use them. The gunners were ordered to spike and overturn their guns before leaving the ramparts. The hopes of the besieged were high, and their courage equal to any trial; but the difficulties they had to encounter were much greater than had been anticipated, owing to a Bulgarian deserter having revealed the design to Ibrahim, who made every disposition to frustrate it. At the appointed hour, the garrison, with their wives and children, assembled at night, crossed the moat in silence, and lay quiet, with their faces on the earth, on the opposite bank. Presently, however, the fixing of the bridges over the moat, and the wailing of the women and children at leaving their homes, attracted Ibrahim's attention to the quarter where the sortie was to be made, and a violent fire of grape and

musketry was directed against it, which killed and wounded several. For an hour they lay prostrate in the dark under this galling fire, waiting for a signal from Karaïskaski without, who had been warned of the project, and was to aid it by an attack on the besiegers' lines with his Albanians; but none such was heard, and at length their situation became intolerable, and farther suspense impossible. A bright moon shone forth, light whispers ran through the ranks, and up they sprang with a loud shout, "On, on! Death to the barbarians!" The onset was irresistible. Neither ditch nor breast-work, the fire of grape and musketry, nor the bayonets of the Arabs, could withstand the desperate shock. In a few minutes the trenches were passed, the infantry broken, the batteries silenced, and the artillerymen slaughtered at their guns. A wide opening was made in the besiegers' lines, through which the helpless crowd in rear immediately began to pour in great numbers, and sanguine hopes were entertained that the passage was secured and the danger over.

140. In this hope, however, they were disappointed. In the enthusiasm of victory, the warriors, instead of dividing into two columns, as they had been ordered, pushed across the plain in one solid mass, and defeated with great slaughter a body of five hundred Mohammedan horse who tried to obstruct them. The cavalry, however, fell on the unarmed multitude in rear, and cut many to pieces. In the confusion, a cry arose, "Back to the batteries!" and great numbers rushed in wild despair again to the town, which they entered at the same time as the besiegers, who were now rushing in on all sides. A general massacre immediately commenced of all who were found within the walls; and the universal consternation was increased at midnight by the blowing up of the grand powder-magazine under the bastion of Bozzaris, which was fired by the Greeks, and destroyed several hundred Turks who had crowded into it. Indeed, such was the desperation with which the Greeks fought, that

the loss of the Turks in that awful night was fully equal to their own. Of the column which issued, eighteen hundred, including two hundred women, forced their way through every obstacle, and, after undergoing incredible hardships, reached Salona in safety, where they were received with transports by the inhabitants. Ibrahim boasted that he had collected three thousand heads, and sold four thousand women and children; but great numbers of the latter were purchased and restored to their families by the benevolence of the Christians, which was strongly aroused over all Europe by this memorable enterprise, closing, as it did, a siege of immortal glory.*

141. Thus fell Missolonghi; but its heroic resistance had not been made in

* The following is the statement of the losses of the Greeks during the siege and sortie, by an eyewitness:—

Killed in the town,	2100
Killed in the sortie,	500
Men made prisoners,	150
Women killed,	1500
Women and children who drowned themselves,	800
Women and children made prisoners,	3400
	<hr/>
	8450

—*Histoire du Siège de Missolonghi*, 76, 84. Par M. AUGUSTINE FABRE.

The following letter, happily preserved, was written by E. Meyer, a few days before the sortie:—

"The labours we are undergoing, and a wound in the shoulder, have hitherto prevented my writing to you. We are reduced to the necessity of feeding on the most unclean animals; we suffer horribly from hunger and thirst, and disease adds much to our calamities. 1740 of our comrades are dead; 100,000 shot and shells have overturned our bastions and houses; we are in want of fire-wood, and pinched by cold. It is an exhilarating spectacle to behold the devotion of the garrison under so many privations. Yet a few days, and those heroes will be incorporeal spirits. In the name of Nothi Bozzaris and our brave soldiers, I declare to you that we have sworn to defend Missolonghi foot by foot, to listen to no capitulation, and to bury ourselves in its ruins. Our last hour approaches! History will do us justice, and posterity will weep our misfortunes. May the relation I have drawn up of the siege survive me." The author of this letter was cut down in the sortie, and his wife and child taken: his description of the siege was lost. —GORDON, ii. 268.

vain. It laid the foundation of Greek independence; for it preserved that blessing during a period of despondence and doubt, when its very existence had come to be endangered. By drawing the whole forces of the Ottoman empire upon themselves, its heroic garrison allowed the nation to remain undisturbed in other quarters, and prevented the entire reduction of the Morea, which was threatened during the first moments of consternation consequent on Ibrahim's success. By holding out so long, and with such resolute perseverance, they not only inflicted a loss upon the enemy greater than they themselves experienced, but superior to the whole garrison of the place put together. The western nations watched the struggle with breathless interest, and when at last it terminated in the daring sally, and the cutting through of the enemy's lines by a body of intrepid men, fighting for themselves, their wives, and children, the public enthusiasm knew no bounds. It will appear immediately that it was this warm sympathy which mainly contributed to the success of the Philhellenic societies which had sprung up in every country of Europe, and ultimately rendered public opinion so strong as to lead to the treaty of July, the battle of Navarino, and establishment of Greek independence.

142. The Hellenic cause stood much in need of the breathing-time and interest awakened by this memorable siege, for never since the commencement of the contest had it been placed in such danger as at this time. A feeling of despondence pervaded all classes, arising from the apparently interminable nature of the contest, and the experienced inability of their troops to withstand in the open field the disciplined battalions which Ibrahim had now brought to bear upon them. The male population of the country was sorely reduced by six campaigns, which, however glorious, had been attended with an immense consumption of human life, and money in every department was still more wanting than men. Considerable loans, indeed, had been contracted for their behoof in

London, but very little of the money had reached the Hellenic shores, and the collection of revenue in Greece itself had become wholly impossible. Lord Cochrane had, indeed, been prevailed on by the Hellenic committee, and the promise of £37,000 paid down, and £20,000 more when the independence of the country was secured, to devote his splendid nautical talents to their cause; but even his vigour and capacity were paralysed by the inefficiency or cupidity of inferior agents.* Thus the weight of the contest still fell with undiminished force on the Greeks themselves; and so strong and general, in consequence, were the feelings of despondency which prevailed, that the representatives of the people signed a solemn act, placing the nation under the absolute protection of Great Britain.†

143. But meanwhile the defence of Missolonghi stood the Greeks in good stead during the anxious period which preceded and followed its fall. The public voice in England, France, and Germany had become so strong that it could no longer be resisted; and it met with a responsive echo in the breast of Mr Canning, whose ardent mind, always enthusiastic in the cause of Greece, was now still more strongly impelled by obvious considerations of policy. The memorial of the Hellenic Government had requested that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg might be appointed sovereign of Greece. The memorial was received; and although no immediate answer was returned, it soon became evident how agreeable

* Near £400,000 of Greek money was spent on the building of two frigates, and in defraying the cost of Lord Cochrane's six steamboats, which ought to have been at Napoli before the end of 1825; whereas the first reached Greece in September in 1826, the *Hellas* frigate in December of that year, Lord Cochrane in March 1827, a second steamer in September 1827, and a third and last in September 1828.—GORDON, ii. 276.

† "1. In virtue of the present act, the Greek nation places the sacred deposit of its liberty, independence, and political existence under the absolute protection of Great Britain.

"2. The President of the Council shall immediately execute the present law. Napoli, July 21 (Aug. 1), 1825."—*Ann. Hist.* viii. 113.

the proposal was to the British Government. In the beginning of January 1826, Mr Stratford Canning, nominated to the embassy at Constantinople, had a secret interview with Mavrocordato in an island near Hydra, at which terms of accommodation were agreed on to the satisfaction of both parties. These were an entire separation of the Greeks and Turks in the revolted districts, and the recognition of the Sultan's supremacy, on payment of a fixed tribute, to be collected by the Greeks themselves.

144. The death of the Emperor Alexander, and accession of Nicholas, in the end of December 1825, made a great difference on this question. Not only was a formidable and persevering enemy to the cause of Greek independence removed by that event, but his successor upon the throne might reasonably be presumed to be actuated by very different sentiments. Nicholas was eminently *national* in his feelings and ideas, and the national object of Russia for a century and a half has been to advance the Muscovite standards into Turkey, and place the cross upon the dome of St Sophia. The public feeling had been strongly manifested on many occasions: even the restraints of discipline and the presence of the Emperor had been unable to prevent a tumultuous expression of this feeling at a great review of the guards in September 1824; and nothing but the personal weight and known opinions of the old Emperor had prevented the public voice manifesting itself in a way still more serious and unmistakable. It was not to be supposed that a new Emperor would any longer resist the national will, or that he would forego the present fair opportunity of realising all the ancient projects of the Cabinet of St Petersburg for the destruction of the Turkish empire. Impressed with these ideas, the British Government most properly resolved to take the initiative in the transaction, and by making the liberation of Greece the *joint* act of the maritime powers, to prevent it from falling under the exclusive protection of one of their number. Ac-

cordingly, while Mr Stratford Canning was directed to do everything possible to mollify the Turks, the Duke of Wellington was sent to St Petersburg, professedly to congratulate the young Czar upon his accession, but really to arrange the terms of a convention for the protection of Greece. This was accomplished by a protocol, signed on 4th April by the Duke of Wellington, Prince Lieven, and Count Nesselrode, which may be considered as the corner-stone of Greek independence.

145. By this deed it was stipulated that his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of an application from the Greeks, consented to interpose his good offices to put an end to the contest with the Turks; and, desiring to concert measures with the Emperor of Russia, it was agreed that Greece should be a dependence of the Ottoman empire, paying an annual tribute, and governed by native authorities, in whose nomination the Porte was to have a voice, enjoying liberty of conscience and freedom of trade; and the two high contracting parties invited the Courts of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin to concur in this protocol, and interpose their guarantee. But although Nicholas eagerly closed with this proposal for erecting Greece into a semi-independent state, he declined admitting of any mediation of the other powers in regard to his own differences with the Porte, which, he alleged with reason, Russia was able to adjust for herself.

146. The experienced superiority of Ibrahim's disciplined troops to the levies *en masse* in the Morea, led to the Hellenic Government taking some steps for the formation of a regular army. A law was passed by the legislature establishing a conscription, and with the force thus obtained Colonel Fabvier succeeded in organising a body of three thousand troops, of whom five hundred were stationed at Napoli, and two thousand five hundred at Athens. With the latter force he marched out of that city, in order to reduce the fortresses in the island of Eubœa, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans. But the success of the

enterprise was far from corresponding to the expectations which had been formed of it. After being baffled in several encounters, Fabvier was obliged to re-embark his troops after sustaining a loss of two hundred men; and so discouraged were the remainder with the bad success of the expedition that one-half of them deserted. Encouraged by this success, the Turkish commanders invaded Attica, and laid siege to the Acropolis of Athens, which operation lasted a long time, and led to several expeditions being set on foot to raise the siege, all of which failed of effect.

147. Never since the revolution commenced had so deep a gloom hung over the nation as in the end of 1826, and the liveliness of Hellenic fancy magnifying the danger, it was expected that in a few days Ibrahim would encamp under the walls of Napoli, and the Capitan Pacha repeat at Hydra the tragedies of Ipsara. The force employed in the reduction of Missolonghi had been dislocated after the fall of that place; and Ibrahim himself, with six thousand men, had returned to the Morea, where no force existed capable of keeping the field against him. Indeed, the Greek chiefs, taught by experience, did not attempt it, but wisely took post in the defiles of the mountains, where the superiority of his regular troops would be less felt, and in that desultory warfare they frequently gained considerable advantages. The Government was in the most miserable state; the treasury contained only sixteen piastres—about five shillings. The public revenue, which in 1825 had been 5,500,000 piastres (£90,000), sank in 1826 to 1,650,000 piastres, or £25,000. Some generous loans received from the Philhellenes in western Europe alone kept the armaments on foot. The sailors, receiving no pay, were in a state of open mutiny; the regular troops had nearly all disbanded; and Colocotroni could only muster two thousand men in the mountains of the Morea. The primates of Hydra and Spezzia were taking steps to send away their hidden wealth; while the populace, suspecting their design, kept sullen watch at the

harbour, declaring that their own fate should be the fate of all.

148. In the beginning of July, the fleet of the Capitan Pacha set sail from the Dardanelles in such strength that the Greeks had no force whatever capable of opposing it. It embraced two line-of-battle ships and six large frigates. One division coasted round the Morea, and cast anchor in the Bay of Navarino, with succours of all kinds for Ibrahim, who was now reduced to the most miserable state by the interminable warfare. Of twenty-four thousand Arabs who had been shipped off from Alexandria within two years, only eight thousand were alive, and fifteen hundred of these were in hospital; his magazines were exhausted, his military chest empty, and his Africans, without pay, were becoming mutinous and unruly. The other division of the Ottoman fleet, consisting of the two line-of-battle ships and twenty-seven frigates and brigs, crept down along the coast towards Samos, and excited the utmost alarm in Spezzia, the whole population of which took refuge in Hydra, where the preparations were so complete as to defy attack. The Greek fleet hove in sight, and Canaris, with his usual daring, advanced alone in his fireship into the midst of the enemy's squadron. He had almost grappled a frigate, when, two shots striking him between wind and water, his vessel began to sink; and two Turkish launches approaching, he lighted the train, and took to his long-boat. One of the Turkish launches was burnt by the fireship, but the other overtook Canaris, and although he extricated himself from their grasp, it was only after being severely wounded. On the 11th September, Miaulis having come up with twenty sail, a general action ensued, in which the Greeks had the advantage; and such was the terror which they inspired among their opponents, that on 7th October their whole fleet, consisting of forty sail, fled from fourteen Greek vessels; and in the middle of November the Capitan Pacha re-entered the Dardanelles, and laid up his ships in the Golden Horn. Justly elated with this glorious campaign, and with having a second time

saved Samos from destruction, the Greek fleet returned to Hydra, and were received with the transports due to their important deeds.

149. Meanwhile the Turks, more fortunate at land than sea, were actively pressing the siege of the Acropolis, where Ghouras had shut himself up with five hundred men. By drawing the garrisons from Negropont and other places in his rear, Kalahi had collected ten thousand men for the siege, with twenty guns and six mortars, harnessed in a way which would have done credit to any battering-train in Europe. As the slender resources at the disposal of Ghouras were wholly inadequate to resist such formidable forces, the greatest exertions were made to raise the siege. Karaïskaski received the command of the troops destined for that end; and he soon collected fourteen hundred men, and, including the remnant of Fabvier's regulars, the whole force was about three thousand five hundred men. On the 17th September a general action took place, which terminated to the advantage of the Greeks; and if Fabvier's advice to march direct upon Athens when it was over had been taken, the siege would probably have been raised. But the favourable moment was allowed to pass without attempting that decisive movement; and two days after, Redschild Pacha himself attacked the Greeks. An obstinate and bloody action took place, in which, though no decisive success was gained on either side, yet the advantage, upon the whole, was with the Turks, as they kept their ground, and the siege was not raised. Ghouras was soon after killed, as he was going his rounds at night, by a chance shot from the Turkish lines; but the spirits of the besieged were ere long raised to the highest pitch by the safe arrival of four hundred and fifty Roumeliots, who with great skill were thrown into the fortress. A supply of powder was soon after introduced, with equal skill and daring, by Karaïskaski; and in December he entirely defeated a body of fifteen hundred Albanians, near Daulis, destroying twelve hundred of their number. He soon after routed the gar-

risson of Lepanto—an event which so elated the peasantry that they flocked in crowds to his standard, and the flag of independence once more waved along all the hills of northern Greece.

150. But these partial successes and disasters determined nothing, except to increase the mutual exhaustion of the contending parties. The Greek, at this period had twenty-eight thousand men under arms—a force small indeed, but nearly equal to that of their opponents, for Ibrahim had not above eight thousand men around his standards; and such was the horror at the Greek war which pervaded all classes of the Ottomans, that all corps marched overland into the country melted away by desertion before they arrived at the scene of action. The campaign, so far as the land forces were concerned, depended entirely on the siege of Athens, and accordingly the utmost efforts were made by both parties for its prosecution or interruption. For this purpose, a combined attack was arranged between Karaïskaski's and General Church's men, whom Lord Cochrane had disembarked from his frigate, the *Hellas*, in the *Piræus*. On the 27th April the convent of Saint Spiridion, after gallantly braving a terrible bombardment from the guns of the *Hellas* and those of Church, capitulated; but the terms were violated by the infuriated Greeks, who massacred half the garrison. In the night of the 5th May, General Church disembarked three thousand five hundred men, in part regulars; but they were totally defeated, with the loss of two thousand men. So complete was the rout, so swift the sabres of the Turks, that Lord Cochrane owed his escape to a precipitate flight, and had the utmost difficulty in regaining his ship by swimming. This disaster necessarily drew after it the surrender of the Acropolis; their provisions were entirely exhausted, and ammunition was becoming extremely scarce. A capitulation was accordingly agreed to, under the auspices of General Church; the garrison marched out with their arms in their hands, so great an object to all soldiers, especially the Oriental, and the standard of Mohammed once more

waved on the battlements of the Acropolis.

151. But the time had now arrived when the vengeance of the Almighty was to overtake the oppressors, and the cry of an injured race was to ascend to Heaven, and find mercy at the Throne of Grace. For seven long years had the Greeks, now reduced to half their number, contended single-handed with the whole force of the Ottoman empire, and come off victorious. If they had latterly suffered many reverses, and were now in a condition all but desperate, it was not from their inability to contend single-handed with the Turks, but from the overwhelming weight of the Egyptians, whose regular disciplined bands had interfered with decisive effect in the close of the struggle. But if the Turks had brought one powerful ally to bear upon the Greeks, the Christians brought another to their assistance. The protocol signed by Russia and England, on the 4th April 1826, was not allowed to remain a dead letter. The generous heart and ardent soul of Mr Canning laboured incessantly to effect such an alliance as should render it a matter of impossibility for the Ottoman Government to resist the terms which they might impose. In this he was energetically aided by the French Government, which justly felt the necessity of taking active steps to prevent the great work of Grecian emancipation from falling exclusively into the hands of the Russians. The result was the conclusion of the TREATY OF 6TH JULY 1827, between England, France, and Russia, the corner-stone of Greek independence, and one of the most glorious diplomatic acts of which modern Europe can boast.

152. By the preamble of this celebrated treaty, it was declared that the motives which led the high contracting parties to interfere, was "the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracy, which not only exposes the subjects of

the contracting parties to considerable losses, but renders necessary burdensome measures of suppression and protection." The object of the treaty was declared to be "the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks." For this purpose, so soon as the treaty was ratified, the mediation of the three powers was to be offered to the Sultan, in a joint note signed by all their ministers at Constantinople; but an armistice was to be absolutely insisted on by both parties as a preliminary to the opening of any negotiation. The terms proposed to the Sultan were, that he should still retain a nominal sovereignty over Greece, but receive from them a fixed annual tribute, to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the Sultan was to have a voice. All the Mussulman property in Greece was to be abandoned upon receiving an indemnity, and the fortresses were to be given up to the Greek troops. If the Porte did not, within a month, declare its acceptance of these terms, he was to be informed that the state of things which had reigned six years in Greece, and to which the Sultan seemed unable, by his own resources, to put an end, made it imperative upon them, for their own security, "to come to an approximation with the Greeks, which was to consist in establishing commercial relations with Greece, and receiving from them consular agents;" in other words, acknowledging their independence.

153. When this treaty was intimated to the Sultan, he manifested, not without reason, the utmost astonishment and indignation at its contents, and declared his fixed determination to adhere to the last in his endeavours to reduce his rebellious subjects to submission. He replied in a manifesto—"The Greeks, who form part of the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms, and who from generation to generation have been tributary subjects of the Sublime Porte, have, like the other nations that since the origin of Islamism remained faithfully in submission, always enjoyed perfect repose and tranquillity under the ægis of our legislation. It is notorious that

the Greeks have been treated like Mussulmans in every respect; and as to everything which regards their property, the maintenance of their personal security, and the defence of their honour, that they have been, especially under the glorious reign of the present sovereign, loaded with benefits far exceeding those which their ancestors enjoyed. It is precisely this great degree of favour, this height of comfort and tranquillity, that has been the cause of the revolt, excited by malignant men incapable of appreciating the value of such marks of benevolence. Yielding to the delusions of heated imaginations, they have dared to raise the standard of revolt, not only against their benefactor and legitimate sovereign, but also against all the Mussulman people, by committing the most horrible excesses, sacrificing to their vengeance defenceless women and innocent children with unexampled ferocity.

154. "The Sublime Porte being engaged in punishing, in its own territory, and in conformity with its sacred law, such of its turbulent subjects as have revolted, can never admit the right of any other power to interfere with it. The Ottoman Government must consider those who address such proposals to it as intending to give consequence to a troop of brigands. A Greek government is spoken of, which is to be recognised in case the Sublime Porte does not consent to some arrangement; and it has even been proposed to conclude a treaty with the rebels. Has not the Sublime Porte great reason to be struck with astonishment at hearing such language from friendly powers? for history offers no example of conduct in all respects so opposite to the principles and duties of government. The Sublime Porte, therefore, can never listen to such propositions, which it will neither hear nor understand, so long as the country inhabited by Greeks forms part of the Ottoman dominions; and they are tributary subjects of the Porte, which will never renounce its rights. If, with the aid of the Almighty, the Sublime Porte resumes full possession of that country,

it will then act, as well for the present as the future, in conformity with the ordinances which its holy law prescribes with respect to its subjects."

155. It soon appeared, however, that the allied powers were not to allow the treaty of 6th July to remain a dead letter. A British squadron, of four ships of the line, under Admiral SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON, was already in the Levant, and a French squadron, of equal strength, under Admiral DE RIGNY. So eager was the Czar to take a leading part in the approaching conflict, that he despatched eight ships of the line, under Admiral Heiden, from the Baltic; but as this proportion was deemed excessive on the part of Russia, four of them returned to Cronstadt, and the remainder only proceeded to the general rendezvous in the *Ægean Sea*.

156. Meanwhile the Porte was not remiss in measures of defence; on the contrary, the preparations, both for the reduction of the Greeks and the general defence of the empire, went on with redoubled activity. Heavy cannon, directed by European officers, were mounted on the castles of the Dardanelles and the Hellespont; the garrison of the isle of Tenedos, at the entrance of the Straits, was greatly strengthened, and the utmost efforts were made to increase Ibrahim's force in the Morea, who received orders to prosecute with the greatest vigour the war of extermination in which he was engaged. These exertions met with entire success. The grand Egyptian fleet, consisting of two line-of-battle ships of eighty-four guns each, twelve frigates, four of which carried sixty-four guns, and forty-one transports, having on board five thousand regular troops, arrived in the Bay of Navarino in the end of August. Ibrahim immediately landed the soldiers, and, thus reinforced, prepared for the resumption of hostilities on a great scale on shore. The European admirals were there with their fleet, but as the Porte had not, to their knowledge, declined the terms of the allied powers, no resistance was made to the landing of the troops; but it was intimated to him that, if he attempted to leave the

Bay of Navarino, he would be resisted. Ibrahim replied, as became a good soldier, that he would not be the first to commence hostilities; but that, if he received orders from his sovereign to sail and attack Hydra, he would at all hazards obey his instructions.

157. Meanwhile the ambassadors of the allied powers, on the 16th August, presented a final note to the Turkish Government. They intimated the treaty, and required the Sultan to conform to it. They formally offered to mediate between him and his revolted subjects, and demanded a categorical answer within fifteen days; adding, "that it was their duty not to conceal from the Reis-Effendi, that a new refusal, an evasive or insufficient answer, even a total silence on the part of the Government, would place the allied courts under the necessity of recurring to such measures as they should judge most efficacious for putting an end to a state of things which had become incompatible even with the true interests of the Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the general tranquillity of Europe." On the 30th August, as the period allowed for giving an answer had expired, the ambassadors demanded a reply. It was given verbally, and repeated, in the most decided terms, the refusal to admit the interference of foreign powers in the Greek contest, referring to the manifesto of 9th June as containing the deliberate and firm determination of the Porte. The ambassadors then presented an additional note, informing the Porte that, in consequence of its refusal, their sovereigns would take the necessary steps to carry the treaty into execution, and enforce a suspension of hostilities, without in any manner interrupting the friendly relations between them and the Sublime Porte.

158. While these negotiations were going on, Ibrahim was not slow in prosecuting the war of extermination in the Morea, which he had received orders from the Porte to undertake. On 19th October he marched a corps of six thousand men to Calamata, and another of three thousand

to Arcadia, while he himself, at the head of an equal force, moved against Marna. His footsteps were marked by desolation. He issued orders to put every one to death in the villages where resistance was attempted; and in several this was actually done. The whole olive and fruit trees, the growth of centuries, and sole resource in many places of the inhabitants, were cut down or burnt. The women and children were all carried off to be sold as slaves, the men slain, the houses burnt, and continual clouds of smoke around the Gulf of Coron bore frightful testimony to the devastation that was going forward. The miserable survivors, who escaped the edge of the scimitar by flying to the mountains, wandered about half starved, and in many instances perished only by a more lingering and painful death than being put to the sword, or blown from the mouth of a cannon—the usual fate of all Ibrahim's male prisoners above sixteen years of age.

159. Informed of this devastation, and seeing Ibrahim's determination to set the proposed armistice at defiance, the allied admirals held a consultation off Navarino, and unanimously came to the opinion that they had only one of three courses to adopt—either to continue the blockade of Navarino during the winter, which would certainly be difficult, perhaps impossible; or to unite the squadrons in Navarino itself, and, by their presence in that secure anchorage, compel the inactivity of the Ottoman squadron; or to enter Navarino, and there renew to Ibrahim propositions entering into the spirit of the treaty. This last mode was the one unanimously adopted; and it obviously meant, that they were to call on Ibrahim to desist from hostilities, under pain of being attacked in case of refusal. Having adopted this resolution on the 18th October, they proceeded to carry it into immediate execution, and thus brought on one of the most glorious events in the annals of Christendom.

160. The forces of the Allies consisted of ten ships of the line, ten frigates and a brig, and a few smaller vessels; in all, twenty-six sail, carrying 1324

guns. Of these, three line-of-battle ships—viz., the *Asia*, of eighty-four guns, which bore Sir Edward Codrington's flag, the *Albion*, of seventy-four guns, and the *Genoa*, seventy-four—were English; three French—viz., the *Sirène*, which bore the flag of Admiral de Rigny, the *Scipio*, and the *Breslau*; and four Russian, under Admiral Heyden, whose flag was hoisted on board the *Azoff*. The Ottoman force consisted of seventy-nine vessels, of which four were of the line, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, besides lesser vessels, armed with 2240 guns; so that, independent of the batteries and forts on shore, which were very formidable, they had nine hundred guns more than the Christians. There can be no doubt, however, that, as the latter had a great advantage in sail of the line, having ten to four, they were, upon the whole, superior in strength; and if the battle had been fought at open sea, it probably would not have lasted an hour. But the advantage arising from this superiority of force was very much lost by the position of the enemy, crowded into the Bay of Navarino, where they lay under the guns of the batteries in the form of a vast semicircle, having their broadsides turned towards the centre of the bay, and so near each other as to resemble rather a huge floating battery than a fleet of detached vessels.

161. The combined fleet entered the bay at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th October. Sir Edward Codrington led the van in the *Asia*, followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*; next came Admiral de Rigny in the *Sirène*, followed by the *Scipio* and the *Breslau*; Admiral Heyden, in the *Azoff*, brought up the rear, with his three other line-of-battle ships. The six leading ships passed the batteries at the entrance of the bay, within pistol-shot, without opposition, and took up their stations directly opposite to the heaviest vessels in the enemy's line; the Russians, in the rear, were placed abreast of the batteries; and the frigates of the squadron were directed to look after the enemy's frigates and fire-ships. Nothing could exceed the pre-

cision with which the different vessels came in, and took up their respective positions. The *Asia* passed close to the ship of Moharem Bey, and with silent and awful grandeur clewed up her top-sails, rounded to, and let go her small bower-anchor on the larboard of the Capitan Pacha's ship of equal size. The Capitan Bey said to his colleagues as they came in, "The die is now cast. I told you the English were not to be trifled with." Strict orders had been given not to fire; and although all the ships on both sides were cleared for action, and every preparation made, not a shot was discharged, until the Dartmouth sent a boat to one of the fireships, which was fired upon, as it was supposed they were coming to board. Several men were wounded by this discharge, which immediately induced a defensive fire from the Dartmouth, which became extremely warm. At the same time, an officer bearing a flag of truce, sent by Sir Edward Codrington to the Turkish admiral's ship, was slain; and a cannon-shot was fired at Admiral de Rigny's ship from one of the Egyptian vessels. This brought on a return from the *Asia* and *Sirène*; and immediately the fire became general along the whole line.

162. With characteristic hardihood, Sir E. Codrington anchored his vessel between the ships of the Capitan Bey, the Turkish, and Moharem Bey, the Egyptian admiral, and immediately began a tremendous discharge, right and left, on his antagonists. The *Asia* at the same time was exposed to a raking fire from the frigates in the second and third line, which carried away her mizen-mast by the board, disabled several of the guns, and killed and wounded numbers of the crew. Despite these disadvantages, however, the fire of the *Asia* was kept up with such vigour and precision that the two admirals' ships were soon silenced, and floated away mere wrecks. Meanwhile the *Genoa* and *Albion* took up their positions in the most beautiful manner, and commenced the action with the utmost vigour; while the French and Russian admirals, aided by their respective crews, occupied their ground,

and rivalled the British seamen in skill and daring. The *Sirène* ran the greatest risk of being burned by the fire-ships which were launched against her by the Egyptians; but she was saved by the able exertions of Captain Fellows of the Dartmouth. By degrees the superiority of the Christian fire became very apparent; most of the vessels in the enemy's line were either sunk, silenced, or in flames, and such of the crew as could escape threw themselves into the sea and made for the shore, after setting fire to their respective ships. The Asia was for long so enveloped in smoke that her flag only could be seen at the mast-head, and when a frigate near her blew up, it was thought she had exploded; but in a few minutes, the smoke clearing away, she was seen still maintaining the fight with untiring energy, and a general shout along the whole fleet announced the joyous discovery. The battle lasted four hours, at the close of which time the whole Ottoman ships were burnt, sunk, or destroyed, with the exception of twenty-eight of the smallest size, which were cast ashore, or, still afloat, were spared by the conquerors. Fifty-one vessels, including the four line-of-battle ships, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, were destroyed, with seven thousand of their crews. History has scarcely preserved the record of so complete a conquest, or so awful a devastation.*

* Ibrahim Pacha's own account of the circumstances which led to the battle of Navarino is substantially the same as that given above on the authority of the allied admirals:—

"I had returned, and again left Navarino for some days, when the English, French, and Russian squadrons hove in sight. A frigate and an English brig entered the harbour without showing their colours, and, after making several tacks in the bay, again left it without hoisting a flag; conduct which I can neither justify nor account for. On the 20th the pacha who commanded in my absence, observing the allied fleet bearing down on Navarino in order of battle, and with apparently hostile intentions, sent a boat on board the English admiral, and delivered to him the following communication—viz., that the pacha would be sorry to see so large an armament enter the port of Navarino during the absence of Ibrahim; but that if the Allies had any occasion to communicate with the shore, they could do so with perfect security,

163. Indescribably sublime was the scene which presented itself at the close of the action, when the sun declined, serene and unclouded, over this theatre of carnage. The line of the Ottomans had disappeared; a few floating wrecks alone were to be seen in the bay, clustered round their conquerors; flames were bursting out on all sides, and the sea was covered with fragments of burning vessels, upon some of which the standard of the Prophet was still to be seen, unsubdued even in ruin. Calamitous beyond measure to the vanquished, the victory was by no means bloodless to the conquerors, for the Mussulmans fought with their wonted valour, and neither asked nor accepted quarter. The loss on the part of the Allies was severest in the British squadron—a sure proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and with whom its principal honour should rest: it amounted to 75 killed, and 197 wounded; the French to 43 killed, and 117 wounded. The Russian loss is unknown—a certain sign it was not great. Sixteen of the killed and 26 of the wounded were in the Asia alone; among the former was a son of the admiral. She had 28 shot in her mainmast. The Asia, Albion, and Genoa, were so much damaged in the fight that they were sent home by Sir E. Codrington, after having been so far repaired at Malta as to be able to bear the voyage. Captain Bathurst, of the Genoa, nobly fell at the commence-

and that part or parts of each squadron could enter without endangering the peace. I appeal to you, sir—do you observe anything calculated to give offence in a similar request? Was it not natural for the commander to object to the presence of so powerful a force, and protest against its entering the port, especially as that force was four or five times superior to the Turkish, and likely by its warlike presence to provoke hostilities? The English admiral sent back the boat with the insulting answer, that he came to give orders, and not to receive advice; while the combined fleet continued to bear down on Navarino in line of battle. At two o'clock P.M. the three squadrons entered the harbour, and immediately took up their berths within pistol-shot of the Turkish fleet. In the meanwhile a frigate detached itself from the fleet, and anchored athwart two fireships which were moored at the mouth of the harbour: the French and Russian squadrons followed the English admiral, and imi-

ment of the action. Sir E. Codrington was on the poop the whole time; his clothes were in several places perforated by balls; it was almost a miracle how he escaped unhurt.

164. Ibrahim was absent on an excursion towards Rygos at the time this disaster was incurred; but he arrived at Neocastron on the 21st, in time to see the shattered and smoking fragments of his navy. As soon as the battle had ceased, the correspondence with the admirals was renewed: it was agreed there should be no further hostilities; and indeed they were not to be apprehended, for the Ottomans had no longer the means of carrying on the contest. Seeing at once that all his visions of Grecian conquest were at an end, Ibrahim wisely applied himself to securing the means of exit from a country, the warfare in which had proved so disastrous to his house. He set about repairing such of his transports as had escaped the conflagration, and in the beginning of December he took the first step towards the evacuation of the country, by despatching his harem, and five thousand sick and wounded soldiers, who arrived safe in the harbour of Alexandria in a few days. They were much required in Egypt, for a fresh war had broken out there with the Wahabites, which severely taxed the resources of the country, already strained to the uttermost by the Grecian contest.

tated his manoeuvres. The Turkish admiral sent a boat a second time on board the English flag-ship, to demand some explanation of these hostile proceedings; but the messenger was driven back in a manner equally insulting and unjustifiable, while the frigate above mentioned sent her boats to seize on the fireships athwart which she had taken up her berth. At this moment a discharge of musketry took place, which proved to be the signal for a general action—an action which was only terminated by the approach of night and the utter destruction of our squadron. The Turkish squadron was composed of three line-of-battle ships, fifteen frigates, and several transports, and was not prepared for action; while the fleet which it had to contend with consisted of ten line-of-battle ships, besides a number of frigates and corvettes. This being the case, do the three admirals really think that they have reaped a rich harvest of glory, by crushing with their superior forces an opponent who neither ex-

pected nor had given cause for such an attack, and who was not prepared for action, nor had taken the precautions of defence? But to return to the subject, and state who began the action, and who has the blame or merit of having fired the first shot. On this point each party is anxious to exculpate itself. What, however, is positively known on the subject is, that the English frigate, without reason or provocation, endeavoured to take possession of some fireships, and that the just resistance made by the fireships caused the first shot to be fired. To conclude, sir—being conscious of having given no offence, I avow that I am still ignorant of the motive which gave occasion for this unaccountable conduct. The high powers profess a wish to prevent the further effusion of blood in the Levant, while, behold! their admirals crimson the waters of Navarino with blood, and cover the entire bay with floating corpses.”—*IBRAHIM'S Despatch*, October 23, 1827; *Dublin Review*, April 1837.

on account of Navarino, as they began the battle; and that the Porte had still less reason to complain, as it had been warned that such an event would probably follow the rejection of the terms proposed by the allied powers. Accommodation was now obviously hopeless; the ambassadors left Constantinople on December 8th, and soon after Count Capo d'Istria, who had been elected President of Greece, took possession of his new dominions, and issued a proclamation, declaring the Ottoman yoke for ever broken, and the independence of Greece established.

166. No words can convey an idea of the transports of joy which pervaded entire Greece when the intelligence of the battle of Navarino was received. Fast as the flaming beacon which conveyed the news of the fall of Troy to Argos, the joyous tidings were transmitted from mountain to mountain, from crag to crag, from isle to isle, and one throb of exultation and thankfulness was felt in every bosom. Never since the defeat of Hasdrubal by the consul Nero, on the banks of the Metaurus, had such a sensation pervaded the heart of a nation. Every one felt as if he himself were delivered from captivity or death. The terrible contest of seven years' duration, upon which their lives, those of their families, and their property, had been staked, was brought to a close. Christendom had come to the rescue; again, as in the days of the Crusades, the Cross had been triumphant over the Crescent. True, their numbers had been halved during the struggle, their wives and daughters sold as slaves, their houses burned, their fields wasted—what then? These evils had ceased: their sons would now be secure from the Turkish scimitar, their daughters from the Turkish harems; industry would revive, property be rendered secure, and freedom, spreading its blessings over their hills and valleys, would restore the days of their ancient glory.

167. Equally great was the sensation produced by this memorable event over entire Christendom. Never, save by the taking of Jerusalem in 1199 by the crusading warriors under Godfrey

of Bouillon, had so unanimous a feeling of exultation pervaded the Christian world: it exceeded that felt at the battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria; for that triumph only averted a remote danger from Europe generally, but this rescued one of its most interesting peoples from the jaws of instant destruction. Opinions in England were somewhat divided, from the obvious increase which it gave to the preponderance of Russia in the East; but on the Continent the rejoicing was universal. Slow, but certain, had been the march of Divine justice; the final blow was not struck till many opportunities of repentance had been neglected, and many occasions of restitution thrown away: but when it was delivered, the balance was at once righted; an entire people rose from the grave; the blood of Chios was avenged by the flames of Navarino. No further resistance was practicable; the fleets of Asia had been sunk in the deep, and its armies had wasted away in the struggle; a single day had secured the independence of Greece, and restored her to her place in the European family. Such a result was felt by every generous bosom to be the fit subject of exultation. In vain did political considerations intervene; in vain did the caution of statesmen stigmatise this glorious achievement as "an untoward event." The chilling phrase, the unworthy sentiment, was drowned in the universal shout of Christendom. A voice superior to worldly wisdom made itself heard; a feeling deeper than the desire for national advantage was generally experienced. The cause of religion and humanity was felt to have been at stake, and men were thankful that, after so many alliances had been formed for the purposes of ambition and national rivalry, one at last had been found, where nations were banded together in defence of the oppressed, and the sword of Christendom had been drawn to rescue one of its families from destruction.

168. Much discussion took place at the time, as to which of the contending parties was the aggressor at Nava-

rino, and, as usual in such cases, contradictory accounts appeared as to which of the parties fired the first shot. Such special pleading is unworthy of the cause in which Europe was engaged on that occasion. The Allies undoubtedly were the aggressors in the battle; the sailing in a hostile guise into the bay was, as Lord Eldon justly remarked, a hostile act, which authorised the Ottomans to repel them by force. But as clearly as the Allies were the aggressors in the action, were the Turks the aggressors in the war; for they refused to accede to the terms of pacification proposed to them by the Allies for the settlement of the Greek question, and had made up their minds to brave the united hostility of Christendom rather than suspend the war of extermination Ibrahim was waging in the Morea. It is true, that war was one waged against their own revolted subjects; it is true that no stranger has a right, in the general case, to interfere in such a contest; and it is not less true that such interference came with a peculiarly bad grace from the Allies at that time, seeing they had recently interfered with decisive effect in Spain and Italy, not to support, but to put down revolutions. But that consideration only brings out the more clearly the justice of their interference the other way in the present instance, and the vital distinction between the contest closed by the flames of Navarino, and that terminated by the capitulation of Cadiz.

169. Though unfortunately confounded with them by the Emperor Alexander, the Greek war was, both in principle and object, essentially different from the revolutions of Riego or Pepe. It was not a social, but a national contest; it was not a war of principles or privileges, but of religion and race. The statesmen of Western Europe, whose vision was blinded on both sides by the social convulsions so strongly raging among themselves at the time, mistook the signs of the times in the Eastern world; they thought they saw the marks of revolution in Peloponnesus, when, in fact, it was the contest, as old as the Trojan war, of Europe

against Asia, which was then raging; it was the spirit of Richard against Saladin which had really been elicited. The conduct of the Turks throughout the whole of this contest had been so atrocious; their cruelty, their massacres, their bloodthirstiness, had been so infamous, that they had cast themselves out of the pale of civilisation: like Robespierre, they had been declared, and rightly so, *hors la loi* by the human race. Beyond all question, non-interference is the rule, and interference the exception; but there are cases, as in the instances of the French and Spanish revolutions, where a different principle must be established, when the interests of humanity require interference with a nation abusing the right of the strongest within itself, as of a man threatening with death his wife or children. And if ever there was a nation which had brought itself within the exception, it was that which had perpetrated the massacre of Chios, and was yet reeking with the slaughter of Missolonghi.

170. In truth, so far from the treaty of 6th July 1827 having been an unjustifiable interference with the rights of the Ottoman Government as an independent power, it was just the reverse; and the only thing to be regretted is, that the Christian powers did not interfere earlier in the contest, and with far more extensive views, for the restoration of the Greek empire. After the massacre of Chios, the Turks had thrown themselves out of the pale of civilisation; they had proved themselves to be pirates, enemies of the human race, and no longer entitled to toleration from the European family. Expulsion from Europe was the natural and legitimate consequence of their flagrant violation of its usages in war. Had this been done in 1822—had the Congress of Verona acceded to the prayers of the Greeks, and restored the Christian empire of the East under the guarantee of the allied powers—what an ocean of blood would have been dried up, what boundless misery prevented, what prospects of felicity to the human race opened! A Christian monarchy of 10,000,000 of souls,

with Constantinople for its capital, would ere this have added a half to its population, wealth, and all the elements of national strength. The rapid growth, since the Crescent was expelled from their territories, of Servia, Greece, the isles of the Archipelago, Wallachia and Moldavia, and of the Christian inhabitants in all parts of the country, proves what might have been expected had all Turkey in Europe been blessed by a similar liberation. The fairest portion of Europe would have been restored to the rule of religion, liberty, and civilisation, and a barrier erected by European freedom against Asiatic despotism in the regions where it was first successfully combated.

171. What is the grand difficulty that now surrounds the Eastern question, which has rendered it all but insoluble even to the most far-seeing statesmen, and has compelled the Western powers, for their own sake, to ally themselves with a state which they would all gladly, were it practicable without general danger, see expelled from Europe? Is it not that the Ottoman empire is the only barrier which exists against the encroachments of Russia, and that if it is destroyed the independence of every European state is endangered by the extension of the Muscovite power from the Baltic to the Mediterranean? All see the necessity of this barrier, yet all are sensible of its weakness, and feel that it is one which is daily becoming more feeble, and must in the progress of time be swept away. This difficulty is entirely of our own creation; it might have been obviated, and a firm bulwark erected in the East, against which all the surges of Muscovite ambition would have beat in vain. Had the dictates of humanity, justice, and policy been listened to in 1822, and a *Christian* monarchy been erected in European Turkey, under the guarantee of Austria, France, and England, the whole difficulties of the Eastern question would have been obviated, and European independence would have found an additional security in the very quarter where it is now most seriously

menaced. Instead of the living being allied to the dead, they would have been linked to the living; and a barrier against Eastern conquest erected on the shores of the Hellespont, not with the worn-out materials of Mohammedan despotism, but with the rising energy of Christian civilisation.

172. But modern Turkey, it is said, is divided by race, religion, and situation; three-fourths of it are Christian, one-fourth Mohammedan; there are six millions of Slavonians, four millions of Bulgarians, two millions and a half of Turks, and only one million of Greeks;—how can a united and powerful empire be formed of such materials? Most true: and in what state was Greece anterior to the Persian invasion; Italy before the Punic wars; England during the Heptarchy; Spain in the time of the Moors; France during its civil wars? Has the existence of such apparently fatal elements of division prevented these countries from becoming the most renowned, the most powerful, the most prosperous communities upon earth? In truth, diversity of race, so far from being an element of weakness, is, when duly coerced, the most prolific source of strength: it is to the body politic what the intermixture of soils is to the richness of the earth. It is the meagreness of unmingled race which is the real source of weakness; for it leaves hereditary maladies unchanged, hereditary defects unsupplied. Witness the unchanging ferocity in every age of the Ishmaelite, the irremediable indolence of the Irish, the incurable arrogance of the Turk; while the mingled blood of the Briton, the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, and the Norman, has produced the race to which is destined the sceptre of half the globe.

173. Such was the resurrection of Greece; thus did old Hellas rise from the grave of nations. Scorched by fire, riddled by shot, baptised in blood, she emerged victorious from the contest: she achieved her independence because she proved herself worthy of it: she was trained to manhood in the only school of real improvement—the school

of suffering. Twenty-five years have elapsed since her independence was sealed by the battle of Navarino, and already many of the hopes of her friends have been realised. Her capital, Athens, now contains thirty thousand inhabitants—quadruple what it did when the contest terminated; its commerce has doubled, and all the signs of advancing prosperity are to be seen on the land. The inhabitants have increased fifty per cent; they are now above seven hundred thousand; but the fatal chasms produced by the war, especially in the male population, are still in a great measure unsupplied, and vast tracts of fertile land, spread with the bones of its defenders, await in every part of the country the robust arm of industry for their cultivation. The Greeks, indeed, have not all the virtues of freemen; perhaps they are never destined to exhibit them. Like the Muscovites, and from the same cause, they are often cunning, fraudulent, deceitful: slaves always are such; and a nation is not crushed by a thousand years of Byzantine despotism, and four hundred of

Mohammedan oppression, without having some of the features of the servile character impressed upon it. But they exhibit also the cheering symptoms of social improvement; they have shown that they still possess the qualities to which their ancestors' greatness was owing. They are lively, ardent, and persevering, passionately desirous of knowledge, and indefatigable in the pursuit of it. The whole life which yet animates the Ottoman empire is owing to their intelligence and activity. The stagnation of despotism is unknown among them; if the union of civilisation is unhappily equally unknown, that is a virtue of the manhood, and not to be looked for in the infancy of nations. The consciousness of deficiencies is the first step to their removal; the pride of barbarism, the self-sufficiency of ignorance, is the real bar to improvement; and a nation which is capable of making the efforts for improvement which the Greeks are doing, if not in possession of political greatness, is on the road to it.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.





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